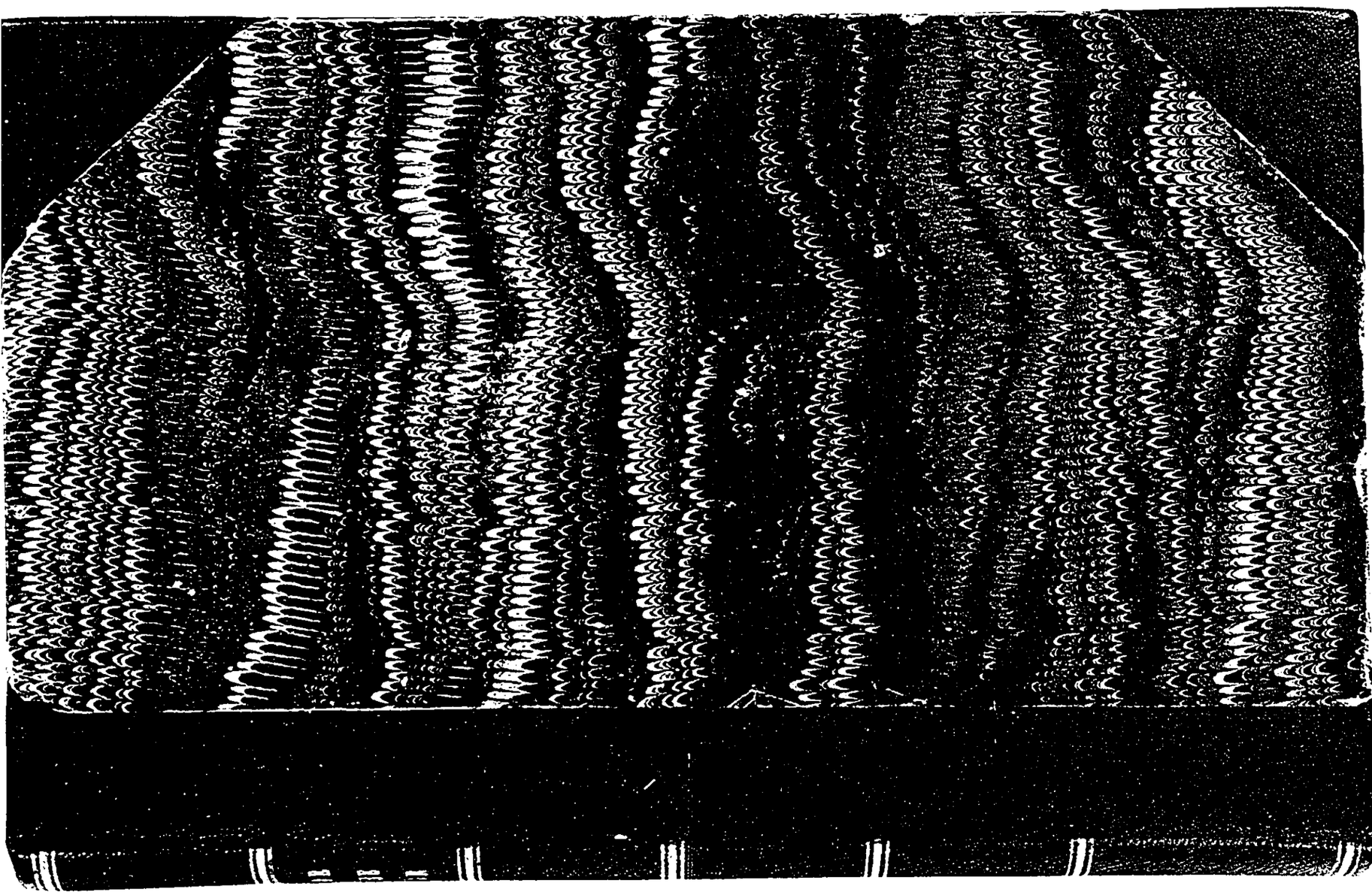

Prescopy
to Jeremy Bentham

?. with his notes at end

From J. Mason to his friend

Jeremy Bentham.

THE POOR

AND

THEIR RELIEF.

By GEORGE ENSOR, Esq.

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CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

BOOK II.

BOOK III.

The Poor and their Relief.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

At the beginning of society, equality of condition perhaps more favourable to the general support than sophisticated society.

THE number and distress of the poor have lately attracted general attention, because the support of the forlorn has actually affected the maintenance of all;—of the rich, who by relieving the poor feel their own enjoyments abridged; and of the less opulent, who by the urgency and amount of social misery are brought within the sphere of that pauperism which they would repel from others. As many disquisitions on this subject have sinned against history and logic, and some have even outraged humanity, I shall endeavour to develop the causes and remedies of this complicated evil. My object is poverty in Great Britain: yet to afford a comprehensive view of the question, I shall give a summary of ancient and modern laws and institutions for the relief of the destitute, noticing as

the occasion admits even fantastic theories, in order that the reader may possess the philosophy of the wise, and learn the casualties and conjectures of fond imaginative men, on this important inquiry.

This discussion may be simplified by recurring to the original societies of men. First, the members of the same family confederated. Thus the constituent members of nations were single families, which increased and expanded by intermarriages, by alliances for mutual convenience, in peace to procure abundance, or in war through fear of subjection or through hope of conquest. This is proved by ancient records and passing events. Besides, the component parts of nations have been distinguished, or are distinguishable, ages and centuries after they have submitted to a common sovereignty. In China names declare the elements of society, and in Scotland long cherished affection further certifies that the clans had the same progenitors. Moreover, nations are often from various causes resolved into their natural primary connexions. The Shangalla, says Bruce[1], live in separate tribes, which are again subdivided into families and governed by their own head. And it is probable that all people during the first periods of their confederacy

[1] Travels, vol. iii. p. 160. M. de Brisson, speaking of the Arabs of the Desert, says, "They are classed in tribes more or less considerable; every tribe is again divided into hordes, and each horde encamps where there is best pasture for the cattle." And then, having mentioned that different hordes are intermixed, "All these coloures," he adds, "lodge by families under tents covered with a thick texture of camel's hair."

varied the terms of their union, being friendly, reserved, confident or suspicious, suffering occasionally every vicissitude from intimacy to enmity, until time had reduced and confirmed them into one politic body congregated for better for worse.

Society in its origin, it is obvious, could not consist of the extremes of rich and poor. The individuals of each separate family might be destitute, but it contradicts history, and slanders our nature as merely animal, to suppose that man (though exceptions blot the roll of humanity) should live abundantly while his children starved. Besides, man is not that famishing thing which the Malthusians represent: indeed they talk as if geometrical increase was original sin, and that Adam and Eve were disparadised from Eden by the pressure of population against the means of subsistence. I do not say that distress is a fiction; but the wretchedness of rude life has been falsely or finically exaggerated;—falsely as the statements are garbled, finically[1] as the habits of one age and country are made a criterion for the comforts of other ages and stations.

Many reasons induce a belief that in an unsophisticated state misery is less offensive than in mighty empires, (in which nobles and the monarch are piled aloft, as Pelion on Ossa in the war with Heaven,) which depress the body of the people, who are the

[1] Honour and disgrace signified by civilized and uncivilized have frequently no other ground for distinction than using forks at dinner, which in Coryate's time was confined to Italy; or using chairs instead of couches; wearing wigs,—this refinement on civilization is now reserved for professions.

base of these prodigious superstructures. In simple patriarchal government, wife and child are reputed servants, and servants are treated as children[1]. Jacob became Laban's servant that he might become his son-in-law. So intimate are the ranks in this early period, that among the Montenegrins[2] a rich man gives his daughter in marriage without difficulty even to a servant. In a more advanced stage of society servants are considered (to use an American phrase) helpers. Such was the situation of English labourers employed in tillage formerly, and such continues to be the friendly intercourse between farmer and house-labourers in Norway and Flanders; half-servant and half-fellow they sit at the same board, they partake the same vigorous diet. Neither custom nor caprice has invented among them endless artifices to waste superfluity, nor to repute vulgar what nature has made abundant. Clarke[3] says that a Laplander who sometimes possesses considerable property will live in a gipsy hut: and Humboldt mentions that Don Francesco Sanchez, (and what is told of one person includes a class,) who had realized 100,000 piastres, mounted his horse bare-footed and bare-legged.

In this equality of manners, monarchy where it exists is a mere name: the king or chief is distinguished by wearing a feather[4] or being more tatooed, —a dignity of trial, for it is a painful pre-eminence.

[1] The children of slaves at the Cape of Good Hope are said to be nearly on a par in accommodation with the master's family. See Semple, &c.

[2] Sommiere's Travels, p. 43. Phillips.

[3] Travels in Scandinavia, p. 353. [4] As in Fernando Po.

The prerogatives of royalty are equally humble. Thus at Lattako his majesty enjoys the privilege of sitting next the pot of boiled beans; and the king and queen of Timbuctoo feast principally on porridge made of Guinea corn, which food is probably not more homely than the dilligrout always served up at the coronation of the English kings, in commemoration perhaps of the repast of their ancestry.

Food, offices, and orders—all were occasionally confounded. The stateliest personage performed the humblest services. Look to the Iliad. Pisistratus Nestor's son was butcher[1], Achilles was cook:

> While with sharp steel, Achilles from the bone
> Sliced thin the meat, then pierced it with the spits[2].

Polycaste Nestor's daughter officiated as a chamber-maid to Telemachus, as did Calypso[3], *nymph divine*, to his father; she laved and dressed Ulysses. Antiphates[4], the daughter of Lestryonia's king, carried a pitcher from the city's fountain. Nausicaa, who drove a car with clothes to wash them at the rivulet, in discourse with Ulysses replied,

> There also stands my father's throne, on which
> Seated he drinks and banquets like a god[5].

And when she returns, her five brothers,

> All godlike youths, assembling quick around,
> Released the mules and bore the raiment in:

[1] Odyss. lib. iii. [2] Iliad, lib. ix. [3] Odyss. lib. v.

[4] Odyss. lib. x. So do the daughters of Celeus prince of Eleusis, in the Hymn to Ceres ascribed to Homer. See Genesis, xxiv. 15. [5] Odyss. lib. vii.

that is, they acted as porters to the laundry-maid[1]. Andromache is also represented as feeding Hector's horses; and Juno harnesses her own chariot[2]. Nor is this the extent of the radical equality of elder time; Homer relates that Neptune and Apollo were hired as servants by Laomedon, one to build a wall round the city, the other to officiate as cowherd on Ida's heights[3].—After having shown that kings and queens performed the lowest offices, and that gods served mortals on earth,—and this from the great master of antiquity,—it would be tedious to continue the argument and the evidence. I may however mention that the Saturnalia at Rome, and similar festivals in other countries, testified the original equality of mankind. The kings of Persia also admitted occasionally the humblest tenants of the land to their tables[4]. And thus we read that at Muscat "they make no difference respecting table guests, for the king and a common soldier, the master and servant, sit promiscuously and dip in the same dish[5]."

In this simplicity of living the extremes of rich and poor are unknown: but far otherwise is man's state when orders and ranks and casts and sects and corporations are graduated like the receding courses of the uncouth pyramid. Then are contrasted with the prerogative and honoured—thrones, dominations, princedoms, powers—the multitude without voice or

[1] Iliad, lib. viii. [2] Ibid, lib. v. [3] Ibid, lib. xii.
[4] Hyde de Relig. Vet. Persarum, c. 19.
[5] Pinkerton's Voyages, &c. vol. viii. p. 287. Lucas says nearly the same of the Arabs.

name, or if named to be disgraced, called outcasts, heretics, native Irish, blacks, boors, villains, rabble, vagrants, paupers:

And every village owns its tyrants now,
And parish slaves must live as parish kings allow.

I conclude, therefore, that not only rich and poor during the early association of men are not violently contrasted, but that poverty and want are not their characteristics.

That a competency for human support is enjoyed in an unsophisticated existence, is proved by endless authorities[1]. Look to the lowest state of being, and in the latest relations. Captain Ross says that the Esquimaux whom he saw, had, according to their own account, "plenty of provisions." Captain Parry also says of another tribe; that men, women, and children are well clothed, and "their means of subsistence are very abundant[2]." The fishing Laplanders[3] are also well provided; so are the nomade[4] Laplanders. Leems[5] says, the poor are few and relieved at home. So Erenmalm[6] speaks of Nordland, "for the wants of

[1] Where this seems to be contradicted, it arises for the most part from improvidence. Yet some express a singular attention. Chappelle mentions a tribe who, having caught a rein-deer and satisfied their hunger, erect a stage, where they leave the residue (secure from beasts) for their fellow wanderers.

[2] p. 283. He further adds: "Upon the whole, these people may be considered in possession of every necessary of life, as well as most of the comforts and conveniencies which can be enjoyed in so rude a state." p. 287.

[3] Erenmalm in Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 368.
[4] Clarke's Scandinavia, p. 425.
[5] Pinkerton, &c. vol. i. p. 382. [6] Id. vol. i. p. 341.

the old and infirm and indigent are supplied by the social affection which unites families." Sommiere[1], speaking of the Montenegrins, says, "I am convinced they live well, though temperately." In the East the same agreeable theme is repeated. In Java there is no pauperism, though some are supported by their relations. At Loo Choo neither poverty nor want was discernible.

Though I admit that man and misery are often fellows, and though I must protest against being classed with the zealots for rude life; yet I contend that the statement which I have made is more agreeable to a predisposing Intelligence and to authenticated facts, than that miscalled philosophy which represents our race as only less prolific, starving, and voracious, than the white ants in Africa, who in their different states of grub, and fly, chase and devour each other. I believe that, except in extraordinary cases, all freemen are able to procure their own support; that in families, tribes, and nations tolerably governed, the labour of all is amply competent to maintain all with the necessaries and the conveniencies of life:—so absolutely is this my opinion, that I am persuaded hospitality precedes charity as a prescribed or public ordinance.

[1] p. 26. Phillips's Voyages.

CHAPTER II.

Hospitality universal—extreme—preceding charity.

HOSPITALITY is pre-eminent with all nations in their infancy. It has, however, been said that *hostis* among the Romans signified a stranger and an enemy[1]: and we read of a people about Tauris who killed strangers; and of others who ate them[2],—which is probably as true as the rumour among the South Sea islanders, that white men fed on their sable brethren[3]. Let me again recur to the poems of Homer to corroborate my position. In the Iliad an opportunity for adorning this virtue is prepared by the poet when he sighs over Axylus:

> And in Arisba (where he dwelt beside
> The public road, and at the open door
> Made welcome all) respected and belov'd[4].

In the Odyssey hospitality is enforced by the whole ingenuity of the bard, directly and by contrast. The Cyclops are represented not less hideous in form than in discourtesy; while hospitality appears co-ordinate with religion: thence Ulysses asks,

> Rude are they, contumacious, and unjust;
> Or hospitable, and who fear the gods[5]?

[1] Cicero denies this: "Nemo hostis qui non eodem tempore illi quoque bellum incidit." Philip. 2.

[2] "Solere pro victimis advenas cædere." Mela. lib. ii. c. 1.

[3] Kotzebue's Voyages, p. 160. Phillips, &c.

[4] Iliad, lib. vi.

[5] Odyss. lib. vi.

And again,

> Respect the gods and us
> Thy suitors; suppliants are the care of Jove
> The hospitable, he their wrongs resents,
> And where the stranger sojourns there is he.

In book vi.

> This man a miserable wand'rer comes,
> Whom we are bound to cherish, for the poor
> And strangers are from Jove.

In book xiv. the poor are again associated with strangers:

> For all the poor that are,
> And all the strangers, are the care of Jove[1].

So anxious, complying of course with the common feeling of his age and country, that the fountain bard consecrated hospitality, by representing the gods as guests with mortals.

> For the gods
> Have ever of old reveal'd themselves
> At our solemnities, have on our seats
> Sat with us evident and shared the feast[2].

Which coincides precisely with the advice of the Hebrews: "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for some thereby have entertained angels unawares."

After these authorities, it may be considered as worse than superfluous to pursue the detail of this duty in other nations: yet I must not stint the proofs and examples, as this topic is connected with the very principles of my argument for suffering humanity. I therefore call the reader's attention to the East.

[1] Προς γαρ Διος εισιν απαντες
Ξειυοιτε πτωχοιτε. [2] Odyss.

In Cochin-China Monsieur le Poivre[1] says that strangers may apply for assistance and hospitality at any house, and be sure of a favourable reception. The Eastern Pars leave the dates shaken by the wind for the destitute and travellers[2]. Ker Porter[3] praises the hospitality of the Circassians. Montule[4], speaking of the Bedouins, says they are generous and hospitable, and that he who passes when they are at their meals is politely required to partake the fare. And it may be said, as Klaproth[5] had already remarked, that nations whose trade is robbery manifest the utmost fidelity to their guests. Lucas represents the hospitality of the Arabs as only limited by their means. The Koosas are so hospitable that their maxim extends assistance to their enemies. Captain Stout, who was wrecked on Caffraria, says, the most polished nations could not have been so kind or hospitable to him. Hospitality is the point of honour among rude nations; and though exercised largely by the people, it is little felt, comparatively, or acknowledged, by those whom courtesy denominates the higher classes of society: hence Monsieur Mollien[6] observes, that when he was made prisoner in Africa on suspicion of his pursuits, he and his ass were fed by the constituted authorities; which had been otherwise had he been stopped by a French mayor! from him, says Monsieur Mollien, I should have had a prison, but no food.

[1] See also Captain Rey's Travels.
[2] Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 143.
[3] Travels in Georgia, &c. [4] p. 87. Phillips, &c.
[5] p. 336. [6] Travels, p. 53. Phillips.

Hospitality is sometimes carried beyond all bounds. Thus the last-mentioned traveller observes[1], that when a stranger enters the house of a Serracolet, the master says, My wife, my children—all belong to you. And this is so strictly fulfilled in many countries, that wife and daughter are honoured by the embraces of the stranger. The same disposition is evident in Sumatra, in Madagascar[2], in New South Wales: the hunter offered to Mr. Oxley and his companions the daintiest parts, precisely as Nestor's son did Telemachus and Mentor:

> To each a portion of the inner parts
> He gave.

At one of the Sandwich islands, the Cherub and Racoon, with a crew of 120 men, were on the instant

[1] p. 107. "Though they will kill a fowl or a goat for a stranger whom perhaps they never saw before, nor ever expect to see again, they are rarely guilty of that extravagance for themselves. Their hospitality is extreme, and bounded by their ability alone."

[2] "These poor people are extremely hospitable. A Black, when on his journey, goes into the first house that suits his exigency, and though unknown, the family share their provisions with him," &c. Voyage à l'Isle de France. Monsieur Le Gentil also says he was astonished at the hospitable treatment he received from the people of Madagascar, considering the barbarity with which the French behaved to them. Voyage dans les Mers de l'Indee in 1781, Paris. The inhabitants of Adoes, de Pagés says, are eminently distinguished for the exercise of hospitality; they are known under the immediate pressure of hunger to share their last morsel with a stranger who comes under their roof. Travels, p. 50. In Sahara hospitality is practised in its greatest extent: the master of a tent will supply the wants of a stranger, though in order to do it he himself fasts.—Saugnier's Voyages on the Coast of Africa.

supplied with a week's provisions, for which the chief refused to receive payment. By the by, we may ask, Does this universal hospitality favour the Malthusian doctrine of the universal hunger of mankind? Kotzebue[1], speaking of the people in Easter Island, says, they were cheerful, satisfied with their condition, and probably did not want provisions, since they brought us yams, bananas, sugar cane, potatoes in tolerably large quantities.

Look to ancient Europe: Cæsar[2] and Tacitus[3] testify for the hospitality of the Germans; and travellers bear witness to the same virtue in modern Greece: A Jew physician, on entertaining Mr. Hobhouse[4], (and the feeling exceeded the gift) said "he was honoured by our partaking his little misery." When Monsieur Mollien[5] asked his benefactor what recompense he should bestow on his generosity, he replied, "Call at my house on your return." Or, to say all in all in Homer's words,

> This only is true kindness, to regale
> The present guest, and speed him when he would.[6]

Hospitality which man offered to man, was exercised by kings and states in their politic capacity. Ambassadors were entertained by the Grand Signor. Ricaut[7] mentions its continuance formally in the pre-

[1] Phillips's Voyages, p. 18.
[2] De Bello Gall. lib. vi. § 22.
[3] De Morib. Germ. c. 2.
[4] Travels, p. 202.
[5] Travels, p. 13, Phillips.
[6] Odyss. lib. xv.
[7] He says, As soon as an ambassador enters the Ottoman dominions, his charges are defrayed by the Sultan, b. 1. c. 19. This Pertusier attributes to hospitality, p. 100. See Turner's Tour in the Levant.

sent time. This indeed was the custom of Europe[1], which was afterward modified, and personal presents to ambassadors were substituted for their entertainment[2]. In ancient Rome ambassadors were considered public guests, and the practice ceased at Rome[3] and in modern Europe[4] from the same cause—the multitude and the protracted residence of envoys.

Hospitality was also exhibited in various ways in Athens and Rome; hosts guarded the rights and persons of strangers, as patrons their clients. This practice continues in other parts of the world, as in Arabia, where Christians have particular individuals who protect them and their goods[5]. Consuls seem to be formal substitutes for such friends.

Still more interesting in respect to this topic are the choultries and caravanseras. In Hindostan these buildings were erected along a line of 1500 coss, or

[1] Lorsque toutes les ambassades etaient extraordinaires, les princes à qui elles etoient envoyées defrayoient les ambassadeurs pendant tout leur sojour. Wicquefort, liv. 1. s. 20.

[2] Except the Dutch: they prohibited their ambassadors, judging wisely that they were bribes.

[3] Plutarch says, ambassadors were entertained by the public; but now, he adds, ὑπο πληθους των αφικνεμενων κ. τ. λ. Moralia, p. 166.

[4] This ceased gradually. I have spoken of the presents; but by the treaty of Neustadt, and further by that of Abo, it was agreed between the courts to defray the expenses of ambassadors, according to the number sent by each party. Mably, Droit Publique, t. 3. p. 71.

[5] Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 255. Wanley says, that at Tednest in Morocco, if a merchant has no friend, the gentlemen of the place cast lots who shall be his host; if he be a mean person, he may choose his host. Gen. History of Man, p. 204.

3000 miles, and wells were sunk at intervals of two miles. Stewart[1] also observes, "Jhere ordered that at every stage all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expense." Mussulmen consider the opening a well, or erecting a caravansera, a righteous deed[2]; nor are the former sunk and the latter raised, only in desert places. In Constantinople many such buildings receive strangers gratuitously, who during their stay are masters of their apartments; which, in succession, are common to all men of all conditions and religions[3]. Such receptacles are of great antiquity, older than Herodotus[4]: among the most rude and most civilized, particular buildings were appropriated to strangers. In the Arabian[5] towns stands the "house of guests," as in ancient Greece ξενονες καταγωγαι.

Hospitality, that twin but elder-born of Charity, was enforced by the institution of tithes in Christendom; and in 1766, the Diet of Sweden[6] deducted a tenth from the church, which had been granted to its members for the exercise of hospitality, which the clergy had neglected. The laws of Geneva[7] also

[1] History of Bengal.

[2] Hobhouse, p. 961. Among the Nubians, in every village there is a hut with a large jar of water for the use of travellers.

[3] Wheler, b. 2, p. 192. Cosmo erected a house at Jerusalem, for the "poveri et infermi peregrini." Macchiaveli Hist. 7. p. 247.

[4] Lib. v. c. 52.

[5] So have the Beloches a building in every town for strangers, and a carpet is spread before the door.

[6] Ann. Register, 1766, p. 10. [7] Laws, p. 11.

recognised expressly the stranger's right to hospitality. Mussulmen[1] divided the fifth of their plunder into three parts; one for orphans, a second for the poor, a third for travellers. The Burgundian law was peremptory and penal, if hospitality were refused. The same is directed by Odin's Hayamaal[2]. Similar laws were inserted in the codes of ancient nations. The Cretans[3] divided the whole produce of the land into twelve parts, and each twelfth was again divided into three parts; one was allotted to the freemen, a second to the servants, and the third to the labourers and strangers; and this indifferently, whether they came to the state through want of subsistence, or for any public or private advantage. The ancient law of Athens referred to Buzyges[4], commanded hospitality to strangers.

CHAPTER III.

Charity not peculiar to Christian nations, but common to all, exemplified by the laws and precepts among the Jews, Ethiopians, Egyptians, Greeks, particularly the Athenians, Chinese, Cochin Chinese, Birman Empire, Cambalu, Maugi, Akbar's Institutions, Timours, Hindoos, Persians, Parsees, Mahometans.

THAT hospitality is kindred to charity is admitted, and the earliest moralists, poetical and philosophical, intermix them in their precepts and instructions.

[1] Hedaya, vol. ii. p. 179. [2] Clarke's Scandinavia, p. 132.
[3] Plato de Legib. lib. viii. p. 918. [4] Petit L'Attic. p. 55.

I have, at the conclusion of the last chapter, specified some laws enforcing the duty of hospitality. I shall now exhibit a general view of the laws and customs of various nations, respecting the relief of the poor; because on this particular many errors, through ignorance and prejudice, abuse the people of Europe; the partial and supercilious referring to our time, and to this or that sect, charity—that sovereign virtue, common to all men in all nations, even to the most heartless and sophisticate. My exposition will offend those good people who slumber and sob over their pre-established harmony, and who think that to defend man is to offend God.

Those who have made such imperfect commentaries on that sincere sympathy of mankind for their fellows, are neither deficient in abilities nor learning: Dr. Ryan[1], who once honoured me with a reply to his own imaginations in a distinct volume, insists, that until Constantine incorporated Christianity with the government, (inauspicious association!) receptacles for the poor were unknown in the world: Dr. Burney[2] declared that, prior to the advent of the Messiah, no edifices had been appropriated to charitable purposes; and that the *καταγωγιον* mentioned by Thucydides in

[1] History of the Effects of Religion on Mankind: the Doctor labours to prove that the ancient philosophers derived their wisdom from the Hebrews; among other curious inferences, he says that the notion that God exists in a fiery substance, Plato borrowed from Jehovah appearing to Moses *in a flame of fire in a bush*.

[2] Sermon at the Anniversary Meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, May 14, 1812.

Sparta, was a caravansera: the particular assertion is as true as the general assertion is erroneous. I shall fully refute Dr. Burney's statement respecting the origin of charitable houses in the sequel of this chapter. Dr. Paley[1] is still more sweeping in his dogmas, "that the legal provisions for the poor which obtain in this country, were unknown and unthought of by the most polished nations of antiquity." If he means the poor laws, which in themselves exceed the whole codes of many ancient states, with their reduction of wages, and settlements, and removals, and vagrancy, and farming the poor, and houses of industry, and the prodigious inhospitality of these laws to strangers, I admit that they are unique: but that other nations, modern and ancient, have not shown equal charity to the poor, I deny, and I shall evince.

Charity is man's nature, as sympathy is. To witness pain, is to suffer; to relieve distress, converts sorrow to joy and pain to pleasure. Charity, for I speak not of the pure unmixed enjoyment of generosity, is so necessary that it is scarcely meritorious. Klaproth, with more philosophy than those sectaries just quoted, said, "This universal religious charity is not rare among the Asiatics; I have had occasion to remark it, not only among the Moguls and Calmucs, but likewise in my intercourse with various Tartar hordes, and even among the Indians, likewise the Tibetians, Bucharians, and Tunguses." This, as it is general, is philanthropic; but still the traveller errs, by referring the public sensibility to religion;

[1] Essays on Charity.

is absurd to honour Odin or Zoroaster as its sovereign teacher, or to refer to Buddism, or Fetism, or Magism, or Islamism, as the authoritative impulse for its operation. God, when he made the blood warm and the nerves sensitive, made man charitable. Egede says of the Greenlanders, "If there be any among them (as it will happen) who cannot work or get his livelihood, they do not let him starve, but admit him freely to their table, in which they confound us Christians, who suffer so many poor and distressed mortals to perish for want." So of the Africans, Poyart (Histoire d'Afrique) says that the people in different places call the Europeans *shut hands*, because they give only in barter, or in expectation of a return. Hamilton, in Ægyptiaca[1], also states that Elfi Bey used to harangue on the uncharitableness of the Europeans, "who would resent the insolence of a hungry traveller, who should seat himself at his table without compliment or introduction:" and be it remembered, that the Sultan of Egypt, on application of John Brienne, king of Jerusalem, moved with the distress of the Christian army, sent thirty thousand loaves of bread to the soldiers, and he continued the supply. Similar accounts of the charity of the Asiatics is frequently related by travellers, one of whom accosts overweening England,

"Thou art in charity outdone
By Asia's rude untutor'd son."

Charity is no sectarian or religious gratuity; it is man's inheritance, and the God of all confers the

[1] p. 30.

boom. That poor laws have been common to many nations, though otherwise dissimilar in laws, religions, and civilization, I shall specifically detail.

First, I speak of the Jews. They were told, "He doth execute the judgement of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger in giving him food and raiment. Love ye therefore the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt[1]." So the Jews were ordered to give those "who are heavy at heart strong drink, that he may forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." Beside these general instructions, there were special distributions to the poor; thus, in respect to the spoil[2] taken in war, a portion was reserved for the maimed, and widows, and orphans. Farmers[3] left the angles of their fields unreaped, and a sheaf forgotten could not be reclaimed. Besides, on the sabbatical year[4] all the spontaneous products of the earth belonged to the poor, the orphan, and the stranger; and a tithe was collected every third year, which was distributed among the suffering and indigent. This was a poor law, and rigidly enforced[5], though it is probable the law was seldom coercively executed, as the provision for the poor was so ample, that, according to Joseph Scaliger[6], the veri Judæi did not beg, the

[1] Deut. x. 18, 19.

[2] 2 Maccabees, iv. 3. lxxxiii. 10, 11.

[3] Levit. xix. Deut. xxiv. [4] Exod. xxiii. 10.

[5] "Qui non voluit eleemosynam dare, aut minorem dederat quam erat ei par, cogebant judices," &c. Selden de Jure, &c. lib. vi. c. vi. p. 696.

[6] Ibid. p. 706.

richer Jews by timely assistance preventing that necessity. Let me also add (for the lower companions of man's labour are not excluded from the charities of human life) that it was unlawful among the Jews to pass by any beast that had fallen without attempting to succour it[1].

In Ethiopia, according to Herodotus, there was a gratuitous ordinary, under the direction of the magistrates, where all might satisfy their wants[2]. It was called the Table of the Sun[3]; probably, says Vossius, from the general good which it dispensed, as the sun lights the world. The Ethiopians were pre-eminently devoted to sacrifices, which in the early ages afforded a popular banquet. Homer says,

> But Neptune now the Ethiopians sought,
> The Ethiopians, utmost of mankind,
> Call'd to a hecatomb of bulls and lambs.[4]

Respecting the Egyptians, as the religion of the Jews, it is said, participated the system of their masters, it

[1] Josephus, Antiq. &c. lib. iv. c. 8.

[2] Lib. iii. c. 18. Solinus and P. Mela considered this marvellous; Heliodorus notices the relation, and adds, It is no longer Theagenes and Chariclea. p. 209.

[3] The following is of the same character: At the hospital of the Holy Cross, three quarters of a mile from the ancient city of Winchester, every traveller that knocks at the door may claim a manchet of white bread and a cup of beer; of which a great quantity is provided every day for that purpose. This hospital was intended for the maintenance of a master and thirty pensioners; but only fourteen are now maintained in it, and the master enjoys a revenue of 800*l.* a year. Encyclopædia Britannica.

[4] Odyss. lib. i.

is probable their institutions for charity had some coincidence; I may here add, that the Egyptians in their provincial state enjoyed a free supply of corn, and Evagrius[1] mentions that the capital was deprived of it, in consequence of a sedition of the people. It is also remarkable, by a letter of Adrian, that in Alexandria the gouty and blind were educated and taught to work; which invention[2] some attribute to the curiosity and zeal of modern times.

An account of the Greeks now follows in the order of time. Polybius and Strabo[3] both notice the poor laws of the Rhodians. At Delphi[4] there was a regular distribution of corn. I refer the reader also to the relation of Nicolaus Damascenus[5] concerning the Praysii. This spirit went abroad with the people, and at Sardis a brick building was erected to receive the old, called Γερουσια[6]. So extensive were the means for supporting the poor in Greece, that Menander[7] complained the relief exceeded the necessity. After these slight notices, I shall speak in some detail of the charitable institutions of the Athenians[8], a nation the first among the societies of men, even

[1] Lib. ii. c. 5.

[2] The expression might seem to restrict it to the gouty only; ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivant.

[3] Plebs itaque ab eis nutritur, nam divites patria quadam consuetudine pauperes accipiunt, &c. lib. iv. t. 2. p. 357.

[4] Καταγραφη Ελληνικα, Moral. p. 177.

[5] Apud Stobæum, sermo 37, p. 221.

[6] Vitruvius, lib. ii. c. 8.

[7] Apud Stobæum, sermo 60, p. 382.

[8] In no country were the slaves treated so well: this is admitted; slaves could denounce their masters, (Lysias, p. 274, a Reiske,) and require, if ill-treated, to change their masters. Slaves were often captives redeemed from the enemy by citizens. Petit Leg. Att. p. 184.

with the blot of that common infirmity of the times; unrivalled in the arts; supreme even in the mouldering and mutilated remains of it; statuaries and architects which have excited the admiration of all past ages, and justify spoliation in this; where eloquence reached its consummation—the subject liberty, the matter truth—condensed, heartfelt, argumentative, rapturous, and sublime. The speech of Pericles, and the orations of Demosthenes, are unimitated and inimitable. So matchless were the Athenians in arms, that, though few, they arrested the great king and his Asiatic myriads; while their city, though repeatedly overwhelmed, as winter's desolation disappears with the coming spring, soon resumed its importance and superiority, by the indomitable energy of its institutions. Whence this prodigy? Attica was not larger than an English county; but all its people were so intimately busied in public concerns, that Pericles in his glorious theme boasted that all the agriculturists of Attica were politicians. This caused Athens to be adorned by a constellation of prime men in every department; and thus they were enabled actually to transmit more names of more intense interest and ability, than many extensive nations, than all Europe in its feudal, regal, and half-organized being, for a thousand years. This was the fruit of their commonwealth[1], which, whether

[1] Thucydides, lib. ii. p. 122.

called a democracy by Pericles[1], or an aristocracy by Plato, was truly the greatest glory[2] of the Athenian people—emphatically the people, for to the intensity and antiquity of the people's political power,—and it was as old as Troy's siege in Homer's song[3],—the industry, the arts, and the intelligence of the Athenians are mainly to be attributed; and the memory of their pre-eminence at an interval of more than twenty centuries, now supports them against their own tyrants and their accessaries and confederates.

The humanity of the Athenians was paramount: their institutions declare that all should be supported; parents maintained their children, and children reciprocally relieved their parents. There were exceptions; as, were the child illegitimate, had the father prostituted[4] him, had he neglected to teach him a profession[5]. These exceptions did not proceed from any indifference to natural tenderness; on the contrary, the Greeks distinguished by a particular expression, *στοργη*, the endearment of parents for their offspring. The law, with these few exceptions of a

[1] Menesenus, p. 519. Comparing the explanation of Pericles in the preceding quotation, the difference is nominal.

[2] Dion. of Halic. lib. iii. c. 11. says, I may add that Pauro, the great detractor of the Athenians, is rapturous on the constitution of Athens.

[3] In the catalogue of ships, the name *people* is alone attributed to the Athenians.

[4] Æschines adv. Timarch. Demosth. Opera, p. 262.

[5] Vitruvius, lib. vi. Præf. The reason given by Philemon for this is, that a poor man without a profession cannot live safely. Apud Stobæum, sermo 30, p. 210. And by Plutarch, that it was necessary to promote manufactures in Attica.—Solonis Vita.

countervailing morality, peremptorily required children to support their parents in their infirmity, and eventually to minister to the wants of their grandfathers[1] and grandmothers; those who, being able, failed in this duty, were declared infamous,—a sentence which implied civil disabilities.

Childless individuals were consigned to their nearest relations by the law. The legislator, said Demosthenes[2], imposed this duty on them, because he granted all advantages to proximity of kindred. Plato[3] pursues the same regulation in his laws; and in cases of insanity, he amerces the relatives of the distracted person if he be seen at large.

When the domestic and kindred sources of benevolence were inadequate, the State relieved the wanting. Eschines[4] says, generally there were funds to maintain the indigent; this Plutarch[5] repeats. Lysias specifies an obolus a day; the amount varies in different writers. Probably the quantum fluctuated[6]; for how could degrees of want, and the changes in the value of money, be answered by one determinate sum? At all events, there can be no doubt respecting the right of the indigent; for in Lysias a poor man claims, in presence of the senate, his pension; on which occasion the only point debated is,

[1] Isaios de Ciron Success. p. 72.

[2] Adv. Leocharum, Opera, p. 1051.

[3] De Legib. lib. xi. p. 977.

[4] In Timarchum, p. 276. Demosth. Opera. [5] Solonis Vita.

[6] It might also have varied at different times; the Judges at Athens obtained three oboli; afterward they obtained only one. Petit Leg. Att. p. 323.

whether the applicant be poor and infirm; which he labours to prove, in opposition to those who, resisting his claims, stated that he was of a profitable profession, and that he rode on horseback*. The nothoi were entertained in the temple of Hercules, and the Prytanæum afforded a refuge for the old. To this Socrates alluded in his defence: "What," he interrogated, "do I deserve[1] to suffer? as a poor man, who is a public benefactor, to be supported at the Prytanæum," &c.

Thus, also, sufferers in the public service were supported at the nation's charge, and their children, who fought and fell for their country, were reared as the children of the State; for, said Pericles[2], "where the rewards of virtue are greatest, there will be the best men." Indeed, education was a general concern in the nations of Greece, and publicly maintained by them; and how admirable was their course of study and instruction, compared with the petty plodding and incongruous pedantry in our schools and colleges[3]! The same civil and politic education was common to the descendants of the same Greeks in their distant colonies. As they had public teachers of their youth, they hired public physicians. Thus

* We have no such paupers among us. At Buenos Ayres, however, there are equestrian mendicants; but horses are cheap there. Monthly Magazine, August 1821, p. 32.

[1] Plato, Opera, p. 28. [2] Thucydides, lib. ii. p. 129.

[3] The youths are taught Greek and Latin; but an aversion of the sentiments inculcated at "Athens and Free Rome" is at the same time sedulously instilled.

Democedes[1] was consecutively public physician, at a considerable price, at Ægina and Athens.

With every means to relieve the poor, domestic and public, every prevention was adopted to secure the less opulent from fiscal oppression. The expenses of the State were exclusively supplied by the most rich, who contributed in proportion to their riches[2]. Again, the utmost industry was practised; it was illegal to entertain an idle servant, and the Athenian maxim declared that an indolent was a bad citizen[3]. There were also fraternities at Athens, which granted a periodical allowance to those of their trade or calling, who suffered by casualty or disease.

The institutions preventive, assisting, and absolute, for the relief of the afflicted, were various. Sophocles said[4], "Man's noblest duty is to assist the wretched;" and no nation ever felt more keenly the cogency of that sentiment. They made their festivals in honour of the gods a general entertainment for the people. Thus, at the feast of Hecate[5], the poor were fed at public tables. No people were ever more solicitous for the support and comforts of the poor[6]. Demosthenes (and the orator's own generosity[7] equalled his

[1] Herodotus, lib. iii. c. 131. [2] Petit Leg. Att. p. 185, 425.

[3] Euripides apud Stobæum, sermo 20, p. 210.

[4] Œdip. Tyrannus, v. 322. [5] Petit Leg. Att. p. 385.

[6] They were so excessive in this point, that a mule was supported at the public charge, that had been employed at the temple. Aristotle, Hist. Animal. lib. vi. c. 24.

[7] He gave a talent himself to provide food for the people. Plutarch. Moralia, p. 457.

theme of munificence) said[1], "No Athenian can be so cruel as to repine at the relief of the indigent. What child is so unfeeling and senseless as to abstain from work, because his aged parent relaxes from toil with his years? We are bound by nature and the law, to repay our fathers in their decline, for their solicitude for us during our infancy. The laborious in their decay should be treated as the parents of the State; and so far from withdrawing the funds at present appropriated to the poor, we should rather add to their amount. The rich should resent any proposal for their reduction, as they are friends to justice, to themselves, and to the State; for to deprive the poor of necessaries, is to raise up enemies to the commonwealth."

I come now to the Chinese, the only nation which is at once ancient and modern. That they were a scientific nation twelve centuries before the Christian æra at least, is admitted: at that period they were certainly acquainted with dialling[2]; and, what is still more extraordinary, See-ouen, their *Johnson's* dictionary, is nearly two thousand years old. The population of this empire exceeds its comparative antiquity, as it contains between a third and fourth of all the inhabitants of the earth. The poor laws in this empire are various. First, children are obliged, if able, to support their parents[3]; and this duty is not cancelled, as in other States, by the pro-

[1] Philip. 4, Opera, p. 101.
[2] Deleuzé's Eudoxus, p. 143.
[3] Sir George Staunton's Embassy, vol. ii. p. 157.

fligacy of the father[1]; besides, should a criminal incur banishment by his offences, and his parents be sick or aged, the punishment is commuted for flagellation or fine[2]. Children who are capable and indisposed to support their parents, are subjected to one hundred blows[3]. Yet, after all that has been lately said against the Chinese[4], because they would not expose themselves to the missionary madness of the time[5], nor to mercantile adventurers, who, under the character of the feudatories of the Mogul, usurped the empire of India; nor abandon the customs of their country, because a British embassy impertinently willed the contrary, the British themselves holding custom a paramount law; in despite also of the opinion of Pauw[6], and the rash surmises of others[7], founded on

[1] Duhalde, vol. i. p. 285. [2] Staunton's Chinese Code, p. 20.
[3] Staunton, &c. p. 374.
[4] The Chinese did not originally prohibit the intercourse of strangers. Marco Polo was received without difficulty.
[5] I have quoted a decree of the Chinese on this point in my "Population," &c.; and the Japanese have excluded the Christian religion, on account of the proselyting disposition of its teachers; yet this country tolerates twelve religions.
[6] Mr. Barrow may be considered an evil reporter of the Chinese, but by no means indiscriminating therein. De Guignes, speaking of Mr. Barrow, says, "In reading the latter it is easy to perceive that he has adopted the opinions of a man (Pauw) whose prejudices against the Chinese are notorious, and whose account of that people is singularly erroneous." p. 214. Volney said as much of Pauw's opinions of the Americans.
[7] Such as the flogging code of China, which, however, is modified, according to Sir G. Staunton. Yet what is this in China to the state of Russia? Dr. Clarke says, "The Emperor (of Russia) canes the first of his grandees; princes and nobles

the impure society of Canton (their Wapping—colluvies omnium gentium), it is ascertained that the Chinese are not cursed by the sin of infanticide; that those supposed to be exposed were in effect still-born, or who died in extreme infancy: so said Mr. Barrow[1]; so said Mons. de Guignes; and Mr. Abel also affirms, that he did not meet with one instance, not even an equivocal proof, of this prodigious offence: he adds, that he saw many instances of strong parental affection. Lord Macartney, to the same purpose, declared, there is no country where paternal affection is stronger than in China; adding[2], "It is natural it should be so, because there is no country where filial respect and gratitude are so strong."

Should the aged or indigent have no children, they are cherished in various ways, according to the peculiarities of their situation. Bell[3] mentions an extraordinary donation by the Emperor to many old men; and this is countenanced by the instructions delivered to the Chinese ambassador on a late occasion, who was directed to reply to certain anticipated queries, that every year twenty or thirty are selected who have attained one hundred years and more; that ten thousand are found, in each province who have exceeded the age of ninety, who are suitably favoured and rewarded. The labourers employed by Government are particularly regarded[1], and their families also enjoy its countenance[2], as the relations of those killed in battle are solicitously supported[3]. It appears that in China there are receptacles for the deaf and dumb[4], foundling hospitals[5], public granaries containing rice and corn, which are distributed to the poor in scarcities[6]. Yet are all these modes of assisting the poor subordinate to the great code for the relief of the destitute. I have mentioned filial duty; and considering the affection of children, and the industry[7] of parents, we may pronounce that in such circumstances a considerable portion of distress is prevented by domestic tenderness. I have now to add, that should the old or indigent be childless and friendless, the laws order that they shall be maintained and protected by the magistrates of their native city or district. This law is published in Sir George

cane their slaves; and the slaves their wives and daughters. Ere the sun dawns in Russia, flagellation begins; and throughout this vast empire cudgels are going, in every department of its population, from morning until night." Travels in Russia, p. 37. Mons. de Guignes mentions, as horrible, that those who were employed to conduct the embassy, sold one half of the regular allowance for the ambassador. tom. ii. p. 439. Might not this be a perquisite of office? or, if not, is this a crime to the nation? Yet the Rev. Mr. Bingley says, the Welsh particularly pride themselves on being able to cheat their Saxon neighbours. Annual Register, 1804, p. 981.

[1] China, p. 175. [2] Works, vol. ii. p. 458.
[3] Pinkerton's Travels, &c. vol. vii. p. 444.

[1] Staunton's Chinese Code, p. 411. [2] Ibid. p. 264 et seq.
[3] Ibid. p. 230. [4] Duhalde, vol. ii. p. 125.
[5] Lettres Edifiantes, &c. tom. xix. p. 110. Barrow's Travels, p. 176.
[6] Duhalde, vol. i. p. 387.
[7] Barrow, in his Cochin China, speaks of the industry of the Chinese, and that they are the most useful inhabitants in Batavia. See Prior, p. 86. Phillips's Voyages, &c. They soon acquire comparative opulence.

Staunton's Chinese Code[1], and seems to be the same as that mentioned by Duhalde, who says that 1617 years before Christ, Tai-vou ordered that every town should support the old people out of the common treasury. This law, said Duhalde[2], continues to this day; and Sir George Staunton confirms his statement.

In Cochin China the systematic relief of the poor is implied, as Mons. de Poivre[3] says there is not a beggar in the country; though this expression of the traveller, I conclude, must be received with some modification[4].

Colonel Symes[5], speaking of the Birman empire, says, "A common beggar is no where to be seen; every individual is certain of receiving subsistence, which if he cannot procure by his own labour, is provided for him by others." This agrees with the relations of Marco Polo[6], who says that at Cambalu "bread is never denied to any one who asks it; and there is no day on which are not given away twenty thousand crowns, in rice, millet, and panike," &c. To the same effect Marco Polo[7] speaks of the king of Mangi, that he regarded the poor, and adopted twenty thou-

[1] p. 93. This order is peremptory; and should a magistrate neglect it, he is punishable with sixty blows. The richer Chinese are represented as very charitable; alms are reputed an atonement for crimes. See Davis's "Heir in his Old Age."

[2] vol. i. p. 303.

[3] Ann. Register, 1769. p. 246.

[4] Travels, Pinkerton, &c. vol. ix. p. 784.

[5] Embassy to Ava, vol. ii. p. 389.

[6] In Pinkerton, vol. vii. p. 138.

[7] Ibid. p. 149.

sand pauper children annually, who were reared to manhood. Akbar[1], in his Institutes, ordered that ten seers of grain should be paid for every begah of cultivated land in the empire, which were applied principally to relieve the indigent. And Timour[2] ordered that in every district of his dominions the mendicants should be collected and pensioned, "that the race of beggars might be extinct."

In the last paragraph I have mentioned the institutions of Mahometan and Hindoo princes, in relation to the poor of their respective States. It would, perhaps, be more interesting to detail the ordinances in both systems of policy in favour of the indigent and forlorn.

The customs, maxims, and laws of the Hindoos are often incongruous; and much ingenuity has latterly been exercised to depress the character of this people, who have been the victims of repeated conquests. Homer observed, that the day which reduced man to slavery, took from him half his worth. But the Hindoos have suffered repeated subjection, even to the transfer of the whole property of individuals to the Government; for English tyranny committed a double blunder, when its agents declared that the Zemindars were the rightful holders of the soil; neither honour nor profit is theirs. This horrible abasement might of itself account for the contradictions to which I have alluded; but when to foreign despotism we add native superstition, the one supported by mercenary troops, and the other by a vast

[1] Ayeen Akbery, p. 245.

[2] Timour's Institutes, p. 361.

ecclesiastical establishment, the hideous mystery is revealed. Thus, some tribes destroy their children[1], while they would not hurt any other living thing—fly, maggot, or reptile; and again, the individuals of one cast (casts being a brahminical invention to honour their own order) dare not relieve those of another[2], as by such kindness they would forfeit their own rank in society. This, of course, principally affects the lowest orders, limiting the relief of the poor to the poor; and hence comes the resignation of the wretched, who by this aristocratical arrangement are accustomed to say in their misery, "It is the custom, it belongs to their cast to bear this[3];"—as Shylock, the representative of all persecuted Hebrews, "for sufferance is the badge of all our tribe."

These are the fruits of prerogative and superstition; for Col. Walker asserts[4], that "the forms and maxims and all the religious tenets of the Hindoos are strongly opposed to the crime of infanticide." Besides, the law declares, "that a man is indispensably bound to support his family[5];" and by this law also, a father is obliged to endow his son in marriage[6], and the son is bound reciprocally to support his parents in their old age. The Institutes of Menu also provide equally for the education of the poor as of the rich.

The Hindoos are so charitable that they relieve in-

[1] Moor's Hindoo Infanticide, p. 48. [2] Tytler, vol. i. p. 247.
[3] Mrs. Graham's India, p. 144.
[4] In Moor's Hindoo Infanticide, p. 45.
[5] Digest of Hindoo Law, vol. i. p. 313.
[6] Dubois' Character, &c. p. 249.

ferior animals in their distress; at Amadabad there are two hospitals[1], one for sick birds, another for sick beasts; they have also receptacles for the vilest creatures[2]. This superhuman kindness does not proceed from an indirect misanthropy, such as Swift displayed in Gulliver's Travels, and Frederick the Great in his interment, when he directed that he should be buried among his dogs[3], but from boundless commiseration. "Hospitality and charity are not only strongly inculcated, but, I believe, no where more universally practised than among the Hindoos[4]," said one who personally knew this people. "Giving to the poor is among the six prescribed acts of the first-born class[5];" in consequence the Buniyas or merchants distribute alms to every wanting person who passes their doors[6], and the Jarejahs support so many that those whom they relieve have a particular designation[7].

Preparatory to my observations on the Mahometans, I may relate a few particulars respecting the Persians, ancient and modern. The Saddir[8] orders that the poor be fed, and this extends also to giving a mouthful to dogs; which injunction, I should suppose, had some connexion with the Hindoo custom[9],

[1] Stavorinus, Voyage, vol. ii. p. 488.
[2] Moor's Hindoo Infanticide, p. 183.
[3] Telle est la dernière marque de mépris qu'il a jugé à propos de donner aux hommes. Mirabeau Hist. Secrete, &c. tom. i. p. 108. [4] Sketches of the Hist. of the Hindoos.
[5] Sir William Jones's Works, vol. viii. p. 75.
[6] Broughton's Selection of Hindoo Poetry.
[7] Moor's Hindoo Infanticide, p. 78.
[8] See also the Zendavesta, tom. ii. p. 614. [9] Dubois.

by which the fragments of an entertainment are not set before the domestics, nor handed to the poor, but thrown to dogs and birds. What the Persians were in their native seat they continue in their banishment and persecution. The Parsees do not intermarry with strangers[1]; fruitfulness is still a distinction among them[2]. Their anxiety in relieving the poor is exemplary: "When a poor man's children are old enough to be married, which, according to the Hindoo custom, is five or six years old, the chief merchants subscribe sufficient to portion the child; in cases of sickness they support the individuals or the family, and maintain all the widows and fatherless[3]." The Parsees are the richest and greatest proprietors at Bombay[4], where they build those ships so celebrated for their structure and durability. I now proceed generally to the Mahometans.

D'Ohsson praises rapturously the charity of the Turks; and Thornton says, "They are the most humane and charitable of all the people upon earth;" which he refers exclusively to the influence of the Koran. Their charity is extreme, as it is not uncommon, as I have noticed of others, for individuals to distribute food to dogs and cats[5]. Howard[6] mentions

[1] Hamilton in Pinkerton, vol. viii. p. 320.

[2] Maintenant la fécundité est également honorable chez les Parsés.—Zendavesta, tom. ii. p. 611.

[3] Graham's India, p. 41. [4] Vincent's Nearchus, p. 345.

[5] Pertusiers, &c. p. 23. Phillips, &c.

[6] On Lazarettos, p. 64. In Rickford's Letters from Italy, it is said that persons make a trade of feeding cats in Florence, where they abound, being paid by the inhabitants.

an asylum for cats at Constantinople, near the mosque of St. Sophia. There can be no doubt, however, though Thornton greatly exaggerates its operation, that the Mahometan religion assists the native feeling[1], as many supposed duties, injurious or intolerable, from peculiar circumstances are commuted for deeds of charity. Thus, also, to erect and endow schools, which are largely attended[2], are enjoined as expiations: besides, there are free-schools for the poor of the quarter, where children are not only educated but boarded and lodged gratuitously: many such seminaries are registered in the books of the Stamboul Effendi, amounting to five hundred. Beside the regard to education, which, like other Government establishments, encourages principally an exclusive sectarian system, physicians are publicly entertained in all the considerable towns in Turkey[3], at a salary of 1000 or 1500 piastres a year.

By the Mahometan law, a labourer if he be sick is exempted from the capitation tax[4]; a debtor also must have subsistence out of his funds; and his wives, children, and uterine kindred must be also supported, "because his indispensable wants precede the right of his creditors[5]." Nor does the Mahometan law

[1] Hedaya, vol. i. p. 334—339. See also Hamilton's Preliminary Discourse, p. 61.

[2] Hobhouse's Travels, p. 980.

[3] Hobhouse, &c. p. 535. Thornton speaks of physicians of this kind, to whom every inhabitant is authorized to apply for advice and assistance, at Yassy and Bucharest, tom. ii. p. 367.

[4] Hedaya, vol. ii. p. 212.

[5] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 487. The pauper's provision seems to be four

neglect slaves. "They are your brethren whom God has placed in your hands; wherefore give them such food as ye yourselves eat, and such raiment as ye yourselves are clothed with, and afflict not the servants of your God [1]."

Before all things the Hedaya or Guide commands charity. Zakat begins the code, Zakat or charity signifies alms imposed by the law in opposition to Sadka, voluntary charity [2]. "Take," said Mahomet, "Zakat from the rich Mussulmans, and bestow it on the poor Mussulmans [3]." Zakat in consequence for some generations was faithfully collected and applied [4]. In most Mahometan countries the assessment is continued, but it is seized for the Sultan's treasury. Zakat is paid on all productions and profits, on property, merchandise, mines, &c. The amount is considerable. Ali Bey says [5], "The charitable tithes are equal to two and a half per cent. every year on all that a Mussulman possesses, except sheep and goats, for which only one per cent. is paid. These alms are given to the poor; but they are paid generally and without a critical calculation, as every heart sensible of the misfortunes of the poor contributes in a proportion much beyond that fixed by law."

I have now taken an extensive view of the legal obligation of societies and nations to support their

[1] pounds of wheat, or eight pounds of barley, or dates, each day.
[2] vol. i. p. 339.
[1] Hedaya, vol. i. p. 418. [2] Hamilton's Prelim. Disc. p. 62.
[3] Hedaya, p. 55. [4] Hedaya, Prelim. Disc. p. 63.
[5] Travels in Morocco, p. 94.

aged and indigent fellow citizens. I have shown that it is recognised in Asia, Africa, Europe; and America might be added to the summary, as it appears that in the country of the Incas one-fourth of the property of the State was reserved for the poor [1]; and Garcilasso de la Vega says [2], that in the time of the Incas beggars were unknown, all those who could not support themselves being maintained by the public.

CHAPTER IV.

The falsely imputed causes of the increase of poverty—first, the decrease of villenage or bondage.

IN specifying the imputed causes, if they should appear ludicrous or contradictory, the offence is not mine, but their authors'. The first vain allegation I shall notice is that of Sir F. M. Eden, the historian of the Poor Laws: he says [3], that "it was not until manufactures became firmly established the existence of the poor was first noticed by the legislature; the decrease of villenage seems necessarily to have been the æra of the origin of the poor." The meaning of this perplexed sentence seems to be, that improved industry and liberty were the proximate causes of poverty;

[1] Sir W. Temple's Works, vol. i. p. 208.
[2] Comment. Reg. lib. v. c. 9—11.
[3] vol. i. p. 60.

and his reason for this conclusion is, that at that period the poor were first noticed by the legislature. But would it not have been as logical to affirm that the notice of the poor by the legislature caused their poverty, as that freedom and manufactures made the people poor, or exposed them to want? The truth is, that the public interest expressed by laws and ordinances for the distressed, rather proves the increased kindness of the opulent than the increased afflictions of the poor[1]. Who believes that, until the law for the protection of slaves abandoned in Russia, barbarity was unknown, because it was unnoticed by the law? if not, the horrors of the slave trade began when Clarkson and Wilberforce, and the friends of the abolition, interested the public for the fate of the Negroes. Yet long antecedent, the same or greater atrocities were inflicted on the Africans: but then Blacks were reputed inferior beings, and legitimate objects of commerce; none doubted it: Queen Anne, in 1713, reserved to herself a fourth part of the Assiento contract[2]. Fanshaw's negotiation with Spain regarded the English slave trade[3]; and the treaty, in consequence of the war commenced in 1739 between England and Spain, contained only one article of commerce[4]—the same Assiento contract, that is, the

[1] In 1555, it was first legally noticed "that the highways were very noisome and tedious to travel in." Anderson's Commerce, vol. ii. p. 134. According to the reasoning of Eden, we should conclude, that up to that time the roads were good.

[2] Anderson's Commerce, vol. iii. p. 274. [3] Letters, p. 167.

[4] Droit Publique, &c. tom. iii. p. 182. England contracted to furnish 48,000 Negroes. Beawes's Lex Mercatoria, p. 539.

supply of the Spanish colonies with slaves by Englishmen. Slaves were treated then as now in Bourbon, where they and fed are worked worse than asses: if any attention was paid to them, it was not as human creatures, but as stock; humanity to them would have been reputed a weakness; even a few years ago, a planter, on hearing that a steward had killed some of his friend's slaves, guarded himself against the imputation of feeling for them, by saying that he was very angry at the act; not, however, that he cared for the *niggars*, but for his neighbour's property. Why, so lately as 1782, when one hundred and thirty negroes were thrown overboard alive, the captain of the ship Zong was not prosecuted criminally for murder, but on some curious point of jetsom and flotsom; and this merely to make the underwriters liable. To conclude that there were few poor, because they were unnoticed when slavery or villenage existed, is to decide against all experience; for one great cause of slavery is extreme poverty—the last thing saleable in exigency being self. This miserable exchange must have been common in England, as plague[1] and famine[2], visitations at present unknown in Great Britain, were frequent and extensive during its early history. Consider the

[1] So common was the plague in England, that if the 25th of January was cloudy, it foreboded the plague. Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. i. p. 35.

[2] In 1043 the quarter of wheat was seven or eight pounds, that is, about twenty-seven pounds of our present money. Henry's History of England, vol. ii. p. 342.

poverty which followed the Conquest, which reduced, according to some calculations, a half of the whole population. Slavery was universal in Europe; and yet in no country, according to Froissart [1], was slavery so rife as in England. A law was passed [2] in 1106 against the wicked sale of men in open market "like brute beasts;" yet this law was despised, and the sale of slaves continued as before; and so late as the thirteenth century [3] of the Christian dispensation [4], men, women, and children were sold in

[1] liv. ii. c. 74. [2] Eadmerus, iii, 68.

[3] Henry's History of England, vol. iii. c. 6, p. 491.

[4] Clarkson attributes every thing which has been done for slaves to the influence of Christianity, vol. i. p. 7. In no part of the Gospel is slavery reprobated. See Taylor's Summary of the Roman Law, p. 227. Yet, most strange, it is in the Hedaya, vol. i. p. 426, so far as the emancipation of male and female slaves is recommended by Mahomet: so foundlings are declared free, "because freedom is a quality originally inherent in man." Ibid. vol. ii. p. 258. If slavery be disagreeable to Christianity, why is it tolerated? Steele and Dickson mention an old Negro saying, "Christianity no made for black man in this country, 'cause black man can't prove nót'n 'gainst white man." p. 436. Yet much more criminal are the Americans; they boast themselves as peculiarly free and intelligent; then why do they endure slaves? In 1772 the Assembly of Virginia petitioned the Throne that the slave trade should be abolished; and in Massachusets, in 1767, a bill passed the legislature to that effect. To boast of a man's country is vanity, but to boast of a country which endures slaves is worse. Brackenridge, who visited South America by order of the American Government, says, "The prejudice, with respect to complexion, did not appear to me so strong as in the United States." Phillips's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 30. Americans, you are not free while you tolerate slavery among you.

this country, both for domestic use and foreign consumption [1].

Slaves were essentially poor, so poor that they could not possess property, so very poor that slavery was their respite from death by famine. Yet, to the decrease of slavery Sir F. M. Eden refers the increase of the poor. In fact, slavery extends distress over the whole nation; for that is comparatively a poor country where its productions are the fruit of bodily toil; and that is the fate of societies whose population labour in fetters [2]; neither masters nor slaves have any apprehension of shortening or facilitating human exertions by the application of science. In early times, and in different parts of the world, a mound was raised, up which the heavy architraves were rolled till they reached the level of the top of the columns; now a pulley and an upright at once raise the mightiest masses, and place them. In Egypt, according to Strabo, 150 persons were occupied in drawing water, which now one man and a forcing pump and pipe fully effect. Not to multiply instances, Sir Ker Porter, in his Russian Travels, says, "What in England would be easily performed by one horse, with a little mechanical aid, is here achieved by the united strength of numbers of men."

Slavery, beside excluding scientific processes, and

[1] Hiber. Expurg. p. 770. Slaves were named as a commodity of known value. Ware, vol. ii. p. 1.

[2] Turgot said wisely, Ce fut un des inconvéniens de l'esclavage des anciens d'avoir rendu l'industrie stationaire, d'avoir diminué le commerce, ou de l'avoir empêché de s'étendre. Œuvres, tom. ii. p. 359.

those aids which make matter the active agent of man, effectually increases the expense of bodily labour. The aversion to slavery, which forces parents to deform their children[1] lest they should be appropriated by their tyrants, which induces the slave in the middle passage to take refuge in the ocean, or on land to incur the disease called *mal d'estomac* by swallowing dirt, influences all their movements; they do as little as they can[2], they destroy as much as they dare[3]. Hence they are abused, maimed, scourged[4] to extremity by their brutal tyrants; for slave masters, whether they command few or many[5], blinded by rage, sacrifice the health, the vigour, and the lives of the victims of their power. All are scourged of course. Hamilton[6] saw, in Egypt, a thousand persons carrying earth from the bed of a canal, to fill

[1] Robertson's America, b. ii. p. 185.

[2] Herrenschwand says, respecting slavery, "Force may command labour, but it never can command industry." Month. Rev. O. S. vol. lxxvi. p. 102.

"——— Ita, Davus, amicum
Mancipium domino et frugi quod satis, hoc est:
Ut vitale putes.

The slaves at Rome were intemperate and short-lived.

[4] Dumont's Travels; Phillips's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 10.

[5] Humboldt says, "Those who have not lived in the colonies, or who have dwelt only in the West India Islands, generally imagine that the master's interest in the preservation of his slaves must render their life more comfortable, in proportion to the smallness of the numbers; yet at Cariaco, a few years before my arrival in the province, a planter who possessed but eight Negroes, caused the death of six of them by flogging." This exceeds the notorious destroyers Huggins and Hodges.

[6] Ægyptiaca, p. 273.

up a breach made by the last inundation in the dyke, who were flogged by others with whips and sticks. It was so at Rome; it is so in the West Indies. Thus, by the very constitution of slavery the destruction of its wretches, their hatred, enmity, idleness react, and their fallen state is avenged on their tyrants. Slave labour, though the slave's price and maintenance be small[1], is always costly in comparison to that of free men, whose wages are substantially less as their labour is greater[2]. That free labour is the better bargain, is proved by the testimony of many experienced individuals, by Steele and Dickson, by Sanderson[3], by Waller, who, though in a tone of exaggeration, says that a labouring man in an English farm would do more work than twenty field Negroes in our colonies[4]. The expensiveness of slave labour is proved in various ways. When the lands of Italy and Sicily were cultivated by slaves, they ceased to be productive[5]; while, with the return of freedom, many nations retrieved their agriculture and industry. It is re-

[1] Yet it is in the West Indies 5*l*. 11*s*. currency, or 3*l*. 19*s*. 3*d*. sterling.

[2] Mr. Ricardo considered it a sort of contradiction that wages might rise and profits increase: nothing is more common, as in the case of slaves and free men. I know a gentleman who pays one-fourth more wages to labourers than others in his neighbourhood; yet I believe this increase of wages doubles the work done.

[3] He recommends for the benefit of Trinidad to encourage Péons emigrants from the Spanish main; they are free labourers.

[4] Mons. Say thought the contrary, tom. i. p. 216, edit. 1803: one of the very few mistakes in the work of that excellent man.

[5] Phillips's Voyages, &c. vol. ii. p. 91.

markable, that the Polish chancellor Zamoiski tripled the value of his estate by emancipating his peasants[1]. And yet we shall be told by Eden, that liberty and poverty were cause and consequence; and that manufactures superadded to the paupers of the country. Slavery under every modification is most pernicious; it outrages man, and brutalizes the master; it is worse than social war and domestic hostility; for it afflicts mankind with a repugnance and aversion greater than torments brute beasts of the most malignant antipathies. With the liberation from villenage in England—and villenage was slavery—dawned the useful arts, and opulence, and industry, which have long distinguished this country among the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER V.

Increase of manufactures a falsely imputed cause of increased pauperism.

IF few concur with Sir F. M. Eden, in attributing the supposed increase of paupers to the abolition of villenage, many agree with him respecting the pauperising effects of manufactures; though it is notorious that manufactures broke the feudal bondage, and ministered to the necessities of all. Yet, if we attend to the general declaimers, we must conclude

[1] Ann. Register, 1791, p. 207.

that manufactures, however they may serve certain classes of the community, are the fruitful source of the pauper population. Mr. Loudon[1] and Lord Harrowby say so. Mr. Brougham, in the Edinburgh Review, also says, "The farmer employs a few hands, the manufacturer a whole colony; the farmer causes no material augmentation to the number of paupers; the manufacturer multiplies paupers by wholesale; the one supports, the other makes paupers;" &c. The Quarterly Review, to the same effect, declares "that poor rates are ruinous only in manufacturing districts"—"that manufactures multiply paupers[2]"—"for the main causes of the increase of pauperism it is needless to go further than the increase of manufactures." The statement is a solecism. What is not a manufacture? Is cloth a manufacture, and grain not? I perceive no difference, except as one is eaten and the other is worn; for both, and all things not the spontaneous growth of the earth, are truly manufactured. Waving this question, however, I deny the alleged fact, that manufactures especially burthen the poor rates. In 1803 the paupers, by a return to parliament, were in the manufacturing county of Lancaster seven in the hundred, or one-fourteenth of the population; while in Oxford and Berkshire they were twenty and twenty-one in the hundred, or about one-fifth of the population. In Sussex the poor rates levied amount-

[1] Edinburgh Review, June 1816, p. 267.

[2] Quar. Review, December 1813, p. 340. See also No. 37, p. 85.

ed to 275,000*l.*, and the population in 1811 was 190,000; while in Lancashire, where the population was 823,309, the rates did not exceed 261,730*l.* Thence it follows, that a less sum was expended on the paupers of above four times the population of this manufacturing county, than was expended on the paupers of the agricultural population of Sussex: and observe still further, that by the return to parliament last year (1822) the charges in Lancashire on the poor rates, for which the poor receive no advantage, amounted to 34 per cent.; while the same charges in Sussex did not exceed 9 per cent.

I am at a loss to conjecture what originated the imagination, that manufactures chiefly burthened the poor rates [1]. Wilkinson, the great iron manufacturer of Bradley in Staffordshire, petitioned parliament that his workmen might be deemed extra-parochial [2]; engaging at the same time to provide for his workmen among themselves. Ruggles begins his Letters on the poor by "an investigation of the causes that produce so much misery and distress among our *agricultural* poor." Hitherto the manufacturing poor were considered as in some measure exempted from misery; and long antecedent to this period Sir W. Petty affirmed that manufactures were preferable to agriculture, as being more profitable. Yet latterly a

[1] This has been so much latterly the current belief, that the Monthly Review endeavours to explain the cause of it, saying that manufactures are established in districts of comparatively little fertility. May 1819, p. 102.

[2] Month. Rev. O. S., vol. lxxviii. p. 516.

different opinion became popular, contrary to facts, and contrary, I think, to theory or reasonable conjecture.

Whether this or that class be the more or less liable to occasional difficulties, I do not determine; but in England it is erroneous to repute the agricultural body the sustaining order, and the manufacturing the pauper and dependent. After what I have stated, perhaps it would be unnecessary to add, that Mr. Colquhoun [1], after a review of a great variety of documents, declared, "that, contrary to the received opinion, the number of paupers in counties which are chiefly agricultural exceeds those where manufactures prevail."

Connected with the foregoing error, is reputing the manufacturing class eminently profligate and ungovernable. Inasmuch as manufactures helped the liberation of the people from the feudal dominion [2], they of course, to the inveterate admirers of *the wisdom of our ancestors*, are reputed accessary to all waywardness in morals and politics. Thence considerable towns, frequently the creations of manufactures, have been regarded with suspicion; and repeated ordinances were issued by Elizabeth, Crom-

[1] On Indigence, p. 274.

[2] "The faint dawn of the arts and of good government in that age (1381) had excited the minds of the people in different States of Europe to wish for a better condition, and to murmur against those chains which the laws enacted by the haughty nobility and gentry had so long imposed on them," &c. Hume's History, vol. iii. p. 6. This confused in metaphor is good otherwise.

well, and both the Charleses, against the increase of London[1]. But it is the purely manufacturing towns which have excited the most monstrous reprobation; as by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker in England, and by the Rev. Mr. Burns[2] in Scotland. The latter (speaking of Paisley) says, "In general it may be remarked, that as a place increases in extent and in population, it also increases in wickedness." If this reverend gentleman speak truly, the original sin is a growing evil, and the order to "increase and multiply" is an indirect command to aggravate crimes and offences. The Edinburgh Review, however, regards the numerous population of Paisley not merely with patience, but admiration. "There is not," it states, "in our empire a more intellectual and accomplished order of workmen than the weavers of Paisley[3]." The same Review[4] specifies many large manufacturing towns where there are few or no paupers: and sure I am that now, with a population doubled since the time when Fletcher of Saltoun wrote, "the paupers in Scotland do not amount to twenty thousand:" yet Fletcher, when comparatively manufactures were unknown, computed that two hundred thousand vagrants infested this country. I therefore conclude

[1] Anderson in his Commerce has collected many particulars, vol. ii. p. 200, 243, 278, 452, 582.

[2] Hist. Disquisitions, &c. p. 240.

[3] May 1820, p. 394. The same Review observed, that in some parts of England, in the manufacturing districts, the use of soda water had descended to the lower orders, and expelled spirituous liquors. Feb. 1815, p. 374.

[4] Feb. 1818, p. 296.

that the reproaches against manufactures, as increasing the poor, are unfounded. Manufactures, on the contrary, relieve others, and support themselves. Equally unfounded is the abuse of great towns in multiplying the comparative poor: the population returns prove, that in counties with large towns and manufactories, the rates are lower than in counties where the population is scattered and agricultural; and the largest city in the world at this side China also confirms this statement. The historian of the Poor Laws thus concludes[1]: "So that, notwithstanding the extreme misery and wretchedness which are said to prevail more particularly in this great city (London[2]), the proportion of persons receiving parochial aid is much greater in the country than in the metropolis." In respect to Sussex and London, the population of London is six times greater, and the expenses of its poor less than double; that is, the poor, in respect to the population, are three times more numerous or chargeable in Sussex than in London. In regard to the nation at large, while the paupers compared with the population in the metropolis were eight in a hundred, those in the country were twelve in a hundred; that is, they were in London a third less than in all the other parts of the kingdom.

[1] History of the Poor Laws, vol. i. p. 456.

[2] London is the Corinth of the time—Ολβιοι κειναν πολιν ανερες οικησουσι. Ου παντος ανδρος εις Κορινθον εσθ' ὁ πλους. Themistius attributes this to the winds. Orat. 15, p. 195. It is translated by Horace, Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.

CHAPTER VI.

Increased machinery a falsely imputed cause of the increase of poverty. Mr. Owen's plan and works reviewed.

IF the censures respecting the abolition of villenage and the increase of manufactures be vain, what judgement should be passed on those who refer pauperism and distress to the extension of manufactures by improved machinery? Yet a few adepts of a new school have attained this wondrous conclusion; just as certain empirics talk of diseases increased by the seasons—the bilious succeeded by the atrabilious—this by the hypochondriac, which terminates in *mæstitia sine causa;* verily the increase of machinery is of this very type—a causeless sorrow. Such being the result of the New View of Society, better by far is the superstitious reverence of the Hindoo tradesmen, who honour their implements of industry by a festival, on which "they present, as to so many deities, their supplications that they would continue propitious, and afford them the means of living[1]." That men subsisting by their manual labour should discredit machinery, is easily understood; but that others, who are what they are in consequence of machinery, should lament the improvements by Watt and Arkwright, is a perversion both of feeling and intelligence.

[1] Dubois, p. 383.

Mr. Owen is as inexpert as he is fantastic: he stumbled at the threshold; he called taxation a curse,—this excited the enmity of our financiers, and of Mr. Vansittart[1] particularly: he also stated[2], that Bell's plan of educating the poor in the tenets of the Church of England was an attempt to ward off a little longer the dreaded period of a change from ignorance to reason, from misery to happiness. This was quite sufficient for Mr. Canning erroneously to declare in parliament, that Mr. Owen's scheme was the first, as far as he knew, of a community in Christendom which admitted no religion. But these, it may be said, were casualties in Mr. Owen's setting forth; and if they proved his indiscretion, they evinced his sincerity[3] and independence, which I fully admit. Yet in no one particular does Mr. Owen approach truth, except in his intention. He calls his essay a "New View of Society:" yet, after tormenting the world with his assumed inventions, he ultimately acknowledged, "none, no not one of my principles has the least claim to originality[4]." Moreover, he finds that Bellers had broached his opinions a century ago. In fact, his *New View* is as old as imperfect reasoning, limited views, and dogmatic

[1] Morn. Chron. Dec. 17, 1819. Mr. Vansittart said he did not intend to have him prosecuted as a libeller.

[2] p. 152.

[3] Though this politicly was unwise. He deserves, otherwise, great credit for his manliness in declaring his opinion at the London Tavern, and in the Limeric newspaper in January 1823.

[4] Last Essay in vol. p. 11.

presumption. To confine ourselves to examples within the last two centuries: We find the English legislature in 1633 [1] anticipated the "New View," by stopping a sawing-mill, lest labouring people should want employment. And an autocrat of Russia about the same time evinced a corresponding sagacity; for on a Dutchman observing, while he saw three hundred men tugging a vessel on the Volga, that the same work could be better done by thirty men and machinery, "the Emperor," says Whitelock [2], "called him knave, and asked him, If a boat that now went with three hundred were brought to go with thirty, how then should the other two hundred and seventy men get their living?" These sagacious observations precede Mr. Owen's a century and a half. Whether he or the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor forerun the other in similar remarks, I cannot say; but in the second volume [3] of that miscellany the introduction of cotton mills is lamented, because they abridged human labour, one hundred persons spinning more yarn and of better quality by a mill, than three thousand of the best spinners by hand; which, the writer adds, has thrown many cottagers' families out of employment, and obliged them to seek relief from the parish. Suppose that they had been dispossessed of their occupation by machinery—have not the extraordinary profits

[1] Anderson's Commerce, vol. ii. p. 469.

[2] Memorials, p. 623.

[3] p. 362. There is also a lament that corn mills have been converted into mills for manufactories: vol. ii. p. 21.

from machines enabled parishes to answer the claims on them in consequence, and leave a superfluity in store?

Mr. Owen's ignorance is not only extreme in respect to the novelty of his proposal, but his errors are most offensive from his self-sufficiency: he demands "the devotion [1] of the minds of the parties he addresses;" a claim which outgoes the Bishop of London's request from his hearers, "of a prostration of the understanding." Mr. Owen says "he has hitherto, except in part, withheld his knowledge from the people, because he has been afraid they would act upon it, in their present neglected and unprepared state, with too much precipitancy to benefit themselves and others [2]," &c. Here Mr. Owen speaks of his scheme as the infatuated Platonists did of Truth itself. Yet this cautious speculator, who feared to reveal his pauper parallelograms naked in all their charms, lest the people, in heedless admiration, should dote and adore them with boyish ravishment, has crowded the world with publications severally addressed—to the Prince Regent—to the British Public—to the Superintendants of Manufactories—to All Lovers of Truth—to the British Legislature—to the Earl of Liverpool—to the Archbishop of Canterbury—to the Lords and Commons of Great Britain—to the Governments of Europe and America—to the Allied Powers assembled in Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle—to all these and others has he addressed himself at different times. Nay more; at a meeting in

[1] Address, &c. p. 4.

[2] Ibid. p. 25.

the county of Lanark last year, he said he "had expended upwards of fifty thousand pounds in various measures to prepare the public to take this important question fairly into consideration[1]." Yet the people, whose precipitancy he feared, treat him as the deaf adder, "which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely." So little infected are they with the projector's enthusiasm, that rich and poor are inert, or averse to become inmates or subscribers to the New Jerusalem by Robert Owen.

Certainly never man exhibited less management in his pursuits: first exalting himself above all[2] past, present, and to come, he says that "in every instance I found the results (of my system) to exceed my most sanguine expectations"—that this system will "relieve mankind from this mortal disease and all its miseries." And again, in proportion to his own self-exaltation, debasing all others—"From my own experience I hesitate not to say, there are not any individuals in Britain, who have been trained to elect or to be elected, and in either capacity to be of any real service to mankind." Verily, Robert Owen is greater in his own mind than Jupiter in the pagan world. To Jupiter nothing was similar or second, but Robert Owen is among men the mighty unit in a world of cyphers.

Yet this person of superhuman pretension is perhaps guiltier of more false assertions than any one who has in any way presumed to direct the intelli-

[1] Times, April 21, 1821.

[2] See also his Letter to Major Cartwright, p. 54.

gence of mankind. I have spoken of his *New View*, which is confessedly old. He also states "that the value of the national funds was higher in 1792 than in any other period, (the 3 per cents had been 103, however,) and pauperism among the working classes was but little known[1]." What ignorance of the whole history of the English nation! Thus he acknowledges that he never heard of the beggars' petition[2], which runs thus: "that the foul unhappy sort of lepers and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only on alms, how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of the well-disposed people of this your realm is not half enough to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger." And this the beggars attribute "to the devouring clergy, bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, somners," &c. The statute book fully exposes the difficulty of providing for the poor in Elizabeth's reign. James the First also, from the same cause, in a long letter recommended, among other things, the culture of mulberry trees and manufacturing silk, in order that "multitudes of people, of both sexes and of all ages, such as in regard of impotency are unfit for other labour, may be set to work, comforted, and relieved," &c. The 1st of Charles the First[3]

[1] Memorial, &c. p. 12.

[2] Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 218.

[3] Reeves, vol. iii. p. 172. This increase of the poor was partly attributed to the resort of people to London. Anderson's Commerce, vol. ii. p. 463. And to remedy this, which was also supposed

complains of the increase of the poor, and the means adopted to reduce the price of provisions. In 1648, during the Commonwealth, a petition was sent from Leicestershire, in order to supply provision for the poor, and to set the people to work as in Holland; and the act[1] was passed. The preamble of the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second states "the necessity, number, and continual increase of the poor to be very great and exceeding troublesome." Are not the laws respecting the poor proofs of the inconvenience of the poor? In 1673[2] it was proposed "that the fishing trade be encouraged, all poor set at work to provide tackle for that use, and be laid out of the money collected yearly in every parish throughout England for relief of the poor." Again, in 1677 it was proposed to build a working alms-house in every county, "considering the great complaints of poverty, the heavy burdens most parishes be under to maintain their poor, which daily increase, the swarms of beggars, vagrants, and idle people, in city and country[3]," &c. Gregory King calculated that in 1688 there were 400,000 paupers in Britain. Davenant[4] laments the Act for the maintenance of the poor, considering that it is the bane and destruction of all manufactures; as it encourages, he says, sloth and beggary: adding, that we pay as much to the poor as to the main-

to arise from the price of provisions, the Star-chamber in 1633 reduced the prices. Ibid. p. 468.

[1] Whitelock, p. 381.

[2] Harleian Miscellany, vol. viii. p. 16.

[3] Ibid. p. 120.

[4] Works, vol. i. p. 100.

tenance of government and our own protection. S. Darker[1] in 1698 complained that in sixty years rates had increased from forty shillings to forty pounds, and double that sum. Sir W. Temple[2] expressed similar sentiments. Bellers spoke "of the cries and misery of some, and the lewdness of others of the poor, and the charge the nation is at," &c. King William[3], in a speech from the throne, said "that the increase of the poor is become burthensome to the kingdom," &c. Yet, heedless and ignorant of these notorious documents, Mr. Owen, supposing Watt's and Arkwright's improvements had attained maturity in 1792, affirms that up to 1792 pauperism was little known. How has it happened that Mr. Owen never read Child[4] on Trade, or Locke's Report, drawn up at the beginning of the last century, which complains both of the numerous poor, and the increased taxes for their maintenance? How has that common book, The Increase of Robbers, by Fielding[5], escaped him? Fielding, who in 1753 said

[1] Ruggles, vol. i. p. 165.

[2] vol. i. p. 265.

[3] Ann. Register, 1817, p. 266.

[4] That our poor in England have always been in a most sad and wretched condition,—some famished for want of bread, others starved with cold and nakedness, and many whole families in all the out parts of cities and great towns commonly remain in a languishing, nasty, and useless condition, uncomfortable to themselves and unprofitable to the kingdom,—this is confessed and lamented by all men.—Child on Trade, p. 55.

[5] Besides, Fielding observes, that "it is matter of astonishment, in a country where the poor are beyond all comparison more liberally provided for than in any other part of the habi-

"the poor are a very great burthen, and even a nuisance"; and again, "every man who hath any property must feel the weight of the tax." In 1764[1] many pamphlets were published on the increase of the poor. This and their expense to the nation were reiterated in different publications[2].

In 1775[3] the pressure of the poor was generally lamented: and among various projects for easing the charge of their maintenance[4], houses of industry were generally preferred. Still the increase of the poor rates continued to be the common complaint[5]. Then followed Mr. Gilbert's bill for the better relief of the poor, in 1781[6]. And let me remark, that during all this period scarcely a month elapsed without publications on the high price of provisions[7], which indicated the irksomeness of the poor, and the progress of the rates. The Monthly Review, in 1787, in reviewing the Rev. John Ackland's Treatise on the

table globe, there should be more distressed and miserable objects than are to be seen throughout all the states of Europe." p. 48.

[1] Month. Rev. Old Series, vol. xxxii. p. 313.

[2] See Monthly Review, vol. xxxiv. p. 325, vol. xxxvi. p. 195, vol. xxxviii. p. 416, vol. xlii. vol. lii. p. 315.

[3] Month. Rev. Old Series, vol. liii. p. 33. [4] Ibid. p. 470.

[5] Ibid. vol. lix. p. 76. [6] Ibid. vol. lxvi.

[7] To which the reader may turn, by looking at the following notices in that repository of literature the Monthly Review, vol. xxxv. p. 147, 474, 477, 479; vol. xxxvi. p. 70, 72, 74, 76, 237, 321, 322, 323, 387, 488; vol. xxxvii. p. 40, 470; vol. xxxviii. p. 75, 78, 79, 254; vol. xxxix. p. 158, 394; vol. xl. p. 140; vol. xliv. p. 240; vol. xlvi. p. 258, 620, 621; vol. xlviii. p. 74, 345; vol. xlix. p. 14, 70, 322.

Poor, begins, "The increase of the poor rates hath been a long and growing complaint, and the burthen is at this day so grievous, that if some remedies be not applied to relieve it, the landed interest, oppressed as it is by such an accumulation of taxes, must in time sink under its weight[1]." Let me also remark, that in 1788 Mr. Beaufoy, under the same impression, calculated that in fifty years the poor rates would amount to eleven millions, "a burthen which the country could not bear." After this exposition, what credit is due to Mr. Owen for knowledge or discretion, who affirmed that prior to 1792 "pauperism among the working classes was but little known?" Mr. Owen's capital assertion being falsified by the concurrent evidence of all best qualified to testify respecting the ancient pressure and extent of pauperism, I proceed to notice the specific evil of which he complains.

His first grand dogma worthy of notice is, that at Lanark[2], at his own mills, 1600 persons, by the aid of scientific labour, will complete as much work as 160,000 could have effected forty years ago; and that "the immediate cause of the present distress is the depreciation of human labour by mechanism in Europe and America, but principally in Great Britain, where the change was greatly accelerated by the inventions of Arkwright and Watt:—the certain consequence of the undirected progress of this power

[1] Month. Rev. Old Series, vol. lxxvi. p. 61. See also vol. lxxv. p. 303.

[2] Memorial, &c. p. 20.

will be to reduce the exchangeable value of manual labour, until it falls below the means of producing a wretched subsistence for any large proportion of the working classes, while the remainder of them must be starved out of existence[1]." This is the true rhodomontade. Where has the introduction of machinery destroyed the population? I am ignorant of any single instance of such desolation. I say it is impossible; for, if machinery should extinguish the working population, machinery must destroy its customers, and thus cease to exist. Yet this practical man says, that if machinery be not controuled by his sagacity, one half of the working population will be wretched, and the remainder starved.

Robert Owen of New Lanark outstrips Hegesias[2] of Cyrene, who so eloquently exposed the miseries of life, that many slew themselves in desperation of their fate. Nay, he actually surpasses Mr. Malthus and his general pressure against subsistence, and his transcendental geometry. And how is this *end-all* to be effected? By machines increasing *wealth* to superfluity. "There is," says Mr. Owen, "now given[3] to the world the means of creating *wealth* far more rapidly than it can be used," &c. Here again the potentiality of manufacturing exceeds Mr. Malthus's dreadful account of the generative faculty:—but does the power hypothetically assumed, prove practically

[1] Report, &c. p. 3.

[2] Ideoque a rege Ptolemæo ulterius hac de re disserere prohibitus est.

[3] Page 15.

any necessary excess? Men may be born beyond the employment of human labour—so may cotton twist be spun beyond its consumption; but eventually will not the supply be controuled by the demand? Many spinning machines in Ireland have become insolvent; and at Trowbridge[1] a manufactory was sold by auction for less than the price of the ground on which it was built a few years preceding. The power of making any article is virtually annulled by the inability to sell it for the cost of production. Some time since fabrics were sold under the weavers' wages; this corrected itself: cotton-wool, from excess of import, sold below its prime cost in India[2]; the import was of course restricted. There is occasionally an excess of workmen, as there is a deficiency of them, in different places and at various times. If men were as prolific as the aphides, whose union[3] fecundates several generations, or manufacture with the facility of Fortunatus in his wishing-cap, there would not be more men, or more linens and calicoes; for an excess implies an evil, even of *wealth*, if Mr. Owen chooses that misapplied term; and the name of Midas affords the moral of the tale.

Mr. Owen, while he portends the approaching end of mankind from machinery, proclaims the present results of mechanical industry. "Such," says Mr.

[1] Morn. Chron. Dec. 6, 1819.

[2] Cotton wool, which cost 12*d.* in Bengal, was sold in 1818 and 1820 in England at 6*d.* It is said that quantities of spices were reshipped from London for the East.

[3] Month. Rev. vol. lxxxvii. p. 461.

Owen, "is the nature of the contest which has already continued for some time, and which now exists in full activity, between scientific power and manual labour, between knowledge and ignorance[1]." Thus Robert Owen, with genuine simplicity, avows himself the champion of manual labour and ignorance.

Well, how does this advocate for ignorance propose to remedy the ruinous contest between scientific power and manual labour? Interrogatively, thus—"Why are any idle poor in these kingdoms? *Solely*[2], because so large a portion of the population have been permitted to grow up to manhood in gross ignorance." Thus, one time he advocates ignorance against science, and anon ignorance is the only evil. Mr. Owen would be considered unique; and he is unlike every other man I have encountered—so far he has attained his object. His premises and conclusion are both wrong. He has not the merit of madmen, who often reason well from fantastic data: there is no coherence or juncture in his statements, facts, or arguments. If he resemble any thing in prose or poetry, it is Falstaff's hostess[3]—"a man knows not where to have her:" no man knows where to have Robert Owen.

How are the crying sins, imputed by him to Watt and Arkwright, to be corrected by better educating the people? Will education reduce machinery?—

[1] Memorial, &c. p. 5. [2] New View, p. 166.
[3] Henry the Fourth, act iii. scene 3.

Suppose all mankind brigaded into villages, and cultivating the earth with the spade instead of the plough, and all using public kitchens instead of each boiling a domestic pot;—how shall this control machinery, and render a country most populous and most rich? The Paraguay villages, though superintended by the Jesuits and recruited by kidnapping the Indians on a large scale, unhappily for the theories of Mr. Malthus and Mr. Owen, declined in population and prosperity. Such was the result of this arrangement, though the inhabitants of the Reductions married early, had abundance of food, were not overworked, and were innocent of machinery.

But Mr. Owen is not a Jesuit, and New Lanark is not Paraguay. True. Let us suppose also, that machinery is the monster which Mr. Owen represents it;—I ask, how is the hiving of paupers or others in villages according to the designs of Mr. Owen, to remedy or palliate the injuriousness of machinery as stated by him? He says, Now 1,600 men can complete by machinery as much work as 160,000 some years ago. Here is the evil, according to him. But how will aggregating them in villages counteract the evil of one man exceeding by machinery the manual toil of a hundred? Does he intend by thronging men into villages, as Tippoo did the people of Calicut in 1788, to reduce machinery?—and truly his speculations to confound property and labour tend to that conclusion. Mr. Owen's scheme resembles that of Gonzalo's in Shakspeare's Tempest:

" I' the commonwealth, I would by contraries
Execute all things—for no kind of traffic
Would I admit—riches, poverty,
And use of service none.
No use of metal—
All things in common nature should produce,
Without sweat or endeavour; treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine
Would I not have; but nature should bring forth
Of its own kind, all foizon, all abundance
To feed my innocent people[1]."

Antonio then remarks on the projector's extravagance, " the latter end of his commonwealth forgot the beginning." But the beginning, middle, and end of Mr. Owen's village system succeed in dead oblivion of each other; if indeed their flagrant contradiction does not imply a studied insult to the reader.

But the great point assumed—the injuriousness of machinery wants facts and arguments and illus-

[1] Tempest, act ii. sc. 1. Mr. Owen says, " By this arrangement they will receive all their external supply, and thereby render money and all money transactions wholly unnecessary: thus all bargaining and its degrading effects on the human character will be obviated." " But even this stage of society will be but temporary; for by the most simple arrangements, which will be beneficial to all, supply may be made so far to exceed any possible demand, that it will be discovered, in a comparatively short time, that all may use whatever they desire, without the necessity existing for the intervention of any immediate or direct equivalent." Dublin Morning Post, Nov. 6, 1822.—" Each person, according to his ability, to labour for the good of the whole:" this and other remarks appended to graphic illustrations of his parallelograms. Morning Herald, Sept. 3, 1822.

trations for its support; it is baseless even in its pretensions. The sum of the dogmatist's conclusion is, that mechanical ingenuity is more operative and cheaper than common labour, and thence that it pauperizes the common labourer. The only possible suggestion for such an opinion is, that on the immediate adoption of any great improvement, some individuals occasionally suffer a temporary loss of employment in a particular branch. If this be a valid objection, all improvements and changes whatever should be forbidden[1]. Yet in respect to these few persons, it is erroneous to imagine that they are rendered destitute, because their habits are disturbed. Cannot they direct their industry to other occupations? Of what profession are they who cannot diverge from the beaten track into some other path in the ample field of industry? I don't know any persons of such incommunicable habits: indeed the law of apprenticeship has attempted to consign them to poverty;—but is there any trade which is not intimately associated with others in many important particulars? Should we draw the inference which the *New View* would induce, we should conclude that many individuals who had been employed in manual labour were discharged in consequence of machinery, and left destitute—a few of them performing by machinery the business of all.

[1] Thus, on an intimation that hoops would be dispensed with, the Morning Herald, May 29, 1820, said it tended to lower the British court in Europe, and add to the distress of manufacturers.

Yet, comparing the number employed before and since the introduction of scientific machinery, many more are now occupied than during those periods when the rude and the rudest processes directed the workmanship of society. Machinery provides occupation for all—

> Men, maidens, youths,
> Mothers and little children, boys and girls,
> Enter, and each the wonted task resumes.

And this population is exclusive of the persons employed in the erection and superintendance of the machines. The reason is obvious. Scientific labour cheapening the cost of production, increases customers, nay creates them; and in so doing multiplies at once commodities and people. Take for example the cotton manufactory in Great Britain. Half a century ago this branch of industry produced two or three hundred thousand pounds; it now amounts to thirty or forty millions sterling. The trade and the people busied in this immense manufacture have in some measure been called into being by scientific mechanism, which, while it multiplies mankind and clothes multitudes[1], increases the capital wealth of the state, and thus fructifies the whole circle of trade and commerce.

Nor is the effect limited to the inventions of Watt and Arkwright, it operates in all directions. Consider

[1] An ell of linen in Shakspeare's time cost 8*s.*, of our present money about 1*l.* 10*s.* Such was put in Falstaff's shirt. Henry IV. act iii. sc. 3. The same sum would now buy a whole piece of cotton.

that sovereign invention—printing[1]. This certainly affected many writers[2], injuring some and displacing others. But compare the number of scribes absolutely or relatively, when all compositions were manuscript, with the countless host of men who in ten thousand ways minister to literature through the press. The journalists of London alone in 1821 issued 16,254,534 copies of their several newspapers. A scribe toiled through life to copy a volume, and his tedious application was single and exclusive; but the printing-press, besides myriads of individuals occupied in its immediate employment, moves the industry and the mind of the whole world. If we look further and regard its results, what has not this consummate mechanism performed for commerce, trade, manufactures, and ordinary labour? Why it may, without speaking rhetorically, be reputed the single source of life and light;—whatever intelligence and liberty are enjoyed, belong to printing; and to the press we must mainly look both to preserve the residue of our fortunes and freedom, and ultimately to obtain our complete liberation from all the moral,

[1] This also grieves Robert Owen: "The inferior methods will be superseded by the superior; as human labour has been displaced by the steam-engine—as the single-thread spinning-wheel has been by Arkwright's superior mechanism—and as the common hand printing-press is now giving way to the new power of printing by machinery." Dublin Morning Post, Nov. 4, 1822.

[2] I doubt the evils to the then existing race of writers. Printing was not invented at once. How absurd is Tavernier's statement, that when printing was introduced into Persia many writers by profession were undone! lib. v. c. 12.

civil, and commercial contradictions and difficulties which beset mankind.

Having said so much in favour of machinery, I wish to guard against any misconception, by stating that machines are sometimes heartlessly and imprudently introduced. The practice of employing children fourteen hours a day and through the night[1] in manufactories cannot be mentioned without sorrow or indignation. Yet how do these offences impeach the usefulness of machinery? Suppose they did, they affect the question so inconsiderably that no one has urged them for this purpose with confidence. But when we find legislators, philosophers, practical men (those who have become opulent entirely by manufactories), take gothic arms against mechanism, the surprise is boundless. Some have supposed that Quesnay, the chief of the economists, had his system impressed on him by his parentage, his father being a labouring farmer. One so circumstanced might be prejudiced in favour of mere agriculture: but that he who was educated among wheels and spindles, and who actually derives a considerable income from their movement, should regard this mechanism as our ancestry did comets, is the most perverse infatuation.

Many at different times have expressed their dis-

[1] This exceeds the worst slavery. A royal ordinance, dated Aranjuez, May 1786, declared that slaves were not to be worked until they were seventeen years old. Lord Rosslyn said, that of those employed in cotton mills, their health was better, their marriages more numerous, and their applications for parish relief fewer, &c. Morn. Chron. June 15, 1819.

satisfaction at particular improvements. Last year some scribes petitioned against the lithographic press[1]. This is easily accounted for. And had sweeps petitioned against machine chimney-sweeping, or charwomen confederated like the Parisian *poissardes* against the project to make foundries consume their own smoke, their motives also might have been comprehended. But that the Earl of Stanhope should depreciate machinery and propose spade husbandry, or that Sir E. Knatchbull should inveigh against thrashing-machines, would be unaccountable, if indeed the baronet had not given his reason with his doctrine—namely, that they enable farmers to bring their grain quickly to market, and thus occasion a glut[2]. Then henceforward let us honour the breakers of these machines in Norfolk, Suffolk, and elsewhere, as sound political economists, though a little irregular in administering their instructions. The preference of Lord Stanhope of the spade, and of Sir E. Knatchbull of the flail, are repeated proofs that the proprietary legislators of Great Britain have retrograded more than the other classes of society have advanced in intelligence.

Without reflecting longer on such shallow speculators, the President Montesquieu deserves more notice. He denies the utility of some machines, and particularly water-mills, because they abridge labour and reduce the number of hands hitherto employed in that special department of industry: adding, (not dogmatically however, but doubtfully,) that if water-

[1] Times, March 30, 1821. [2] Ibid. March 8, 1821.

mills were not established, he would question the extent of their utility[1]. If machinery be injurious, is all machinery so?—or if not, what is the limit to its beneficence? If the thrashing-machine be evil, why should the flail be good? it is a machine. Why not recur to the trampling ox? Jews and Gentiles used him, and he figures in Virgil's poetry. Why not resume the element of fire, by which the ancient Irish thrashed, winnowed, and dried their grain—setting the whole on fire[2]? If a water-mill be pernicious, and the hand-mill such as the Greeks used in Homer's time—

> Full fifty menials served the king
> In household offices, the rapid mills
> These turning pulverized the mellow'd grain[3]—

be fitter politically, it is questionable why a still ruder process should not displace the quern, as in Nubia. "The chief article of food," says Burckhardt[4], "is dhourra bread. As they have no mills, not even hand-mills, they grind the dhourra by strewing it upon a smooth stone, about two feet in length and one foot in breadth, which is placed in a sloping position before the person employed to grind," &c. Whether this be not too mechanical for the *New View*

[1] Si les moulins à eau n'étaient pas partout établis, je ne les croirois pas aussi utiles qu'on le dit, &c. L'Esprit des Loix, liv. xxiii. c. 15, p. 298.

[2] This was prohibited by act of parliament. See Strafford's Letters.

[3] Odyssey, b. vii.

[4] Travels in Nubia, p. 219.

of political economy, I don't know; neither can I decide whether the practice mentioned by Humboldt of the American savages be not more agreeable to its original conceptions. These savages, the traveller reports, strip the skin off the Indian corn, first having soaked the grain in a lixivium of water and wood ashes. Indeed, considering all things, South America is perfectly suited to the new doctrine. Ingenuity and mechanism are unknown; even the potter's wheel has not yet contended with manual labour, earthen vessels being made in Brazil by the hand alone[1]. How much more time the formation of this rude crockery occupies than if a wheel were employed, and how much more the coarsest fabric costs the purchaser than Wedgwood's ware, is not mentioned; but we are told that frequently at Valparaiso[2], where neither wind- nor water-mills interfere with manual labour, flour is four times as dear as wheat. Then this absence of ingenuity has of course a double advantage; the human hand enjoys a complete monopoly of the market, and the people are often fed not only on the dearest grain,—a special advantage to the people, according to Mr. Malthus and his school,—but this dear grain is occasionally enhanced to a famine price. Thus, the want of all machinery is here worth "The Century of Inventions."

Let the whole working world be reformed and moderately by degrees; let machine spinning give

[1] Prince Maximilian's Travels, in Phillips's Voyages, &c. vol. iii. p. 12.

[2] Morning Chronicle, July 26, 1820.

place to the spinning-wheel, and this to the distaff: and instead of the loom, let each particular thread be implicated by a special application of the fingers till the web be wrought. The Egyptians in ancient times manufactured linen "to a perfection equal to our own[1]." This art, which probably did not materially differ from the ingenuity of the present times, their modern countrymen have wholly lost; but they have attained the consummation of the "New View." "The wool they spin into yarn—wind the threads round little stones, and thus suspend to a long stick fixed in a horizontal position between two trees to form a warp, and by passing another thread alternately between these, fabricate a kind of coarse cloth, with which they cover the lower part of their bodies[2]." Here we have the cause and consequence: yet these Egyptians exhibit a taint of invention—there is in their humble process a tendency to mechanism. The South Americans again surpass them and all others in their purity and innocence of machinery. Ulloa[3] says, "In passing the woof they have the patience every time to count the threads one by one, so that two or three years are requisite to finish a single piece." Here manual labour triumphs, and the plough (even the crooked stick called by that name) is as little known as the steam-engine or the spinning-jenny. To these elements of operose labour, the

[1] Belzoni's Travels, p. 173. [2] Ibid. p. 88.

[3] Travels, b. vi. c. vi. p. 420. See also, Description di Guiana, &c. p. 255.

talkers against machinery pursuing their principles would reduce mankind.

The petty objection, that some are incommoded or distressed during the passage from a coarse to a scientific industry, is as philosophical as to condemn machinery because a few have been torn or caught in the works, and maimed or marked in consequence. All the puling about machinery as affecting its excellence does not amount to a single exception. This senseless wailing, the effect of its excessive good,—as in plethora men nauseate the choicest food,—is unknown to the French nation. Some of their writers[1] on the contrary, justly appreciate the capital inventions of machinery, and to them they in a great measure attribute the wealth of this country. I do not dwell on the glory of making the elements in their potency minister to man, and of giving to man's mind the mastery of matter; I speak of the mere mercantile profit of the improved magical art above the unimproved toiling process.

The position I contravene is so naked an error, that it is almost discreditable to expose its absurdity: indeed, what argument can more completely refute the doctrine than stating it—that machinery lightens labour, and cheapens all articles which it fabricates; that is, in the present universal application of machinery, all people have more of all things at less expense of time and labour? If this be injurious, the

[1] See Chaptal, t. i. p. 92. t. ii. p. 31. Dupin, p. 44. Phillips's Voyages, &c.

world has from eternity misapplied its praise and application. Archelaus[1] was honoured above the eight Macedonian kings who preceded him, because he made the roads straight. The "New View" would reserve the glory for the circuitous track; and O happy days of England[2], when going and returning to York was the work of twelve days! Substitute feet for hands, and speedy communication is as grave an offence as any abbreviating mechanical process in manufactures.

Verily Robert Owen is a pleasant speculator. He declares against innovation, yet he would diffuse the inhabitants of cities, and collect the inhabitants of the country into innumerable petty villages:—he rails at machinery, and would make man a machine:—he rails against machinery, and talks of economizing labour by the cooperation of families in villages:—he rails against machinery, while he favours population, though machinery has increased population in all countries, in despite of the climate and the soil and the government. And what is his sovereign remedy for all our evils? The spade is to be established for the plough, and the people to be draughted into towns built *brick-wise*, as Sir T. Brown[3] would say, and which Sir Thomas relates was the form of Og's bed, and, what is more to the purpose, of the city Nineveh and of the holy city in the

[1] Thucydides, lib. ii. p. 168.
[2] Eden, vol. i. p. 191, in the 17th century.
[3] Essay on the Quincunx.

Apocalypse. Mr. Owen exhibits models of these Apocalyptic villages in wood-work and in graphical illustrations in the newspapers; and to make the impression more lively, he helps the devices by quoting accounts of the Shakers, and of the fanatics called Harmonites, and Bellers's project, which he says is the same as his own. Now Bellers[1] calls his aggregate of people a college; purposely, he adds, because a workhouse is odious. Well then, Mr. Owen wishes that all the labouring people should be placed universally in such colleges or workhouses; for he would have funds raised, and the whole poor nationalized by act of parliament. If you do this, then, the practical Mr. Owen states, "the real value of land and labour will rise, mechanism will be of more extensive worth and benefit to society, every encouragement may be given to its extension, and its extension will go on *ad infinitum*, but only in aid of, not in competition with, human labour"—— "Thus, in a century it will supersede the necessity of poor rates, or any pecuniary gifts of charity, by preventing any one from being poor, or subject to such necessary degradation." Superadding, that England and Ireland could support ten times their present population, and with more convenience to their multiplied inhabitants[2]. And moreover, that all this

[1] page 25.
[2] Mr. Owen descants at the same time on the evils of machinery in Ireland—where there is no machinery, few manufactures, and less capital; and talks of multiplying the population ten-fold.

can be effected with mathematical certainty and the utmost ease. Verily, verily, the speculations of Robert Owen on earth surpass the visions of Emanuel Swedenborg in heaven.

CHAPTER VII.

Summary account of other falsely imputed causes of the increase of Pauperism and Distress.

I SHALL add cursorily other imputed causes of the supposed increase of pauperism. Some refer it to what they call a loss of the monopoly of the commerce of Europe[1]. Yet this loss of imaginary profit, after deducting the export to pay subsidies and supply mighty armies throughout the world, may perhaps be classed under another head in the national ledger. All such sums sent abroad were a waste of capital under the cover of commerce. The amount of them was enormous:—in order to give some idea of their mightiness, the subsidies alone amounted to 49,674,000*l.* Besides, it was stated in the Report of the Committee of Secrecy respecting the Bank restriction in 1797[1], that the remittances for the services of the war in the West Indies, the continent of Europe, &c. amounted to 33,510,779*l.* 0*s.* 7¾*d.* This sum was the foreign expenditure of the war for four years only, and at its commencement. And in the four last years of the war, the expenditure of specie on the continent amounted to more than ninety-two millions[2].

Yet these prodigious sums, and many others equally enormous, were a pure and absolute loss. Being paid by manufactures for the most part, this loss appeared in the nature of commerce[3]: and thus it

[1] This is said by Mr. Baring (Morning Chronicle, December 10, 1819; and Edinburgh Review, January 1820, p. 170. March 1821, p. 103). Yet it is said that the Americans in 1807 were the general carriers of continental Europe: and Lord Liverpool insisted that America did supply England with many things, as a neutral, which she could not now. Morn. Chron. May 27, 1820. Was not England excluded from the continent? and what a rush was made by commercial men to supply the foreign markets on the peace in 1802, and afterwards in 1815! So much so, that in Europe some thought that the English were determined at any loss to prevent the continental manufactures from emerging. These are strong inducements for discrediting the far-famed monopoly of the commerce of the world by Great Britain. There is, however, decisive evidence that the available commerce of England has been greater since the peace than during the war.

[1] Ann. Register, 1797, p. 100. Chron.

[2] The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in March 1815, spoke of the enormous expenditure of specie on the continent by this country. By the account in his hand he said—

1811	£185,12,000.
1812	18,533,000.
1813	22,931,000.
1814	36,284,000.

[3] From 1785 to 1791 inclusive, (that is for seven years,) the imports and exports were nearly equal, according to the return:

Imports	£17,740,000.
Exports	18,416,000.

But as there is a disposition, for different reasons, to diminish the

afforded to the Ministry a glorious exposition of the prosperous commerce of the nation, though a considerable part of the export was merely the forced transit trade by neutrals. Besides, it is held, most wonderfully, that the triumph of commerce is not what comes in, but what goes out. If so, subsidies are good for those who pay them; and the loan to Austria, and the absentee rental of five millions to about 150,000 British proprietors is an extraordinary bonus at this time to their tenantry and the state:—and so the remittances during the Roman Empire of from five to twenty per cent. on the produce of arable land, were a boon to a tributary world.

Perfectly consistent were those who glorified the

given imports and increase the exports, they probably still more nearly approached each other. Such was the state of the trade up to the war: but from 1792 to 1798, the exports exceeded the imports nearly six millions annually, in the same period of seven years; being Imports 21,970,000*l.* Exports 27,510,000*l.* See Ann. Register, 1799, p. 189. Now though this excess of export, as far as such accounts can be relied on, gave the foreign waste of the war rather than the productiveness of commerce, Mr. Chalmers denominated 1809 the most prosperous year of our commerce. So had Mr. Percival. For, said this minister, though in 1802 (a year of peace and of the greatest import and export) the export of British manufactures amounted to 26,993,000*l.*; in 1809 the export amounted to 35,000,000*l.*; adding, that the total export was in 1802 forty-six millions, and in 1809 fifty millions. Speech on the Budget in 1810. Yet the expensive and disastrous campaign in Spain was this very year so triumphantly glorified in a financial view by the Minister. Talk of import or export as they may; the riches of a nation consist in the abundance of all its goods, and in the means prepared or in activity to increase them.

immense export, as proving our happy circumstances: and those also participated their sagacity, who, according to Michel[1], said that "the number of bankruptcies was considered a test of the extent of our commerce;" or, as Mr. T. P. Courtenay more decisively insisted, that the mercantile failures were "a symptom of exuberant prosperity[2]." A great part of the commerce and the prices and the prosperity of this epoch was a gross and ruinous deception. Thus Mr. H. Sumner[3] and the agricultural gentlemen speak of the flourishing state of agriculture from 1806 to 1814; whence, they say, its deterioration has been rapid and alarming. And so the commercial gentry talk of the same periods, and of the same year; for in 1812 the exports were 73,725,602*l.* and the imports 60,424,876*l.*: then the average price of the quarter of wheat advanced to 128*s.* 8*d.* in which year, be it remembered, the sums raised by Government amounted to 131,825,000*l.*! This was the year of triumph:—another year of such triumphs, and England was undone. Yet many refer the distresses of the times to a transition from war to peace, to a reduced expenditure, to the resumption of cash payments;—though peace, and a reduced expenditure, and a metallic currency, were necessary to prolong the existence of our being as a state. Nor was the resumption of cash payments the least necessary; for during the compulsory paper currency, the medium

[1] On Legislation. He wrote in 1796.
[2] Monthly Review, Feb. 1811, p. 201.
[3] Morning Chronicle, May 31, 1820.

of exchange was not, as Anacharsis called money, a means of counting, but of miscounting. The prosperity apparently occasioned by the war expenditure, at home and abroad was fictitious. Hence in 1814 and 1815, 240 banking companies became bankrupt; that is, above a fourth[1] of all such establishments in Britain had been conducted without capital[2]. The distress continued; and in 1817 the bankruptcies amounted to 2487. Thus, as our trade and commerce became verified, the circulation of paper was narrowed. Hence, whatever Mr. Baring may say of prices being reduced 30 per cent., or according to others 40 or 50 per cent., by the return to cash payments, the reformation or reduction of the circulating medium had been progressive long previously to that event; and so rapid had been this effect, that it is questionable if the law hastened materially the results[3]. Land had fallen, when the compulsory payment in Bank notes was absolute, full one half of what had been its price ten years preceding.

In extreme absence of understanding, Lord Londonderry, a short time before his suicide, referred the

[1] In 1811 there were 70 London banks, and 818 country banks. Mr. G. Johnston's speech, July 19, 1811.

[2] On a banker who had failed being questioned by the judge what induced him to become a banker, he answered, "My necessities forced me to it." This was in Ireland.

[3] The opposers of the measure wish to consider the return to cash payments a fraud. When the bill passed, its operation was limited to the 24th of June 1798; and year after year, subsequent to the peace, it was said by the Minister that the bill should be repealed. The fraud was the continuance of the bill, not its repeal.

distress to the great powers of nature—meaning good seasons and productive land. This was the last turn of that vertiginous politician. Lord Liverpool, his coadjutor, also assigned every cause for our misery but the true one[1]. In his speech on the Poor Employment Bill, he referred the distress to over speculation, which had glutted the foreign markets: and though in 1818 this minister made the Prince regent declare from the throne that the distress had passed away[2],—in 1819 the same minister (Lord Liverpool) stated "that the distress did not prevail in the agricultural districts; it prevailed in certain manufacturing districts, and those districts which manufactured very much for foreign trade[3]." In 1821 his Lordship descanted on the excess of production; and in 1822 he again varied his ground, stating that not one cause but many causes occasioned our distress.

The Edinburgh Review refers the distress to over-trading: "And although many circumstances may have concurred to produce it (distress in 1812, 1816, 1819), there can be no doubt that the general practice of over-trading[4]," &c. Yet in the same Number, p. 179, the journalist insists "that the present distresses are almost entirely owing to the excess of taxation, and the monopoly granted to the agriculturists," &c.

Mr. Brougham[5] attributed the distress to an over-trading in agriculture, and a consequent redundance

[1] June 10, 1817. [2] Annual Register, 1818, p. 2.
[3] Speech, December 18, 1819.
[4] Edinburgh Review, June 1820, p. 57.
[5] Annual Register, 1816, p. 29.

of produce." Mr. Preston and Mr. Western impugn the warehousing system. Mr. Bowdich and Lord Romney refer the calamity to farmers being allowed to sell by sample: For, said his Lordship, if farmers brought their grain to market from a distance, they would be obliged to sell it at whatever price they could obtain. Lord Romney might have comforted the farmers with a proverb, and no doubt he would have revived the Scotch law against okerers or usurers, &c, and those who withhold victuals till a dearth [1].

Mr. Barton referred the distress to the increase of the precious metals; while Lord Lauderdale is among the select few who fear that public economy may be carried to excess: "For," said he, "if economy be pushed beyond its due bounds, the public would suffer by this love of accumulation,—first, by the creation of a capital larger than it wanted; and secondly, by withdrawing part of the encouragement to reproduction." During all these extravagancies, many lament the affliction of the poor:—not so the Quarterly Review, which affirms that Providence "equalizes mankind, and leaves the states of rich and poor as little more than variations of means for gaining happiness [2]."

Some have referred the distress to large towns: this is an old complaint [3]. Sir T. Roe [4], in 1641, compared England with London to a fat head with

[1] Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 451. [2] May 1820, p. 274.

[3] Ce mal imaginaire, l'agrandissement des villes, a excité les craintes les plus extravagantes. Théorie, tom. ii. p. 310, Bentham.

[4] Harleian Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 460.

thin guts and lean members. Smollet compared the overgrown metropolis to a dropsical head—for similes are expert arguments. Pawnbrokers [1] have been frequently charged as mainly increasing pauperism, on the sage principle that upholds the usury laws [2]: yet even in this trade the law limits the pawnbroker in hiring his money. Formerly Mr. Pallison [3] affirmed that the increase of the poor rates arose principally from the allowances to the family of militia-men. Mr. Howlet considered that their excess was attributable to the spread of Methodism [4]. Such are some of the incongruous and fluctuating speculations respecting the distress of society. The remedies correspond to the supposed causes of pauperism.

[1] See Anderson's Commerce, vol. iii. p. 241. Colquhoun on Indigence, p. 238. Monthly Magazine; May 1820. Feb. p. 28. Nov. p. 329.

[2] According to our code, (at least in Ireland,) bankers are not traders.

[3] Annual Register, 1804, p. 105.

[4] Sir F. Eden's History of the Poor Laws, preface, p. 9.