D. Welfare. Sept. 12. 1885.

THE

CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY

OF

LARGE TOWNS.

BY

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS.

THREE VOLUMES IN ONE.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM COLLINS;

WILLIAM WHYTE AND CO., AND WILLIAM OLIPHANT, EDINBURGH;

R. M. TIMS, AND WM. CURRY, JUN. AND CO., DUBLIN;

AND G. B. WHITTAKER, LONDON.

Seligman
1846E
C35

CONTENTS.

CHAP I.

PAGE

The Advantage and Possibility of Assimilating a Town to a Country Parish, ... 3

CHAP II.

On the Influence of Locality in Towns, ... 53

CHAP. III.

Application of the Principle of Locality to the Work of a Christian Minister, ... 89

CHAP IV.

The Effect of Locality in adding to the Useful Establishments of a Town, ... 129

CHAP. V. AND VI.

On Church Patronage, ... 169

CHAP. VII.

On Church Offices, ... 249

CHAP. VIII.

On Sabbath Schools, ... 305

PREFACE.

THERE is a great deal of philanthropy afloat in this our day. At no period, perhaps, in the history of the human mind, did a desire of doing good so earnest, meet with a spirit of inquiry so eager, after the best and likeliest methods of carrying the desire into accomplishment. Amid all that looks dark and menacing, in the present exhibitions of society, this, at least, must be acknowledged, —that never was there a greater quantity of thought embarked on those speculations which, whether with Christian, or merely economical writers, have the one common object of promoting the worth and comfort of our species.

It must be confessed, at the same time, that much of this benevolence, and more particularly, when it aims at some fulfilment, by a combination of many individuals, is rendered abortive for want of a right direction. Were the misleading causes to which

philanthropy is exposed, when it operates among a crowded assemblage of human beings, fully understood, then would it cease to be a paradox,—why there should either be a steady progress of wretchedness in our land, in the midst of its charitable institutions; or a steady progress of profligacy, in the midst of its churches, and Sabbath schools, and manifold reclaiming societies.

The Author of the following work has been much in the way of comparing the habitudes of a city, with those of a country population; and he cannot more fitly express its subject than by assigning to it the title of "The Christian and Civic Economy of our Large Towns."

Though he counts himself in possession of materials ample enough for an immediate volume, yet it suits better with his other engagements, to come forth in quarterly numbers, with the successive chapters of it.

THE

CHRISTIAN & CIVIC ECONOMY

OF

LARGE TOWNS.

CHAP. I.

THE ADVANTAGE AND POSSIBILITY OF ASSIMILATING A TOWN TO A COUNTRY PARISH.

THERE are two classes of writers, whose prevailing topics stand intimately connected with the philosophy of human affairs, but who, in almost all their habitudes of thinking, have hitherto maintained an unfortunate distance from each other. There are political economists, who do not admit Christianity, as an element, into their speculations; and there are Christian philanthropists, who do not admit political science, as an element, into theirs. The former very generally regard the professional subject of the latter, if not with contempt, at least with unconcern; and the latter as generally regard the professional subject of the former, with a somewhat sensitive kind of prejudice, bordering upon disapprobation and dislike. It is thus, that two classes of public labourers, who, with a mutual respect and understanding, might have, out of

their united contributions, rendered a most important offering to society—have, in fact, each in the prosecution of their own separate walk, so shut out the light, and so rejected the aid, which the other could have afforded, as either, in many instances, to have merely amused the intellectual public, with inert and unproductive theory, on the one hand, or as to have misled the practically benevolent public, into measures of well-meaning, but mischievous, and ill-directed activity, on the other.

And indeed, it is only in the later walks of political science, that the aid of Christianity has obviously become of practical importance to her; nor did this aid appear to be at all requisite for the purpose of giving effect to her earlier speculations. Till within these last fifteen years, the great topic of inquiry among our abstract politicians, was the theory of commerce; and the moral habit of the labouring classes, as founded on their religion, did not enter, as an element, or as a component part, into that theory. By the simple fiat of an enlightened parliament, the freedom of trade could be established; and every artificial restraint or encouragement, alike be done away; and all intermeddling with a concern, which is best provided for on the part of government, by its being simply let alone, could henceforth be left to the operation of nature's own principles, and nature's own processes. And thus, without borrowing any other aid from the religion of the

New Testament, than that general benefit which she has conferred upon society, by the greater currency she has given to the virtues of truth, and justice, and liberality, among men, may all that is sound in the political economy of Smith, and his immediate followers, have been carried into accomplishment, by a series of enactments, or rather of repeals, on the part of a country's legislature, without any concurrence of principle and habit whatever, either sought after or obtained, on the part of a country's population.

But the case is widely different, with respect to the later contributions, which have been rendered to this science. We allude more especially to the Essay of Mr. Malthus, whose theory of population, had it been present to the mind of Mr. Smith, would, we think, have modified certain of those doctrines and conclusions, which he presented to the world, in his Essay on the Theory of Commerce. It is true, that government, by her obtrusive interferences, has put the country into a worse condition, in respect of her population, than it would have been in, had this branch of its economy been left altogether to itself—just as she has put the country into a worse condition, in respect of its trading prosperity, than it would have been in, had this branch of its economy been also left to itself. There are certain artificial encouragements to population, which government ought never to have sanctioned, and which it were the wisdom of government, with all prudent and

practicable speed, to abolish. There are certain bounties that the law has devised upon marriage, in every way as hurtful and impolitic, as her bounties upon trade, and which it were greatly better for the interest of all classes, and more especially of the labouring classes, that she should forthwith recal. There is a way, in which, by stepping beyond her province, and attempting to provide for that which would have more effectually been provided for without her, by the strong principle of self-preservation, on the one hand, and the free, but powerful sympathies of individual nature, on the other—there is a way, in which she has lulled the poor into improvidence, and frozen the rich into apathy towards their wants and their sufferings; and this way, it were surely better that she had never entered upon, and better now, that she should retrace, with all convenient expedition. Now, all this may be done, and with a certain degree of benefit, even in the midst of an unchristian population. Their comfort would be advanced so far, merely by the principles of nature being restored to their unfettered operation; and this is desirable, even though we should fall short of that additional comfort, which would accrue from the principles of Christianity being brought more prevalently amongst them, than before. And thus, it is a possible thing, that government, acting exclusively in the temper, and with the views of the wisdom of this world, may exert herself, with beneficial

influence, on that great branch of political economy, which relates to the population of a state, just as she may on that other great branch of it, which relates to the commerce of a state. She may at least erase her own blunders from the statute-book, and conclusively do away the whole of that mischief, which the erroneous policy of our ancestors has entailed on the present generation.

But there is one wide and palpable distinction between the matter of commerce, and the matter of population. Government may safely withdraw from the former concern altogether, and abandon it to the love of gain, and the spirit of enterprise, and the sharp-sighted sagacity, that guides almost all the pursuits of interest, and the natural securities for justice, between man and man in society. Let her simply commit the cause of commerce to the joint operation of these various influences, and she will commit it to the very elements which are most fitted to prosper it forward to the pitch of its uttermost possible elevation. And it were also well, that government withdrew from the concern of ordinary pauperism altogether, which stands so nearly associated with the question of population. She would, in this way, do much to call forth a resurrection of those providential habits, which serve both to restrain the number, and to equalise the comforts of our people; and she would also do much to bring out, those otherwise checked and superseded sympathies, that, in the flow of their kindly and spontaneous exercise, are more

fitted to bind the community in gentleness together, than all the legalised charities of our land. But though she may thus do much, she cannot do all; and there will still be left a mighty reversion of good, that can only be achieved by the people themselves. For, though the unfettered principles of nature, may suffice for carrying all that interest which is connected with the state of a country's commerce, onwards to the condition that is best and safest for the public weal; the mere principles of nature will not suffice for carrying the interest that is connected with the state of a country's population, onwards to the condition that is best and safest for the public weal. It is very true, that a compulsory provision for the poor, aggravates the poverty of the land, by augmenting the pressure of its population upon its subsistence, and that by the repeal of such a system, the whole amount of this aggravation would be reduced. But the reduction were only partial. For, so long as profligacy remains, the pressure in question, will, though lessened in amount, remain along with it. So long as the sensual predominates over the reflective part of the human constitution, will there be improvident marriages, and premature families, and an overdone competition for subsistence, and a general inadequacy in the wages of labour, to the fair rate of human enjoyment, and, in a word, all the disorder and discomfort of an excessive population. So long as there is generally a low and grovelling taste

among the people, instead of an aspiring tendency towards something more in the way of comfort, and cleanliness, and elegance, than is to be met with in the sordid habitations of a rude and demi-barous country, will they rush, with precipitation, into matrimony, and care not how unable they are to meet its expenses, and forfeit the whole ease and accommodation of the future, to the present ascendency of a blind and uncalculating impulse. And thus, while government may reduce this pressure, up to the amount of what it has brought on by its own mismanagement, it is a pressure which it can never wholly, and never nearly extinguish. The tendency to excessive population, can only find its thorough and decisive counteraction, among the amended habits, and the moralised characters, and the exalted principles, of the people themselves. To bring the economy of a nation's wealth into its best possible condition, it may suffice to go up to the legislature, and beg that she may withdraw her intermeddling hand from a concern, which her touch always mars, but never medicates. To bring the economy of its population into the best possible condition, it is right to go up to the legislature, and beg that she may recal the mischief of her own interferences. But it is further necessary, to go forth among the people, and there to superinduce the principles of an efficient morality, on the mere principles of nature—and there to work a transformation of taste and of character—and

there to deliver lessons, which, of themselves, will induce a habit of thoughtfulness, that must insensibly pervade the whole system of a man's desires and his doings; making him more a being of reach, and intellect, and anticipation, than he was formerly—raising the whole tone of his mind, and infusing into every practical movement, along with the elements of passion and interest, the elements of duty, and of wisdom, and of self-estimation.

It is thus, that the disciples of political science, however wisely they may speculate upon this question, are, if without the element of character among the general population, in a state of impotency as to the practical effect of their speculation. So long as the people remain either depraved or unenlightened, the country never will attain a healthful condition in respect of one of the great branches of her policy. This is an obstacle which stands uncontrollably opposed to the power of every other expedient for the purpose of mitigating the evils of a redundant population; and, till this be removed, legislators may devise, and economists may demonstrate as they will, they want one of the data, indispensable to the right solution of a problem, which, however clear in theory, will, upon trial, mock the vain endeavours of those who overlook the moral principles of man, or despise the mysteries of that faith, which can alone inspire them.

It is thus that our political writers, if at all honestly desirous of obtaining a fulfilment for

their own speculation, should look towards the men who are fitted to expatiate among the people, in the capacity of their most acceptable and efficient moralists. It is evident that they themselves are not the best adapted for such a practical movement through a community of human beings. It is not by any topic or any demonstration of theirs, that we can at all look for a general welcome and admittance amongst families. Let one of their number, for example, go forth with the argument of Malthus, or any other of the lessons of political economy, and that, for the purpose of enlightening the practice and observation of his neighbourhood. The very first reception that he met with, would, in all likelihood, check the farther progress of this moral and benevolent adventure, and stamp upon it all the folly and all the fruitlessness of Quixotism. People would laugh, or wonder, or be offended, and a sense of the utterly ridiculous, would soon attach itself to this expedition, and lead him to abandon it. Now, herein lies the great initial superiority which the merely Christian has over the merely civil philanthropist. He is armed with a topic of ready and pertinent introduction, with which he may go round a population, and come into close and extensive contact with all the families. Let his errand be connected with religion, and, even though a very obscure, and wholly unsanctioned individual, may he enter within the precincts of nearly every household, and not meet with one act

of rudeness or resistance during the whole of his progress. Should he only, for example, invite their young to his Sabbath-School, he, with this for his professed object, would find himself in possession of a passport, upon which, and more especially among the common ranks of society, he might step into almost every dwelling-place—and engage the inmates in conversations of piety—and leave, at least, the sensations of cordiality and gratitude behind him—and pave the way for successive applications of the same influence—and secure this acknowledgment in favour of his subject, that it is worthy of being proposed on the one side, and worthy of being entertained and patiently listened to, on the other. It is not of his final success that we are now speaking. It is of his advantageous outset. It is of that wide and effectual door of access to the population, which the Christian philanthropist has, and which the civil philanthropist has not—and from which it follows, that if the lessons of the former are at all fitted to induce a habit favourable to the objects of the latter, the economist who underrates the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the zeal of its devoted labourers, is deposing from their rightful estimation, the best auxiliaries of his cause.

And it would save a world of misconception, were it distinctly kept in mind, that, for the purpose of giving effect to the lessons of the economist, it is not necessary for him who labours in the gospel vineyard, either to teach, or even so

much as to understand, these lessons. Let him simply confine himself to his own strict and peculiar business—let him labour for immortality alone—let his single aim be to convert and to christianise, and, as the result of prayer and exertion, to succeed in depositing with some, the faith of the New Testament, so as that they shall hold forth to the esteem and the imitation of many, the virtues of the New Testament—and he does more for the civil and economical well-being of his neighbourhood, than he ever could do by the influence of all secular demonstration. Let his desire and his devotedness be exclusively towards the life that is to come, and without borrowing one argument from the interest of the life that now is, will he do more to bless and to adorn its condition, than can be done by all the other efforts of patriotism and philosophy put together. It were worse than ridiculous, and it most assuredly is not requisite for him to become the champion of any economic theory, with the principles of which he should constantly be infusing either his pulpit or his parochial ministrations. His office may be upheld in the entire aspect of its sacredness—and the main desire and prayer of his heart towards God, in behalf of his brethren, may be that they should be saved—and the engrossment of his mind with the one thing needful, may be as complete as was that of the Apostle, who determined to know nothing among his hearers, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified—and yet, such is the fulness of the

blessing of the gospel with which he is fraught, that while he renders the best possible service to the converts whom, under the spirit of God, he has gained to its cause; he also, in the person of these converts, renders the best possible contribution to the temporal good of society. It is enough, that they have been rescued from the dominion of sensuality;—it is enough, that they have become the disciples of that book, which, while it teaches them to be fervent in spirit, teaches them also to be not slothful in business;—it is enough, that the Christian faith has been formed with such power in their hearts, as to bring out the Christian morals into visible exemplification upon their history;—it is enough, that the principle within them, if it do not propagate its own likeness in others, can at least, like the salt to which they have been compared, season a whole vicinity with many of its kindred and secondary attributes. There is not a more familiar exhibition in humble life, than that alliance, in virtue of which a Christian family is almost always sure to be a well-conditioned family. And yet its members are utterly unversant either in the maxims or in the speculations of political science. They occupy the right place in a rightly constituted and well-going mechanism; but the mechanism itself is what they never hear of, and could not comprehend. Their Christian adviser never reads them a lesson from the writings of any economist, and yet the moral habit to which the former has been the instrument of conducting them,

is that which brings them into a state of practical conformity with the soundest and most valuable lessons which the latter can devise. And now, that habit, and character, and education, among the poor, have become the mighty elements of all that is recent in political theory, as well may the inventor of a philosophical apparatus, disown the aid of those artizans, who, in utter ignorance of its use, only know how to prepare and put together its materials, as may the most sound and ingenious speculator in the walks of civil economy, disown the aid of those Christian labourers, who, in utter ignorance of the new doctrine of population, only know how to officiate in that path of exertion, by which the members of our actual population may be made pure, and prudent, and pious.

And if we revert to the habit of the last generation in Scotland, which is still fresh in the remembrance of many who are now alive, we shall find an ample verification of all these remarks. At that time, Malthus had not written, and his speculation had little more than an embryo existence in the pages of Wallace; and, certain it is, that, in the minds of our solid, and regular, and well-doing peasantry, it had no existence at all. It was acted upon, but without being at all counted upon. It was one of the cherished and domestic decencies of a former age, transmitted from every matron to her daughters, not to marry without a costly and creditable provision; and the delay of years, was often incurred, in the mighty work of piling to-

gether, the whole *materiel* of a most bulky and laborious preparation—and the elements of future comfort and future respectability, behoved to be accumulated to a very large extent, ere it was lawful, or, at least, reputable, to enter upon the condition of matrimony—and thus the moral preventive check of our great economist, was in full and wholesome operation, long before it was offered by him to public notice, in the shape of a distinct and salutary principle. And, if we wish to revive its influence among the people, this will not be done, we apprehend, by cheapening the currency of his doctrine, and bringing it down to the level of popular understanding. It must be by other tracts than those of political economy, that we shall recover the descending habit of our countrymen. It must be by addresses of a more powerful character, than those which point to the futurities of an earthly existence. It must be, not by men labouring, however strenuously, after some great political achievement, but by men labouring for the good of imperishable spirits—by men who have their conversation in heaven, and who, with their eye full upon its glories, feel the comparative insignificance of the pilgrimage which leads to it. And not, till we recal the Christianity, shall we ever recal the considerate sobriety, the steady equalised comfort, the virtuous independence of a generation, the habit and the memory of which are so fast departing away from us.

Let me finish my observations on this part of the subject, with adverting to the way in which the re-action of a people's turbulence is ever sure to follow the neglect of a people's Christianity—how, of all modes of intolerance, that intolerance of irreligion, which denounces the faith of the New Testament as fanaticism, brings, in its train, the most woful forfeiture of all civil and all political advantages; insomuch, that the deadliest enemy of our state, is not what has been called a methodistical spirit among the people; but its deadliest enemy, by far, is a persecuting church, which would thwart all that is serious and evangelical in the desires of the people—and which, in so doing, tramples on those sacred accommodations that God has established between the longings of an awakened heart, and the truth that is unto salvation.

So much for the prevailing tendency of the civil to underrate or disregard the labours of the Christian philanthropist. But there is no less prevailing a tendency, on the part of the latter, to neglect many of the principles, and to underrate many of the propositions of the former.

It is certainly to be regretted, that many of our most pious, and even our most profound theologians, should be so unfurnished as they are with the conceptions of political economy. But it is their active resistance to some of its clearest and most unquestionable principles—it is their blindly sentimental dislike of a doctrine, which stands

on the firm basis of arithmetic—it is their misrepresentation of it, as hostile to the exercise of our best feelings, when, in fact, all its hostility is directed against such perverse and unfortunate arrangements, as have served to chill and to counteract the sympathies of our nature—it is the dogmatism of their strenuous asseverations, against that which experience and demonstration are ever obtruding upon the judgment as irrefragable truth—it is this which is mainly to be regretted, for it has enlisted the whole of their high and deserved influence on the side of institutions pernicious to society—and what, perhaps, is still worse, it has led a very enlightened class in our land, to imagine a certain poverty of understanding as inseparable from religious zeal—thus bringing down our Christian labourers, from that estimation, which, on their own topic, so rightfully belongs to them, and deducting from the weight of that professional testimony, which it were the best interest of all classes most patiently to listen to, and most respectfully to entertain.

But the mischief which has thus been inflicted on the good of humanity, is not to be compared with the still deadlier mischief of a certain error, which has received the utmost countenance and support from a large class of religionists. What we allude to, is their distaste towards all kinds of external machinery, for the furtherance of any Christian enterprise—founded on their misapplication of an undoubted doctrine, that all the ebbs

and all the revivals of Christianity, are primarily to be traced to the alternations of a direct influence from heaven. They look, and they rightly look, to the Spirit of God, as the agent of every prosperous revolution in the Christianity of our land. When there is a general torpor of irreligion amongst us, it is because there is a famine of spiritual nourishment, and God has withdrawn the manifestations of the Holy Ghost, from a careless, and thoughtless, and worldly generation. When there is the awakening of a thoughtful and repentant seriousness, it is because the Spirit of it has been poured out of that upper Sanctuary, into which prayer has ascended from beneath, and from which a regenerating influence has come down, as a descending return, for the intercessions of the devoted few, in behalf of a world lying in wickedness. All this is sacred and substantial truth, which no speculation can impair; and it were folly to think, that, by the mere erection of a material frame-work, the cause of Christianity can be advanced, by a single hair-breadth, should there be a withholding of that especial and sanctifying grace, without which, the builders labour in vain, and the watchmen wake but in vain. And hence, with many, is there a total indolence and unconcern as to all outward arrangements; and every thing like a visible apparatus, appears insignificant in their eyes; and with something like the complacency of one who fancies himself in possession of the recondite principle of a given

operation, do they view with contempt, all that man can do externally, and with his hands, for the purpose of achieving it: and thus do they hold in a kind of ineffable disdain, the proposal of building more churches, for the increase of Christianity in our land; and this is only one out of the many instances, in which, under a sense of the utter impotency of all mechanism, they would restrain human activity from putting itself forth on any palpable subject, and would sit in a sort of mystic and expectant quietism, till there come down upon us from the skies, the visitation of that inspiring energy, which is to provide for all, and to do all.

It may serve to reconcile these people, and perhaps to engage them in the work of outward arrangements, if we point their regards to that season, in the history of the world, which was most signalised by the visitations of a moral and spiritual energy from heaven. We instance the apostolic age, when living water flowed more abundantly than it has ever done since, among those who wear the denomination of Christians; and yet, if we may extend the simile, did the leaders of the church give much of their earnestness to the work of providing it with ducts of conveyance. There never was perhaps so goodly and so various an external apparatus, for the transmission of Christianity from one human being to another, as at that period, when the Spirit descended most plentifully, and that, too, for the

purpose of depositing Christianity in the hearts of men. Paul, who prayed without ceasing for the supply of this essential influence, also pondered without ceasing such a constitution of offices, and such a routine of services, as would ensure the right distribution of it. The falling of rain from the clouds, no more supersedes the preparation of receptacles for gathering, and of channels for conveying it, than the descent of living water, as the aliment of all that is acceptable in human virtue and spiritual in human discernment, supersedes the question of the best and fittest construction of an external system, for the circulation of it through a neighbourhood. The Apostle, who felt most his dependence on the Spirit for the conversion of the souls of men, laboured most in the rearing of an outward and a visible agency, for the furtherance of the cause. And whether we read of the great variety of offices in the Christian church, as of prophets, and interpreters, and evangelists, for the edifying of the body of Christ, or observe the labour of the great Apostle to set things in order, and the provision he made for ordaining elders in every city, we may perceive, that the age of greatest spiritual influence, was also an age of busy external regulation. Nor does it follow, that he who places all his confidence on the former, should neglect and undervalue the latter, or that he who expends thought and judgment upon the machinery of a Christian-

ising process, thereby disowns to the Holy Spirit that supremacy which belongs to him.

It was at a period when the religious spirit run high, that schools were instituted in Scotland, and such a system of education was devised and established, as has at least struck out a fountain of scholarship in every parish, which has been the place of uniform repair for the young of many successive generations. In this we see the good of what may be called a material organization. It survives all the ebbs and alternations of the spirit which gave it birth; and who can fail to perceive, that in virtue of its existence, when this spirit re-appears in the country, it finds channels for a readier and more abundant access into all the families, than it would do in a country where there was no parochial endowment, and no regular or universal habit of scholarship among the population? But what is more, the religious spirit may decline in a country, when, of course, it will move scantily through those conveyances which have been established in it, between the teacher and the taught. And yet it must not be denied, that there continues to move such an influence, as is still favourable to the temporal well-being of society. Even in seasons of the greatest abandonment, as to the light and faith of the gospel, there is an intelligence, and an enlargement, and a reflective sobriety, gotten at these schools, all of which have stamped a great civic and economic superiority of character on the peasantry of Scotland. Such a

machinery, with its numerous rills of distribution, is well adapted to the object of propagating the dominant spirit of the times through the nation at large. When that happens to be the warm, and affectionate, and evangelical spirit of the New Testament, there will be a far wider and more effectual door of access for it through the families of that land which has the apparatus, than of that land which has it not. So that it is well for the christian economy of every country to have such an establishment. And even where the evangelical spirit has declined, there is still in the quiet and ordinary tenor of every nation's history, a spirit among the public functionaries, on the side of order and good conduct; so that, with the softening and humanising effect of scholarship, on the habit of the mind, it is further well, for the civic economy of every country, to have such an establishment.

We hold the very same principles to be applicable to the question of religious establishments. It is true, that our present goodly apparatus of churches and parishes was reared and perfected in days of thickest darkness. But when the light of reformation arose, it broke its way with greater force and facility, because of the very passages which Popery had opened; and let our ecclesiastical malcontents ascribe what corruption they may to the establishments of England and Scotland, we hold them to be the destined instruments both for propagating and for augmenting the Chris-

tianity of our land, and should never cease to regret the overthrow of this mighty apparatus, as a catastrophe of deadliest import to the religious character of our nation.

We are the more in earnest upon this subject, that we believe the difference, in point of moral and religious habit, between a town and country population, to be more due to the difference, in point of adequacy, between the established provision of instruction, for the one and the other, than to any other cause which can be assigned for it. The doctrine of a celestial influence does not supersede, but rather calls, for a terrestrial mechanism, to guide and to extend the distribution of it; and it is under the want of the latter, that a mass of heathenism has deepened, and accumulated, and attained to such a magnitude and density in our large towns. The healing water is a treasure which must be looked for and prayed for from heaven; but still, it is put into earthen vessels, and is conveyed through the whole body of corruption by earthen path-ways. Nor do we think it more rational to look for the rise of Christianity in Pagan lands, without a missionary equipment, and missionary labour, than to look for its revival among the enormous and now unpervaded departments of the city multitude, without such a locomotive influence, as shall bring the Word of God into material contact with its still, and sluggish, and stationary families.

We hold the possibility, and we cannot doubt the advantage of assimilating a town to a country parish. We think that the same moral regimen, which, under the parochial and ecclesiastical system of Scotland, has been set up, and with so much effect, in her country parishes, may, by a few simple and attainable processes, be introduced into the most crowded of her cities, and with as signal and conspicuous an effect on the whole habit and character of their population—that the simple relationship which obtains between a minister and his people in the former situation, may be kept up with all the purity and entireness of its influences in the latter situation; and be equally available to the formation of a well-conditioned peasantry; in a word, that there is no such dissimilarity between town and country, as to prevent the great national superiority of Scotland, in respect of her well-principled and well-educated people, being just as observable in Glasgow or Edinburgh, for example, as it is in the most retired of her districts, and these under the most diligent process of moral and religious cultivation. So that, while the profligacy which obtains in every crowded and concentrated mass of human beings, is looked upon by many a philanthropist as one of those helpless and irreclaimable distempers of the body politic, for which there is no remedy—do we maintain, that there are certain practicable arrangements which, under the blessing of God, will stay this growing calamity, and would, by the perseverance

of a few years, land us in a purer and better generation.

One most essential step towards so desirable an assimilation in a large city parish, is a numerous and well-appointed agency. The assimilation does not lie here in the external frame-work; for, in a small country parish, the minister alone, or with a very few coadjutors of a small session, may bring the personal influence of his kind and Christian attentions to bear upon all the families. Among the ten thousand of a city parish, this is impossible; and, therefore, what he cannot do but partially and superficially in his own person, must, if done substantially, be done in the person of others. And he, by dividing his parish into small manageable districts—and assigning one or more of his friends, in some capacity or other, to each of them—and vesting them with such a right either of superintendence or of inquiry, as will always be found to be gratefully met by the population—and so, raising, as it were, a ready intermedium of communication between himself and the inhabitants of his parish, may at length attain an assimilation in point of result to a country parish, though not in the means by which he arrived at it. He can in his own person maintain at least a pretty close and habitual intercourse with the more remarkable cases; and as for the moral charm of cordial and Christian acquaintanceship, he can spread it abroad by deputation over that part of the city which has been assigned to him. In this way, an influence,

long unfelt in towns, may be speedily restored to them; and they, we affirm, know nothing of this department of our nature, who are blind to the truth of the position—that out of the simple elements of attention, and advice, and civility, and good-will, conveyed through the tenements of the poor, by men a little more elevated in rank than themselves, a far more purifying and even more gracious operation can be made to descend upon them, than ever will be achieved by any other of the ministrations of charity.

And here, let it be remarked, that just as the material apparatus of schools subserves the civic as well as the Christian economy of a nation, by its operating as a medium for other good influences than those which are purely sacred—so, this eminently holds true of every such arrangement as multiplies the topics and the occurrences of intercourse between the higher and the lower orders of society. There is no large city which would not soon experience the benefit of such an arrangement. But when that city is purely commercial, it is just the arrangement which, of all others, is most fitted to repair a peculiar disadvantage under which it labours. In a provincial capital, the great mass of the population are retained in kindly and immediate dependence on the wealthy residenters of the place. It is the resort of annuitants, and landed proprietors, and members of the law, and other learned professions, who give impulse to a great amount of domestic industry, by their ex-

penditure; and, on inquiring into the sources of maintenance and employment for the labouring classes there, it will be found that they are chiefly engaged in the immediate service of ministering to the wants and luxuries of the higher classes in the city. This brings the two extreme orders of society into that sort of relationship, which is highly favourable to the general blandness and tranquillity of the whole population. In a manufacturing town, on the other hand, the poor and the wealthy stand more disjoined from each other. It is true, they often meet, but they meet more on an arena of contest, than on a field where the patronage and custom of the one party are met by the gratitude and good will of the other. When a rich customer calls a workman into his presence, for the purpose of giving him some employment connected with his own personal accommodation, the general feeling of the latter must be altogether different from what it would be, were he called into the presence of a trading capitalist, for the purpose of cheapening his work, and being dismissed for another, should there not be an agreement in their terms. We do not aim at the most distant reflection against the manufacturers of our land; but it must be quite obvious, from the nature of the case, that their intercourse with the labouring classes is greatly more an intercourse of collision, and greatly less an intercourse of kindliness, than is that of the higher orders in such towns as Bath, or Oxford, or Edinburgh. In this

way, there is a mighty unfilled space interposed between the high and the low of every large manufacturing city, in consequence of which, they are mutually blind to the real cordialities and attractions which belong to each of them; and a resentful feeling is apt to be fostered, either of disdain or defiance, which it will require all the expedients of an enlightened charity effectually to do away. Nor can we guess at a likelier, or a more immediate arrangement for this purpose, than to multiply the agents of Christianity amongst us, whose delight it may be to go forth among the people, on no other errand than that of pure good-will, and with no other ministrations than those of respect and tenderness.

There is one lesson that we need not teach, for experience has already taught it, and that is, the kindly influence which the mere presence of a human being has upon his fellows. Let the attention bestowed upon another, be the genuine emanation of good-will, and there is only one thing more to make it irresistible. The readiest way of finding access to a man's heart, is to go into his house, and there to perform the deed of kindness, or to acquit ourselves of the wonted and the looked for acknowledgment. By putting ourselves under the roof a poor neighbour, we in a manner put ourselves under his protection—we render him for the time our superior—we throw our reception on his generosity, and we may be assured that it is a confidence which will almost never

fail us. If Christianity be the errand on which the movement is made, it will open the door of every family; and even the profane and the profligate will come to recognise the worth of that principle, which prompts the unwearied assiduity of such services. By every circuit which is made amongst them, there is attained a higher vantage ground of moral and spiritual influence; and, in spite of all that has been said of the ferocity of a city population, in such rounds of visitation there is none of it to be met with, even among the lowest receptacles of human worthlessness. This is the home walk in which is earned, if not a proud, at least a peaceful popularity—the popularity of the heart—the greetings of men, who, touched even by the cheapest and easiest services of kindness, have nothing to give but their wishes of kindness back again; but, in giving these, have crowned such pious attentions with the only popularity that is worth the aspiring after—the popularity that is won in the bosom of families, and at the side of death-beds.

We must refer to the following chapter, on the effect of locality in towns, for a more full elucidation of this influence, and of its beneficial operation. And, indeed, we can do little more at present, than clear and open our way to the task of demonstrating the various facilities by which a city may be likened, in constitution and effect, to a country parish. We shall therefore confine ourselves to what, in the main, may be regarded

as preliminary. And as we have already adverted to the trivial estimation in which the work of purely Christian labourers is apt to be held by our political theorists, let us now expose a very sore and hurtful invasion that has been actually made upon them by our political practitioners, by which their religious usefulness has been grievously impaired, and even their civil and political usefulness has been impaired along with it. It is indeed a topic altogether pertinent to the title of our present chapter, as standing intimately associated with the cause of one of the greatest dissimilarities that obtains between a town and a country parish. It is an example of the slender homage which is rendered to Christianity by our political economists, embodied into shape and practice by our political functionaries, and in virtue of which, the best objects of all civil and legislative policy are in danger of being entirely frustrated.

What we allude to, is, the mischief of those secularities, which have been laid on the clerical office; and for the purpose of exposing it, do we offer a short narrative of the way in which the sanctity of a profession, that ought ever to have been held inviolable, has been laid open to all the rude and random invasions which are now ready to overwhelm it,—though we shall find it impossible to advert to every one item in that strange medley of services, by which the minister of a large city parish now feels himself plied at every hour, and beset at every path, and every turning point, in the history of his movements.

Among the people of our busy land, who are ever on the wing of activity, and, whether in circumstances of peace or of war, are at all times feeling the impulse of some national movement or other, it is not to be wondered at, that a series of transactions should be constantly flowing between the metropolis of the empire, and its distant provinces. There are the remittances which pass through our public offices, from soldiers and sailors, to their relatives at home;—there are letters of inquiry sent back again from these relatives;—there is all the correspondence, and all the business of drafts, and other negociations, which ensue upon the decease of a soldier, or a sailor;—there is the whole tribe of hospital allowances, the payment of pensions, and a variety of other items, which, all taken together, would make out a very strange and tedious enumeration.

The individuals with whom these transactions are carried on, need to be verified. They live in some parish or other; and who can be fitter for the required purpose, than the parish minister? He is, or he ought to be, acquainted with every one of his parishioners; and this acquaintance, which he never can obtain in towns, but by years of ministerial exertion amongst them, is turned to an object destructive of the very principle on which he was selected for such a service. It saddles him with a task which breaks in upon his ministerial exertions—which widens his distance from his people; and, in the end, makes him as

unfit for certifying a single clause of information about them, as the most private individual in his neighbourhood.

Yet so it is. The minister is the organ of many a communication between his people and the offices in London,—and many a weary signature is exacted from him,—and a world of management is devolved upon his shoulders,—and, instead of sitting like his fathers in office, surrounded by the theology of present and of other days, he must now turn his study into a counting-room, and have his well-arranged cabinet before him, fitted up with its sections and its other conveniences, for notices, and duplicates, and all the scraps and memoranda of a manifold correspondence.

But the history does not stop here. The example of Government has descended, and is now quickly running through the whole field of private and individual agency. The regulation of the business of prize-moneys, is one out of several examples that occur to us. The emigration of new settlers to Canada, was another. The business of the Kinloch bequest, is a third. It does not appear, that there is any act of Government authorising the agents in this matter to fix on the clergy, as the organs either for the transaction of their business, or the conveyance of their information to the people of the land. But they find it convenient to follow the example of Government, and have accordingly done so; and, in this way, a mighty host of schedules, and circulars, and

printed forms, with long blank spaces, which the minister is required to fill up, according to the best of his knowledge, come into mustering competition with the whole of his other claims, and his other engagements. It is true, that the minister may, in this case decline; but, then, the people are apprised of the arrangement, and, trained as they have been, too well, to look up to the minister as an organ of civil accommodation, will they lay siege to his dwelling-place, and pour upon him with their inquiries; and the cruel alternative is laid upon him either to obstruct the convenience of his parishioners, and bid them from his presence, or to take the whole weight of a management that has been so indiscreetly and so wantonly assigned to him.

If, for the expediting of business, we are made free with, even by private individuals, it is not to be wondered at, if charitable bodies should, at all times, look for our subserviency to their schemes and their operations of benevolence. When a patriotic fund, or a Waterloo subscription, blazons in all the splendour of a nation's munificence, and a nation's gratitude, before the public eye,—who shall have the hardihood to refuse a single item of the bidden co-operation that is expected from him? Surely, such a demand as this is quite irresistible; and, accordingly, from this quarter too, a heavy load of consultations and certificates, with the additional singularity of having to do with the drawing of money, and the keeping of it in safe

custody, and the dealing of it out in small discretionary parcels according to the needs and circumstances of the parties;—all, all is placed upon the shoulders of the already jaded and overborne minister.

We know not where this is to end, or what new and unheard-of duties are still in reserve for us. But this much we know, that they are in the way of an indefinite augmentation. We have heard obscurely of some very recent additions to our burdens; but of what it particularly is, we have not got the distinct or the authentic information. We are not civilians enough to know, if even an Act of Parliament carry such an omnipotence along with it, as to empower this strange series of wanton and arbitrary infringements on the individual homes and liberties of clergymen. But we are patriots enough to feel, that the rulers of our country are, for an accommodation which might be easily rendered to them by another method, bartering away the best interests of its people,—that, through the side of its public instructors, they are reaching a blow to the morality and principle of the commonwealth,—that, by every such impolitic enactment as we have now attempted to expose, they are slackening the circulation of Christianity, and of all its healthful and elevating influences amongst our towns and families,—that they are sweeping away from the face of every large city, the best securities for order, and contentment, and loyalty;—nor should we wonder,

if, in some future period of turbulence and disorder, they shall rue the infatuation which led them to tamper so with the religion of our land, by the inroads they are now making, and the cruel profanation they are now inflicting, on the sacredness of its officiating ministers.

It is needless to expatiate on the mischievous effect of all this upon the great mass of our population. In virtue of the grievous desecration that has thus been inflicted on the office, we hold out, in their eyes, a totally different aspect from the ministers of a former age. We are getting every year more assimilated, in look and in complexion, to surveyors, and city-clerks, and justices, and distributors of stamps, and all those men of place, who have to do with the people, in the matters of civil or municipal agency. Every feature in the sacredness of our character is wearing down, amid all the stir, and hurry, and hard-driving, of this manifold officiality. And thus it is, that our parishioners have nearly lost sight of us altogether, as their spiritual directors, and seldom or never come near to us, upon any spiritual errand at all—but, taking us, as they are led by the vicious system that is now in progressive operation to find us—they are, ever and anon, overwhelming us with consultations about their temporalities; and the whole tact of a spiritual relationship between the pastor and his flock is thus dissipated and done away. There is little of the unction of Christianity, at all, in the intercourse he holds with

them—and every thing that relates to the soul, and to the interests of eternity, and to the religious care of themselves, and of their families, is elbowed away by the work of filling up their schedules, and advising them about their moneys, and shuffling, along with them, amongst the forms and the papers of a most intricate correspondence.

The principle which we lay down is,—that the work of a Christian teacher is enough, by itself, to engross and take possession of the entire powers of any single man. The business of meditation is a fatiguing business, and leaves a general exhaustion behind it. There is such a thing as a weariness of the mind; and surely, if the right ministration for weariness be repose—then, there must be an overworking of the mind, when after having taken exercise up to the limits of its strength, it is plied with a multiplicity of other and overbearing demands on its attention, and its memory, and its judgment, and the various faculties which belong to it. The likest thing to it, in the experience of ordinary citizens, which we can imagine, is the case of a merchant exhausting himself by the forenoon labours of his desk, or his counting-house, and retiring to the sweets of a comfortable home, and there solacing himself with the conversations of friendship, or recruiting the languor of his worn-out spirits among the endearments of a family. There is a wall of defence, which, we understand, many of them have thrown around their persons, and, in virtue of

which, no one application about business is at all entertained, or listened to, excepting on business hours. Let them just guess, then, how much they would be teased, and jaded, and positively enfeebled, were this wall of defence broken down; and there regularly passed through the breach, in force and in frequency, every evening, upon them, a host of invaders, armed with their miscellany of mixed and multiform applications. Let them take this back to the case of a man, whose business is meditation. They, perhaps, may never have engaged to any great extent in this business. Then, we do not wait for the conviction of their personal experience on the subject; but we demand it as a right, that the man who has the experience should be believed. His positive testimony should be made to outweigh all that inexperience may conceive, or may utter, on such a case. If he happen to stand confronted with a public, who are utter strangers to the labour of intense thoughtfulness, the voice of such a public, if lifted in condemnation against him, should not be sustained as a voice of authority. They are not a competent jury upon this question. And, having premised this, we assert what we are not afraid to carry, by appeal, to the higher reason of the country—that the labour of intense study, if persisted in, for a few hours, is just as exhausting as the busiest and most lengthened forenoon of an ordinary citizen. He who has borne this labour through the day, has purchased by it, as good a right to exemption

from all that can disturb or annoy him—and if, nevertheless, these annoyances shall be obstinately presented to him, he is put into a state of mental and bodily suffering. There is a pressure upon his whole constitution, greater than the strength of it can enable him to carry. And, under these circumstances, he must cast about for relief, in some change of his daily and habitual arrangements.

We are all aware of the restless appetite of a sentient being, for a comfortable state of existence. In the case which we have now specified, this principle must tell. If a student was in the habit of labouring at his own peculiar exercise, up to the measure of his constitutional ability, then the additional labour that is thus laid upon him, lays also upon him the necessity of an abridgement upon his studies. He must just make a curtailment upon his business hours. There is a familiar advice, that is often given to a man under hardship, and which will come upon him with all the power of a most insinuating temptation: "Take matters easily." Are you busied with foreign applications? Take them easily. Are you cumbered with official patronage? Take it easily. Are you plied for your personal attendance on the work of secularities? Take it easily. Are you put into requisition, through the week, for a variety of manifold engagements? Take them all easily. Are you, in addition to other things, burdened with the duty of Sabbath preparation? It is true, that there is something in this employment, which

may well weigh a man down with a feeling of its importance. He is to address a number of unperishable creatures, about the affairs of immortality. But he has no other resource, than just to do with them what he does with the crowd and the frequency of his other affairs. He must throw together such thoughts as he can, and get up a half-hour exhibition, in some way or other; but, in self-defence, and as he values the great objects of comfort and endurance, he must, by all means, take the matter easily.

We need not say more about the direct blow which the prevailing system of our towns must, at length, in this way, give to the cause of practical Christianity, in our congregations and parishes. We proceed to another effect, still more palpable, if not more prejudicial, than the former. It will keep back and degrade the theological literature of Scotland.

There is nothing in the contrast which we are now to offer, between the theology of one age and that of another, which is not highly honourable to the present race of clergymen. The truth is, that they have kept their ground so well, against the whole of this blasting and degenerating operation, as to render it necessary, for the purpose of giving full effect to our argument, that we should look forward, in perspective, to the next age, and compute the inevitable difference which must obtain between its literature and that of the last generation.

On looking back to the distance of half a century, we behold the picture of a church adorned by the literature of her clergy. It is of no consequence to the argument, that the whole of this literature was not professional. Part of it was so; and every part of it proved, at least, the fact, that there was time, and tranquillity, and full protection from all that was uncongenial for the labours of the understanding. We cannot but look back with regret, bordering upon envy, to that period in the history of our church—when her ministers companied with the sages of philosophy, and bore away an equal share of the public veneration—when the levities of Hume, as he sported his unguarded hour, among the circles of the enlightened, were met by the Pastors of humble Presbyterianism, who, equal in reach and in accomplishment to himself, could repel the force of all his sophistries, and rebuke him into silence—when this most subtle and profound of infidels aimed his decisive thrust at the Christian testimony, and a minister of our church, and he, too, the minister of a town, dared all the hazards of the intellectual warfare, and bore the palm of superiority away from him—In a word, we look back, as we do upon a scene of departed glory, to that period, when the clergy of our cities could ply the toils of an unbroken solitude, and send forth the fruits of them, in one rich tide of moral and literary improvement over our land. It is true, that all the labours of that period were not

rendered up, in one consecrated offering, to the cause of theology. It is true, that among the names of Wallace, and Henry, and Robertson, and Blair, and Macknight, and Campbell, some can be singled out, who chose the classic walk, or gave up their talent to the speculations of general philosophy. Yet the history of each individual amongst them, proves that, in these days, there was time for the exercise of talent—that these were the days, when he, among the priesthood, who had an exclusive taste for theology, could give the whole force of his mind to its contemplations—that these were the days, when a generous enthusiasm for the glories of his profession, met with nothing to stifle or vulgarise it—that these were the days, when the man of prayer, and the man of gospel ministrations, could give himself wholly to these things, and bring forth the evidence of his profiting, either in authorship to all, or in weekly addresses to the people of his own congregation. It is true, that the names which we have now gathered, are all from the field of a lofty and conspicuous literature. Yet we chiefly count upon them, as the tokens of such a leisure, and of such a seclusion, and of such an habitual opportunity, for the exercises of retirement, as would give tenfold effect to the worthiest and most devoted ministers of a former generation—as enabled the Hamilton and Gillies of our own city, to shed a holier influence around them, and have throned, in the remembrance of living men, the

Erskine, and Walker, and Black, of our metropolis, who maintained, throughout the whole of their history, the aspect of sacredness, and gave every hour of their existence to its contemplations and its labours.

What is it that must cause all resemblance of this to disappear from a future generation? Not that their lot will be cast in an age of little men. Not that Nature will send forth a blight over the face of our establishment, and wither up all the graces and talents, which, at one time, signalised it. Not that some adverse revolution of the elements will bring along with it some strange desolating influence on the genius and literature of the priesthood. The explanation is nearer at hand, and we need not seek for it among the wilds or the obscurities of mysticism. Nature will just be as liberal as before; and bring forth the strongest and the healthiest specimens of mind, in as great abundance as ever; and will cast abroad no killing influence at all, to stunt any one of its aspiring energies; and will just, if she have free play, be as vigorous with the moral as with the physical productions of a former generation. This change, of which the fact will be unquestionable, however much the cause may elude the public observation, will not be the work of Nature, but of man. There will be no decay of talent whatever, in respect to the existence of it. The only decay will be in the exercise of talent. It will be—that her solitudes have all been violated—that her

claims have all been unheeded and despised—that her delicacies have all been overborne—above every thing, that her exertions and her capabilities have been grossly misunderstood—it not being known how much restraint stifles her—and the employments of ordinary business vulgarise her—and distraction impedes the march of her greater enterprises—and the fatigue she incurs by her own exercises, if accumulated by the fatigue of other exercises, which do not belong to her, may, at length, enervate and exhaust her altogether. Thus it is, that an unlearned public may both admit the existence of the mischief, and lament the evils of it, and yet be utterly blind to the fact, that it is a mischief of their own doing. They lay their own rude estimate on a profession, of the cares and the labours of which they have no experience—and, instead of cheering, do they scowl upon the men who vindicate the privileges of our order. They are perpetually measuring the habits and the conveniences of literary business, of which they know nothing, by the habits and the conveniences of ordinary business, of which they know something. And thus it is, that instead of the blind leading the blind, the blind, in the first instance, turn upon their leaders—they give the whole weight of their influence and opinion to that cruel process, by which the most enlightened priesthood in the world, if they submit to it, may, by the lapse of one generation more, sink down into a state of contentment with the

tamest, and the humblest, and the paltriest attainments. Nor will it at all alleviate, but fearfully embitter, the whole malignity of this system, should its operation be such, that, in a succeeding age, both our priests and our people will sit down in quietness, and in great mutual satisfaction with each other—the one, fired by no ambition for professional excellence; the other, actuated by no demand for it—the one, peaceably leaning down to the business of such services as they may be called to bear; the other, not seeking, and not caring for higher services.

Every thing that is said for the evils of such a system, should elevate, in public estimation, all our living clergymen. It came upon them in the way of gradual accumulation; and, at each distinct step, it wore the aspect of a benevolent and kind accommodation to the humbler orders of society. They are not to blame that it has been admitted; and we call upon the public to admire, that they have stood so well its adverse influence on all their professional labours. But there is one principle in human nature, which, if the system be not done away, will, in time, give a most tremendous certainty to all our predictions. It does not bear so hard on the natural indolence of man, to spend his life in bustling and miscellaneous activity, as to spend his life in meditation and prayer. The former is positively the easier course of existence. The two habits suit very ill together; and, in some individuals, there is an utter incompatibility

betwixt them. But should the alternative be presented, of adopting the one habit or the other, singly, the position is unquestionable, that it were better for the ease, and the health, and the general tone of comfort and cheerfulness, that a man should lend out his person to all the variety of demands for attendance, and of demands for ordinary business, which are brought to bear upon him, than that he should give up his mind to the labours of a strenuous and sustained thoughtfulness. Now, just calculate the force of the temptation to abandon study, and to abandon scholarship, when personal comfort and the public voice, both unite to lure him away from them—when the popular smile would insinuate him into such a path of employment, as, if he once enter, he must bid adieu to all the stern exercises of a contemplative solitude; and the popular frown glares upon that retirement, in which he might consecrate his best powers to the best interests of a sadly misled and miscalculating generation—when the hosannahs of the multitude cheer him on to what may be comparatively termed, a life of amusement; and the condemnation both of unlettered wealth and unlettered poverty, is made to rest upon his name, should he refuse to let down the painful discipline of his mind, by frittering it all away amongst those lighter varieties of management, and of exertion, which, by the practice of our cities, are habitually laid upon him. Such a temptation must come, in time, to be irresistible; and, just in proportion as

it is yielded to, must there be a portion of talent withdrawn from the literature of theology. There must be the desertion of all that is fine, and exquisite, and lofty, in its contemplations. There must be a relapse from the science and the industry of a former generation. There must be a decline of theological attainments, and theological authorship. There must be a yearly process of decay and of deterioration, in this branch of our national literature. There must be a descending movement towards the tame, and the feeble, and the commonplace. And thus, for the wretched eclat of getting clergy to do, with their hands, what thousands can do as well as they, may our cities come, at length, to barter away the labour of their minds, and give such a blow to theology, that, amongst men of scholarship and general cultivation, it will pass for the most languishing of the sciences.

And here we cannot but advert to the observation of Hume, who, be his authority in religion what it may, must be admitted to have very high authority in all matters of mere literary experience. He tells us, in the history of his own life, that a great city is the only fit residence for a man of letters; and his assertion is founded on a true discernment of our nature. In the country, there may be leisure for the pursuits of the understanding; but there is a want of impulse. The mind is apt to languish in the midst of a wilderness, where, surrounded perhaps, by uncongenial spirits, it stagnates and gathers the rust of decay, by its

mere distance from sympathy and example, and the animating converse of men who possess a kindred taste, and are actuated by a kindred ambition. Transport the possessor of such a mind to a town, and he there meets with much to arouse him out of all this dormancy. He will find his way to men, whose views and pursuits are in harmony with his own—and he will be refreshed for action, by the encouragement of their society—and he will feel himself more linked with the great literary public, by his personal approximation to some of its most distinguished members—and communications from the eminent, in all parts of the country, will now pour upon him in greater abundance—and above all, in the improved facilities of authorship, and from his actual position within the limits of a theatre, where his talents are no sooner put forth into exercise, than the fruits of them may be brought out into exhibition—in all this, we say, there is a power and a vivacity of excitement, which may set most actively agoing, the whole machinery of his genius, and turn to its right account, those faculties which, else, had withered in slothfulness, and, under the bleak influences of an uncheered and unstimulated solitude, might finally have expired.

This applies, in all its parts, to the literature of theology, and gives us to see, how much the cities of our land might do for the advancement of its interests. They might cast a wakeful eye over the face of the country—and single out all the

splendour and superiority of talent which they see in our establishment—and cause it to emerge out of its surrounding obscurity—and deliver it from the chill and langour of an uncongenial situation —and transplant it into a kindlier region, where, shielded from all that is adverse to the play or exercise of mind, and encouraged to exertion by an approving and intelligent piety, it may give its undivided labour to things sacred, and have its solitude for meditation on these things, varied only by such spiritual exercises out of doors, as might have for their single object the increase of Christian worth and knowledge amongst the population.

This is what cities might do for Theology. But what is it thát they in fact do for it? The two essential elements for literary exertion, are excitement and leisure. The first is ministered in abundance out of all those diversities of taste and understanding which run along the scale of a mighty population. The second element, if we give way much longer to the system which prevails among them—if we lay no check upon their exertions, and make no stand against the variety of their inconsiderate demands upon us—if we resign our own right of judgment upon our own habits and our own conveniencies, and follow the impulse of a public, who, without experience on the matter, can feel no sympathy and have no just calculation about the peculiarities of clerical employment—then should we be robbed of this second element altogether. We should lie under the malignity of

an Egyptian bondage,—bricks are required of us, and we have no straw. The public would like to see all the solidities of argument, and all the graces of persuasion, associated with the cause of sacred literature. But then they would desolate the sanctuaries of literature. They would drag away mind from the employments of literature. They would leave not one moment of time or of tranquillity for the pursuits of literature. They would consume, by a thousand preposterous servilities, all those energies of the inner man, which might, every one of them, be consecrated with effect, to the advancement of literature. In one word, they would dethrone the guardians of this sacred cause from the natural eminency of their office altogether; —and, weighing them down with the burden of other services, they would vulgarise them out of all their taste and all their generous aspirings after literature.

Here, then, is the whole extent of this sore and two-edged calamity. In the country, there is time for the prosecution of a lofty and laborious walk; but there is not the excitement. In the town, there is the excitement; but under the progress of such a system as we have attempted to expose, there will not be the time. There is a constant withdrawment of the more conspicuous members of our establishment from the solitude of their first parishes. But it is withdrawment into a vortex which stifles and destroys them. Those towns, which, with a few most simple and practicable

reformations, might be the instruments of sustaining the cause of theology, and of sending abroad over the face of our country, a most vigorous and healthful impulse towards the prosecution of theological learning, may, under that yearly process of extinction, which is now going forward, depress the whole literature of our profession, and by every translation from the country, may, in fact, absorb so much of promise and ability from the cause of the gospel. The atmosphere of towns, may at length become so pestilential, as to wither up the energies of our church, and shed a baleful influence over all that lustre of ministerial accomplishment, which otherwise might adorn it. And we have only to look to the last fifty years, and think of the new direction to our habits which has taken place in that period, in order to compute how soon our national establishment may, by the simple cause of its ministers being turned to the drudgery of other services, be shorn of her best and most substantial glories, and how soon that theology of which she is the appointed guardian, may come to sink both in vigour and illustration, beneath the spirit, and literature, and general philosophy, of the times.

Should no arrest be laid on this mischievous operation, then, by another age, will we behold two great absorbing eddies for the theology of our land. An Argus is stationed at each of them, whose office now, is to watch for all the rising excellence that shoots into visibility on the face of our establishment—and whose office then, will be

to lure it to inevitable destruction. In the short-lived whirl of some fair and even brilliant exhibitions, may it be able, in each individual case, to sustain itself for a few circling years above the surface of mediocrity, when it will at length touch the brink of its final engulfment, and disappear for ever.

Should any reader think that we have drawn the above picture with too faithful, or even with too strong a hand, we ask him further to think, that it is such a picture, as, by its very exhibition, may scare away the realities which it anticipates. The case, we are persuaded, requires only to be understood, and then will it be provided for, since the restoration of the clergy to their own proper and peculiar influence over the hosts of a city population, must appear both to the Christian and the general philanthropist, one of the most important all our national desiderata.

CHAP. II.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF LOCALITY IN TOWNS.

We do not know how the matter is ordered in London; but, in the second-rate towns of our empire, it will often be found, that, when a philanthropic society is formed in them for any assigned object, it spreads its operations over the whole field of the congregated population. This holds generally true both of the societies for relief, and of the societies for instruction. Take a clothing society, or an old man's friend society, or a destitute sick society, as examples of the former —or take a Sabbath school society, as an example of the latter—and, in by far the greater number of instances, will it be seen, that, instead of concentrating their exertions upon one district or department of the city, they expatiate at large, and over the face of its entire territory, recognising no other boundary, than that which lies indefinitely but fully beyond the final outskirts of the compact and contiguous dwelling-places.

We do not offer at present to discuss the specific merits of any of these societies; and though, in the remarks which immediately follow, we attach ourselves chiefly to the last of them—yet it is not with the view of appreciating or vindicating Sabbath schools; but, through them, to illustrate a principle of philanthropic management, for

which we can find no better designation, than the influence of locality in large towns.

In most of the Sabbath school societies with which we are acquainted, this principle is disregarded. The teachers are indiscriminately stationed in all parts of the city, and the pupils are as indiscriminately drawn from all parts of the city. Now, what we affirm, is, that the effectiveness of each individual teacher is greatly augmented, if a definite locality be given to him; and that a number of teachers spread over any given neighbourhood on this principle, is armed, in consequence of it, with a much higher moral power, over the habits and opinions of the rising generation.

Let a small portion of the town, with its geographical limits, be assigned to such a teacher. Let his place of instruction be within this locality, or as near as possible to its confines. Let him restrain his attentions to the children of its families, sending forth no invitations to those who are without, and encouraging, as far as it is proper, the attendance of all who are within. Under such an arrangement, he will attain a comfort and an efficiency in his work, which, with the common arrangement, is utterly unattainable. And, we farther conceive, that, if this local assignation of teachers were to become general, it would lead to far more precious and lasting consequences of good to society.

However thoroughly we may be convinced of

the benefit that would result from the influence of locality, we feel that it is not an easy task didactically to set forth this influence, by any process of argument or explanation. The conviction is far more readily arrived at by the tact of real and living experience, than by the lessons of any expounder. There is a charm in locality, most powerfully felt by every man who tries it; but which, at the same time, it is most difficult so to seize upon as to embody it in language, or to bring it forth in satisfying demonstration to the public eye. We do not know an individual who has personally attached himself to a manageable portion of the civic territory, and has entered with taste and spirit upon its cultivation—and who does not perceive, with something like the force and the clearness of intuition, that, if this way of it were spread over an assembled million of human beings, it would quickly throw a new moral complexion over the teeming expanse that is on every side of him. But what he feels, it is not easy to make others see. For, however substantial the influence of locality is, there is a certain shadowy fineness about it, in virtue of which it eludes the efforts of an observer to lay hold of it, and to analyse it. It is no bad evidence, however, of the experimental soundness of this operation, that the incredulity about it, is all on the side of those who stand without the field of local management; and the confidence about it, on the side of those who stand within; and that, while the former

regard it as a mystic and undefinable fancy, the latter find in it as much of sureness and solidity, as if their eyes saw it, and their hands handled it.

Let us attempt, however, in the face of all these difficulties, to offer some development of the precise character and tendency of the arrangement which we have now recommended.

The first effect of it which falls to be considered, is that which it has upon the teacher. He, with a select and appropriate vineyard thus laying before him, will feel himself far more powerfully urged, than when under the common arrangement, to go forth among its families. However subtle an exercise it may require from another, faithfully to analyse the effect upon his mind, he himself has only to try it, and he will soon become sensible of the strong additional interest that he acquires, in virtue of having a small and specific locality assigned to him. When the subject on which he is to operate thus offers itself to his contemplation, in the shape of one unbroken field, or of one entire and continuous body, it acts as a more distinct and imperative call upon him, to go out upon the enterprise. He will feel a kind of property in the families; and the very circumstance of a material limit around their habitations, serves to strengthen this impression, by furnishing to his mind a sort of association with the hedges and the landmarks of property. At all events, the very visibility of the limit, by constantly leading him to perceive the length and the breadth of his task, holds out an inducement

to his energies, which, however difficult to explain, will be powerfully felt and proceeded on. There is a very great difference, in respect of its practical influence, between a task that is indefinite, and a task that is clearly seen to be overtakeable. The one has the effect to paralyze; the other, to quicken exertion. It serves most essentially to spirit on his undertaking, when, by every new movement, one feels himself to be drawing sensibly nearer to the accomplishment of it—when, by every one house that he enters, he can count the lessening number before him, through which he has yet to pass with his proposals for the attendance of their children—and when, by the distinct and definite portion which is still untravelled, he is constantly reminded of what he has to do, ere that district, which he feels to be his own, is thoroughly pervaded. He can go over his families too, with far less expense of locomotion, than under the common system of Sabbath schools; and, for the same reason, can he more fully and frequently reiterate his attentions; and it will charm him onwards, to find that he is sensibly translating himself into a stricter and kinder relationship with the people of his district; and, if he have a taste for cordial intercourse with the fellows of his own nature, he will be gladdened and encouraged by his growing familiarity with them all; and thus will he turn the vicinity which he has chosen, into a home-walk of many charities; and recognised as its moral benefactor, will his

kindness, and his judgment, and his Christianity, be put forth, with a well-earned and well-established influence, in behalf of a grateful population.

Thus one great benefit of such an arrangement, is, its effects in calling out the exertion of the teachers; the next, is, its effect in calling out the attendance of the taught. The invitation comes upon them with far greater power, when it is to attend the weekly lessons which are given out in the close vicinity of their own habitations, than were it to attend at some distant place, where children are assembled from all quarters of the city. And the vicinity of the place of instruction to the taught, is not the only point of juxtaposition which goes to secure and to perpetuate their attendance. There is also much in the juxtaposition of the taught to one another. This brings what may be called the gregarious principle into fuller play. What children will not do singly, they will do with delight and readiness in a flock. This comes powerfully to the aid of the other advantages which belong to the local system—where the teacher will not only experience a kind reception at his first outset among the families, but will find, that in the course of a very few rounds, he engages, for his scholars, not a small proportion of the young, but a great majority of those in the district. And if he just follow up each act of absence, on the part of the children, by a call of inquiry upon their parents, he will succeed in con-

trolling them to regular and continued attendance —a habit, which, with a slight exertion of care upon his part, may be so kept up and strengthened, as to obtain, in the little vicinage over which he presides, all the certainty of a mechanical operation.

The third peculiar benefit of this local arrangement, is, its effect on the population of the district. That very influence which binds the teacher to the families, does, though by a looser and feebler tie, bind the families to each other. One great desideratum in large towns, is acquaintanceship among the contiguous families. And to promote this, every arrangement in itself right, should be promoted, which brings out the indwellers of one vicinity to one common place of repair, and brings upon them one common ministration. We believe, that the total want of parish schools, and the total neglect of the right of parishioners, to a preference for seats in parish churches, have, in addition to a mischief of a deadlier and more direct character, withheld from our population, the great, though collateral advantage that we are now insisting on. It is an advantage, which is, to a certain degree, made up by the local arrangement of Sabbath-schools—where, by next-door neighbours being supplied with one common point of reference; and their children being led to meet in each other's houses, at one common work of preparation; and all being furnished with one common topic of simple, but heart-felt gratitude—that moral distance is somewhat alleviated, which obtains in our great

cities, without any counteraction whatever, even among those living under the same roof, and which powerfully contributes, among other causes, to stamp a louring and unsocial aspect, on a city population.

The common system of Sabbath-schooling, has none of these advantages. The families that furnish children to the same teacher, may lie at a wide physical distance from each other; and it is therefore seldom that he holds any week-day intercourse at all, with the few and scattered houses out of which his scholars repair to him—or that he maintains any common understanding with the parents about their young—or that he joins his guardianship with theirs, in calling the absentees to account for their acts of non-attendance—or that he forms acquaintance with them upon that most gratifying and welcome of all intimations, that their children are doing well. The close and oft-repeated influences, in virtue of which, a local teacher may incorporate his school, with the habit of all the families that are allotted to him, are wanting to the general teacher. The latter may still, however, head a most numerous and respectable school; but this is more in virtue of a pre-existent desire for Christian instruction, than of any desire which he himself has excited among the families. Attendance upon a general teacher, in spite of distance and other disadvantages, generally argues, and is indeed the fruit of a certain value and pre-disposition for the lessons of Chris-

tianity. Attendance on a local teacher, is oftener the fruit, not of an original, but of a communicated taste for his instructions. It is a produce of his own gathering. It is the result, not of a spontaneous, but of a derived movement, to which he himself gave the primary impulse, by going aggressively forth upon a given territory; and which he perpetuates and keeps up by his frequent calls and his unremitting vigilance, and his oft-repeated applications, brought to bear upon one and the same neighbourhood.

Under a local system, the teachers move towards the people. Under a general system, such of the people as are disposed to Christianity, move towards them. To estimate the comparative effect of these two, take the actual state of every mixed and crowded population, where there must be many among whom this disposition is utterly extinguished. The question is, how shall the influence of a Sabbath school be brought most readily and most abundantly into contact with their families? Which of the two parties, the teacher or those to be taught, should make the first advances to such an approximation? To meet this question, let it ever be remembered, that there is a wide and a mighty difference between the wants of our physical, and those of our moral and spiritual nature. In proportion to our want of food, is our desire for food; but it is not so with our want of knowledge, or virtue, or religion. The more destitute we are of these last, the

more dead we are as to any inclination for them. A general system of Sabbath schooling may attract towards it all the predisposition that there is for Christian instruction, and yet leave the majority as untouched and as unawakened as it found them. In moving through the lanes and the recesses of a long-neglected population, will it be found of the fearful multitude, that not only is their acquaintance with the gospel extinguished, but their wish to obtain an acquaintance with it is also extinguished. They not only have no righteousness; but they have no hungering nor thirsting after it. A general teacher may draw some kindred particles out of this assemblage. He may bring around him such families as are of a homogeneous quality with himself. Those purer ingredients of the mass, which retain so much of the etherial character as to have an etherial tendency, may move towards a place of central and congenial attraction, though at a considerable distance from them; and, even though, in so doing, they have to come separately out from that overwhelming admixture with which they are encompassed. But the bulky sediment remains untouched and stationary; and, by its power of assimilation, too, is all the while adding to its own magnitude. And thus it is both a possible thing that schools may multiply under a general system, and that out of the resources of a mighty population, an overflowing attendance may be afforded to each of them, while an humble fraction of the whole is all that is overtaken; and below

the goodly superficies of a great apparent stir and activity, may an unseen structure of baser materials deepen and accumulate underneath, so as to furnish a solution of the fact, that with an increase of Christian exertion amongst us, there should, at one and the same time, be an increase of heathenism.

It is the pervading operation of the local system, which gives it such a superior value and effect in our estimation. It is its thorough diffusion through that portion of the mass in which it operates. It is that movement, by which it traverses the whole population, and by which, instead of only holding forth its signals to those of them who are awake, it knocks at the doors of those who are most profoundly asleep, and, with a force far more effective than if it were physical, drags them out to a willing attendance upon its ministrations. In this way, or indeed in any way, may it still be impossible to reach the parents of our present generation. But the important practical fact is, that, averse as they may be to Christianity on their own account, and negligent as they often are, in their own persons, of the Christianity of their children, still, there is a pride and a satisfaction felt in their attendance upon the Sabbath schools, and their proficiency at the Sabbath schools. Let the system be as impotent as it may in its efficiency upon the old, still it comes into extensive contact with the ductile and susceptible young; and, from the way in which it is fitted to muster them nearly all into its presence, is it fitted, in proper hands, to

wield a high and a presiding influence over the destinies of a future age.

The schools, under a general system, are so many centres of attraction for all the existing desire that there is towards Christianity; and what is thus drawn, is, doubtless, often bettered and advanced by the fellowship into which it has entered. The schools, under a local system, are so many centres of emanation, from which a vivifying influence is actively propagated through a dead and putrid mass. It does not surprise us to be told, that, under the former operation, there should be an increase of youthful delinquency, along with an increase of public instruction for the young. Should the latter operation become universal in cities, we would be surprised if there were still an increase of youthful delinquency; and it were a phenomenon we would be unable to explain.

The former, or general system, draws around it the young of our more decent and reputable families. It can give an impulse to all the matter that floats upon the surface of society. It is the pride of the latter, or local system, while it refuses not these, that it also fetches out from their obscurities, the very poorest and most profligate of children. It may have a painful encounter at the outset, with the filth, and the raggedness, and the other rude and revolting materials, which it has so laboriously excavated from those mines of depravity, that lie beneath the surface of common observation. But it may well be consoled

with the thought, that, while much good has been done by its predecessor, which, we trust, that it is on the eve of supplanting, it holds in its own hands the materials of a far more glorious transformation.

This is an age of many ostensible doings, in behalf of Christianity. And it looks a paradox to the general eye, that, with this feature of it standing out so conspicuously, there should also be an undoubted increase of crimes, and commitments, and executions, all marking an augmented depravity among our population. A very slight degree of arithmetic, we are persuaded, can explain the paradox. Let it simply be considered, in the case of any Christian institution, whether its chief office be to attract or to pervade. Should it only be the former, we have no doubt, that a great visible exhibition may be drawn around it—and that stationary pulpits and general Sabbath schools, and open places of repair for instruction indiscriminately to all who will, must give rise to a great absolute amount of attendance. And whether we look at the streets, when all in a fervour with church-going—or witness the full assemblage of children, who come from all quarters, with their weekly preparations, to a pious and intelligent teacher—or compute the overflowing auditory, that Sabbath after Sabbath, some free, evening sermon is sure to bring out from among the closely peopled mass—or, finally, read of the thousands which find a place in the enumerations of some great philan-

thropic society—we are apt, from all this, to think that a good and a religious influence is in full and busy circulation on every side of us. And yet, there is not a second-rate town in our empire, which does not afford materials enough, both for all this stir and appearance, on the one hand, and for a rapid increase, in the quantum of moral deterioration, on the other. The doings to which we have adverted, may bear, with a kind of magnetic influence, on all that is kindred in character to their own design and their own principle. They may communicate a movement to the minority who will, but leave still and motionless the majority who will not. Whole streets and whole departments may be nearly untouched by them. There is the firm and the obstinate growth of a sedentary corruption, which will require to be more actively assailed. It is certainly cheering to count the positive numbers on the side of Christianity. But, beyond the ken of ordinary notice, there is an outnumbering both on the side of week-day profligacy, and of Sabbath profanation. There is room enough for apparent Christianity, and real corruption, to be gaining ground together, each in their respective territories; and the delusion is, that, while many are rejoicing in the symptoms of our country's reformation, the country itself may be ripening for some awful crisis, by which to mark, in characters of vengeance, the consummation of its guilt.

In these circumstances, do we know of no ex-

pedient, by which this woful degeneracy can be arrested and recalled, but an actual search and entry upon the territory of wickedness. A mere signal of invitation is not enough. In reference to the great majority, and in reference to the most needful, this were as powerless as was the bidding to the marriage-feast of the parable. We must have recourse, at last, to the final expedient that was adopted on that occasion; or, in other words, go out to the streets and the highways, and by every fair measure of moral, and personal, and friendly application, compel the multitude to come in. We must do with the near, what we are doing with the distant world. We do not expect to Christianise the latter, by messages of entreaty, from the regions of paganism. But we send our messages to them. Neither do we give a roving commission to the bearer, but assign to each of them their respective stations in that field, which is the world. And we most assuredly need not expect to Christianise any city of nominal Christendom, by waiting the demand of its various districts, for religious instruction, and acting upon the demands, as they arrive. There must just be as aggressive a movement in the one case as in the other. There is not the same physical distance, but there is nearly the same moral distance, to be described with both; and they who traverse this distance, though without one mile of locomotion to the place of their labour, do, in effect, maintain the character, and fulfil the duty of missionaries.

Any one, or, at most, two philanthropists, may set forth upon such an experiment. They will soon, in the course of their inquiries, be enabled to verify the actual state of our city families, and, at the same time, their openness to the influence of a pervading operation. Let them, for this purpose, make their actual entrance upon a district, which they have previously chalked out as the ground of their benevolent enterprise; and it were better, that it should be in some poor and neglected part of the city. Let the one introduce the other to every family; and on the simple errand, that he meant to set up a Sabbath school, to be just at hand, and for the vicinity around him. With no other manner than that which Christian kindness would dictate, and just such questions as are consistent with the respect which every human being should entertain for another, we promise him, not merely a civil, but a cordial reception in almost every house, and a discreet answer to all his inquiries. The first thing which, in all likelihood, will meet his observation, is the mighty remainder of good that is left for him to do, amid the number and exertion of the general Sabbath schools that are on every side of him. It may be otherwise, in some few accidental districts. But, speaking generally, he will assemble a sufficient school out of a population of three hundred. Parents of all characters will accept his proposition with gratitude. And if, on his first meeting with their children in some apartment of the district,

he should be disappointed by the non-attendance of some whom he was counting on, a few calls of inquiry on the subject, will generally, at length, secure the point of their attendance; and, by following up every case of absence with a week-day inquiry at the parents, he will secure the regularity of it; and thus may he bring his moral and personal influence into contact with their young, for a few hours of every recurring Sabbath; and also keep up an influence through the whole week, by the circulation of books from a small library attached to his institution. It will prove a mighty accession to the good that he is doing, if he hold frequent intercourse with the families. Their kindness and his enjoyment will grow with the growth of their mutual acquaintanceship. And should he, in the spirit of a zealous philanthropy, resolve to cultivate the district as his own—should he fill up every opening to usefulness which occurs in it—should he mix consideration with sympathy—and, in all his services and all his distributions, bear a respect to their character as well as to their comfort—we cannot confidently say, that he will turn many from Satan unto God, but he will extinguish many an element, both of moral and political disorder.

A few months of perseverance will thoroughly engage him to the cause that he has undertaken. He will feel a comfort in this style of philanthropy, which he does not feel in the bustle and distraction of manifold societies. He will enjoy both the

unity and the effectiveness of his doings. And, instead of pacing, as he does now, among dull committees, and perplexing himself among the questions of a large and laborious superintendence, will he expatiate, without encumbrance, upon his own chosen field, and rejoice in putting forth his immediate hand, on the work of reclaiming it, from that neglected waste of ignorance and improvidence by which it is surrounded.

To be effective in such a walk of benevolence as this, it is not necessary to be rich. Should, for example, the defective education of a whole district be repaired by one individual, without the expense of a single shilling; and that, by the mere force of moral suasion, he, prevailing on every parent who required urgency upon the subject, to send all the children of a right age, to a week-day school upon their own charges—or, should another individual, standing in the relation that we are now explaining, to a particular district, put a debt, which bears most oppressively over one of the families, into a sure and rapid process of liquidation, and that, not by advancing one fraction, but by simply recommending the expedient of a small weekly deposite—and such instances as these, be varied and multiplied to the extent that is conceivable, would not this be enough to prove, that it is not in the influence which lies in wealth, but by the power which resides in the moral elements of intelligence and affection, that the good is to be accomplished? The weapons of this warfare

are, advice—and friendship—and humanity, at all times ready, without being at any time impertinent—and the well-earned confidence, which is ever sure to follow, in the train of tried and demonstrated worth—these, when wielded for a time by the same individual, on the same contiguous families, will work an effect of improvement, which never can be attained by all the devices and labours of ordinary committeeship.

There are so many philanthropists in this our day, that if each of them, who is qualified, were to betake himself, in his own line of usefulness, to one given locality, it would soon work a great and visible effect upon society. One great security for such an arrangement being propagated, is the actual comfort which is experienced by each, after he has entered on his own separate portion of it. But there is, at the same time, a temporary hinderance to it, in the prevailing spirit of the times. The truth is, that a task so isolated as that which we are now prescribing, does not suit with the present rage for generalising. There is an appetite for designs of magnificence. There is an impatience of every thing short of a universal scheme, landing in a universal result. Nothing will serve but a mighty organization, with the promise of mighty consequences; and, let any single person be infected with this spirit, and he may decline from the work of a single court or lane in a city, as an object far too limited for his contemplation. He may like to share, with others, in the enter-

prise of subordinating a whole city to the power of some great and combined operation. And we may often have to deliver a man from this ambitious tendency, ere we can prevail upon him to sit humbly and perseveringly down to his task—ere we can lead him to forget the whole, and practically give himself to one of its particulars—ere we can satisfy him, that, should he moralise one district of three hundred people, he will not have lived in vain—ere we can get him to pervade his locality, and quit his speculation.

This spirit has restrained the march of philanthropy as effectually, as, in other days, it did that of philosophy. In the taste for splendid generalities, it was long ere the detail and the drudgery of experimental science were entered upon. There is a sound and inductive method of philanthropy, as well as a sound and inductive method of philosophising. A few patient disciples of the experimental school, have constructed a far nobler and more enduring fabric of truth, than all the old schoolmen put together could have reared. And could we prevail on those who are unwearied in well-doing, each to take his own separate slip, or portion of the vast territory that lies before us, and to go forth upon it with the one preparation of common sense and common sympathy; and, resigning his more extended imaginations, actually to work with the materials that are put into his hand—would we, in this inductive way of it, arrive at a far more solid, as well as striking con-

summation, than ever can be realised by any society of wide and lofty undertakings.

The individual who thus sits soberly down to a work, that is commensurate with the real mediocrity of the human powers, will soon meet with much to reconcile him to the enterprise. He will not fail to contrast the impotency of every general management, in reference to the whole, with the efficacy of his own special management, in reference to a part. His feeling of the superior comfort of his own walk, and his conviction of its superior productiveness, will soon make up to him for the loss of those more comprehensive surveys that are offered to his notice by Societies, which, however gigantic in their aim, are so inefficient in their performance. He loses a splendid deception, and he gets, in exchange for it, a solid reality, and a reality too, which will at length grow and brighten into splendour, by the simple apposition of other districts to his own—by the mere summation of particulars—by each philanthropist betaking himself to the same path of exertion, and following out an example that is sure to become more alluring by every new act of experience.

There is an impatience on the part of many a raw and sanguine philanthropist, for doing something great; and, akin to this, there is an impatience for doing that great thing speedily. They spurn the condition of drivelling amongst littles; and unless there be a redeeming magnificence in the whole operation, of which they bear a part,

are there some who could not be satisfied with a humble and detached allotment in the great vineyard of human usefulness. A Sabbath school society for one city parish, has a greatly more limited aim, than a Sabbath school society for the whole city, or than a similiar society for the whole of Scotland. And yet, in opposition to the maxim, that union is power, would we strongly advise the managers of every parochial society, to refuse every other alliance than that of good will, with any wider association—to maintain, within its own limits, the vitality and the spirit of a wholly independent existence—to resist every offered extension of its mechanism, and rather leave the contiguous parish to follow its example, than lay upon it a chain of fellowship, which will only damp the alacrity and impede the movements of both. Not that we at all admire the narrowness of an unsocial spirit, which cares for nothing beyond the confines of its own territory. It is simply, that we hold it to be bad moral tactics, thus to extend the field of management—thus to bring a whole city or a whole province under one unwieldy jurisdiction—thus to weaken, by dispersion, the interest which we think is far more vivid and effective when concentrated upon one given locality—thus to exchange the kindliness of a small appropriated home for the cold lustre of a wider and more public management—thus to throw ourselves abroad, over an expanse of superficiality, instead of thoroughly pervading and filling up each of its subordinate

sections. We have, in fact, somewhat of the same antipathy to a general society for matters spiritual, that we have to a general session for matters temporal; and are most thoroughly persuaded, that the less we are linked and hampered with one another, the more effective will be all our operations.

In the work of filling up a parish with Sabbath schools, we would recommend the local system in its purest form; that is, that a small separate district should be assigned to each teacher, and that it should no more be his practice to draw the young from all parts of the parish indiscriminately, than to draw them from all parts of the city indiscriminately. There are many parishes in the empire, of a population, that would require fifty teachers for their thorough cultivation; and the danger is, that in the hurry of an ambitious desire to get up a complete apparatus, there may be a rapidity, and a regardlessness of qualification, in the admissions of new agency. It were greatly better, that the promoters of such an undertaking, should begin with one extremity of the ground upon which they have entered—cautiously provide for each department as they move onwards to the other extremity—and leave a portion, for a time, in an outfield state, rather than precipitate the appointments, or assign to any, a larger allocation than he can comfortably or effectually pervade.

It was a matter of speculation, some months ago, to subordinate the whole of Glasgow to this local system, and that, by a simultaneous move-

ment on the part of many individuals. It is greatly better that this was abandoned. The projectors of such a scheme never could have found their way through the conflict and perplexity of many opinions, to its accomplishment. To muster a force, in any way adequate to the commencement of such an enterprise, there behooved to be a very wide and crowded arena of consultation upon the subject; and this, to a moral certainty, would have turned out an arena of controversy, where, after a very great deal of unproductive speechifying, the parties would have neutralized each other's propositions, and the project been given up in despair. Even though it had been possible to institute a society for this object, the work of filling up the city with local schools, would have gone on most languidly —the agency would have sunk under the consciousness of a burden too heavy for them—it would have been utterly impossible to send, over this wide extent, the impetus of such a common spirit as is often observed to animate a more small and select band of philanthropists—in proportion to the sublimity of the aim, would have been the shortness and slenderness of the execution: and one delusion more would have been added to the number of others, by which the public have been blinded to the fact, that, amid all the zeal and variety of our apparent doings in behalf of Christianity, we live at a time when irreligion is multiplying her proselytes every day, and vice, and ignorance, and ferocity, are making their most frightful advances over a rapidly degenerating population.

But we have to record a far more fortunate attempt that was made some time ago, to institute a society of the same kind, on a more limited scale. We allude to the Saltmarket Sabbath School Society. The field of its operations takes in both sides of the street, with the deep, and narrow, and numerous lanes which branch off from them. It bears a population of 3624; and to cultivate this extent, there were only four individuals, at the outset of the undertaking, who, instead of spreading themselves over the whole, appropriated each a small locality, and waited for more agents, ere they proceeded to lay out the remainder. And, such is the impulse that lies in a field of exertion, with its boundaries lying visibly before you—such is the excitement given to human power, when linked with a task that may be surmounted, instead of being left to expatiate at random, over an obscure and fathomless unknown—such is the superior charm of a statistical over an extended territory, and such the more intense sympathy of a devoted few, in the prosecution of their common and defined object, than that of the scattered many, who have spread beyond the limits either of mutual inspection or of general control, that, in a few months, did this little association both complete its numbers, and thoroughly allocate and pervade the whole ground of its projected operations. It has now opened fourteen schools, and provided them with teachers. The number of

scholars is 420, amounting to more than a ninth of the whole population. This is a very full proportion indeed; for, on pretty extensive surveys, is it found, that the whole number of children, from the age of six to fifteen, comes to about one-fifth of the population. Certain it is, that all the general societies in previous operation, had brought out but a very slender fraction, indeed, of the number brought out by this local and pervading society—that many a crowded haunt of this district, was as completely untouched by the antecedent methods, as are the families in the wilds of Tartary—that hundreds of young, never in church, and without one religious observation to mark and to separate their Sabbath from the other days of the week, have thus been brought within an atmosphere, which they now breathe for the first time in their existence—that, with a small collection of books attached to each humble seminary, there is a reading of the purest and most impressive character, in full circulation amongst both the parents and the children who belong to it; and, what is not the least important effect of all, that, by the frequent recurrence of week-day visitations, there is both a Christian and a civilizing influence sent forth upon a whole neighbourhood, and a thousand nameless cordialities are constantly issuing out of the patriarchal relationship, which has thus been formed between a man of worth, and so many outcast and neglected families.

We know that there are many who look coldly and suspiciously to the whole system of Sabbath schools. We postpone, to some future number of this work, our direct vindication of them,—our sole object at present being to illustrate, by a reference to them, a principle which will afterwards be seen to bear, with effect, on a number of other questions, that respect both the Christian and the civic economy of our towns. But thus much we may at least say, that many of the objections proceed on an ignorance of the actual state of a crowded society; it not being sufficiently known, how utterly alienated the great majority of our young are from all Christian opportunities; and that there is an unobserved heathenism amongst us, which stands as much in need of being aggressively entered upon from without, as the heathenism of antiquity stood in need of apostles. Such is the lack of churches, and such is the dreary and unprovided extent of our city parishes, that the majority of our people may be said to live in a state of excommunication from all the privileges of a Christian land. The disgrace of their present habits is not theirs alone, but must be shared with them by others. And, if they have sunk in moral or religious worth, under a treatment, the necessary effect of which was thus to degrade them, let us not utter one sentence of disrespect, till we first try the effect of a treatment, the natural effect of which is to raise and to transform them. We could not, without this preliminary remark, have

adverted to the outset of one of these Saltmarket schools, or looked back on the first raw exhibition of the children, or revealed thus publicly what they once were, if we had not been enabled further to relate what, under the energetic superintendence of one of the teachers, they have actually become. Certain it is, that we never witnessed so rapid a cultivation; and when, on visiting the school a few months after its establishment, we beheld the dress and decency of their exterior, and marked the general propriety of their manners, and observed the feeling that was evident in the replies of some, and the talent and promptitude that shone forth in the replies of many—when, along with all this, we were made to rejoice in the greetings of the assembled parentage, and shared their triumph and satisfaction in the proficiency of their own offspring, whom, poor as they were, they, out of their own unaided resources, had so respectably arrayed—when we further reflected, that the living scene before us, was not made up of the scantlings of a whole city, but was formed by the compact population of one small but thoroughly explored vicinage,—with our eyes open to what had thus been done by the moral force of care and kindness on the part of one individual, we could not miss the inference, that, with a right distribution, it was in the power of a number of individuals, to throw another aspect over the habit and character of another generation.

There is much of experimental wisdom to be

gathered, we think, from the circumstances attendant on the origin and progress of this little association. We learn, by its history, first, what unsanctioned and wholly unofficial individuals can do. They had no superior to introduce or to accompany them in their rounds; and yet did they find their way to a gracious reception, and a firm practical concurrence with their scheme, on the part of the general population. They have also proved how much more stimulating a manageable section of the city is, than a mighty whole, over which there hangs the feeling of a weight and a difficulty insuperable. From the very outset of their undertaking, they were within clear sight of its termination, and felt themselves urged onwards at every new step, by a new inspiration of hope and energy, till, in a very few weeks, their establishment was completed. Their lists, furthermore, teach us how this is the effectual system for most thoroughly pervading any given space. The Sabbath scholars amount to more than a ninth of the whole population. There is one district, consisting of 264 people, which furnishes no less than 50 pupils; and before they are admitted, they must previously be able to read the New Testament. For the object of such institutions is greatly different from their general object in England. It is not to teach them the reading of the Scriptures; but to exercise their memory, and judgment, and conscience, on the lessons of Scripture. The Sabbath schools of our country do not supersede,

but stimulate the processes of week-day education. This has been their effect, in many instances, under the society in question. Were it otherwise, it might lead to the substitution of a worse for a better scholarship. But, as it is actually conducted, scholarship is not the fruit of attendance on these little seminaries, but the essential preparation for entering them. And thus have we the pleasure of recording, that, under the care and vigilance of a few associated individuals, an impulse, not merely on the side of Christianity, but on the side of ordinary learning, has been sent abroad among the families of a department, that, in both respects, was fast languishing into utter degeneracy. The machinery which they have so speedily raised, need only to be diligently wrought; and even the performance of a few months, warrants the largest expectation of good from their steady and unfaltering perseverance.

The number of scholars from this part of the town, in attendance upon the general schools, at the erection of this Society, was 128, being greatly less than a third of the number who attend the present schools. But the most cheering part of the whole operation, was, the great and immediate effect of the local interest, in calling out a well qualified agency for the work of this association. It consists of fourteen teachers, ten of whom were never employed in this capacity before; and who were allured to the enterprise by the peculiar motives and facilities which were attached to it.

In other words, to multiply and extend the good which has been done on this portion of the territory, we do not need to starve any one department of public usefulness that is now in operation. In answer to the prayers and the pains of Christians, will labourers come forth, as the work of the harvest is entered upon; and an influence, which never could have emanated from any one fountain of general superintendence, will spread itself among the contiguous districts, by a mere process of distinct and successive imitations.

It is the feeling of the writer of these remarks, that, for the purposes both of good superintendence and good workmanship, the extent of the Saltmarket district, is perhaps the most desirable that can be fixed upon, as being about the right extent of field, for a separate and independent management. It is scarcely possible to proceed far beyond such limits, without a growing sense of unwieldiness, and a proportional deadening of that interest and activity, which are far better kept up among the members of a small association. Certain it is, that the present size of our parishes in Glasgow, is greatly beyond the fittest magnitude, either for this or for any other operation, which points to the moral and religious welfare of our people. But there is a comfortable hope, that there will be a reduction and a splitting down of these enormous masses—that the process which clergymen, of late years, have had to undergo, will be altogether inverted; and, instead of over-

grown charges, where the care of souls, and the care of secularities were mingled together, into one disgusting compound, and laid upon their persons—that they will be disengaged, in toto, from the latter care; and, to prosecute the former with effect, will, by the multiplication of churches, have their respective managements then rendered strictly ecclesiastical, and gradually so lessened, as at length to be brought each within the grasp of one individual.

Strong, however, as our partialities are for the Saltmarket Society, we are not sure but that we feel a still greater interest in the solitary, yet eminently successful, attempt of a gentleman in our city, whose name, from motives of delicacy, we forbear to mention. It is now about a year and a half ago, since he assumed a district to himself, which he resolved to cultivate, on the system of local philanthropy. We believe that, in respect of the rank and condition of those who live in it, it is greatly beneath the average of Glasgow. It comprises a population of 996; whom he, in the first instance, most thoroughly surveyed, and all of whom, we are confident, he has now most thoroughly attached, and that, by a series of the most friendly and enlightened services. He has found room, within its limits, for four Sabbath schools, which he provided with teachers of his own selecting, and who, like himself, labour, of course, gratuitously in the cause;

as, indeed, we believe, do all the other Sabbath teachers in the city. The scholars amount to 110; which is, also, in very full proportion to the number of inhabitants. He has also instituted a Savings Bank, which takes in deposites only from those who live, and from those who work, within the bounds of this little territory. With this last extension of his plan, the bank may embrace a population of 1200; and, from its commencement, in December 19th, 1818, to December 18th, 1819, the whole sum deposited is £235 12*s.* 3*d.* During the twelvemonth, sixty families of this small district, have opened their accounts with the bank, and received an impulse from it, on the side of economy and foresight. This, in such a year, proves what might be made of the neglected capabilities of our labouring classes. Any general Savings Bank for the town at large, would not have called out one-tenth of this sum, from the obscure department which this gentleman occupies, and which, with the doings and the devices of a most judicious benevolence, he is so fast rescuing from all the miseries which attach to a crowded population. We hold this to be one of the most signal triumphs of locality. The sum deposited in this local bank, is about proportional to the sum of £30,000 for the town and suburbs of Glasgow; and forms another proof, among the many others which multiply around us, of the superiority, in point of effect, which a small and, at the same time, distinct and unfettered manage-

ment holds, over a wide and ambitious superintendence.

We read, in the book of Genesis, how few the righteous men were, that would have sufficed to save a city from destruction. It is cheering to calculate on the powers of human agency, and how much even an individual may do, when those powers are wisely and steadily directed, and, above all, what is the number of individuals required, who, if each, labouring in his own duteous and devoted walk, would altogether assure the magnificent result of a country recovered from vice and violence, and placed conclusively beyond the reach of all moral and all political disorders.

This result, will, at length be arrived at, not by the working of one mighty organization, for the achievement of great things, but by the accumulation of small things—not by men, whose taste it is to contemplate what is splendid in philanthropy, but by men whose practical talent it is, to do what is substantial in philanthropy—not by men, who eye, with imaginative transport, the broad and boundless expanse of humanity, but by men, who can work in drudgery and in detail, at the separate portions of it. But, before we can sit down and be satisfied with doing thoroughly and well, that which lies within the compass of our strength—there must be a conquest over the pride of our nature—there must be a calling in of the fancy, from those specious generalities, which have lured so many from the path of sober and productive

exertion—we must resign the glory of devising a magnificent whole, and count it enough to have rendered, in our narrow sphere, and in our little day, the contribution of a part to the good of human society. The whole it is only for Him to contemplate fully, whose agents we are, and who assigns a portion of usefulness to each severally, as he will. It is our part to follow the openings of his Providence, and to do, with our might, that work which he hath evidently put into our hands. Any great moral or economical change in the state of a country, is not the achievement of one single arm, but the achievement of many; and though one man walking in the loftiness of his heart, might like to engross all the fame of it, it will remain an impotent speculation, unless thousands come forward to share among them all the fatigue of it. It is not to the labour of those who are universalists in science, that she stands indebted for her present solidity, or her present elevation, but to the separate labours of many—each occupying his own little field, and heaping, on the basis of former acquisitions, his own distinct and peculiar offering. And it is just so in philanthropy. The spirit of it has gone marvellously abroad amongst us of late years; but still clouded and misled by the bewildering glare which the fancy of ambitious man is apt to throw around his own undertakings. He would be the sole creator of a magnificent erection, rather than a humble contributor to it, among a thousand more, each as ne-

cessary and important as himself. And yet, would he only resign his speculations, and give himself to the execution of a task, to which his own personal faculties were adequate, he would meet with much to compensate the loss of those splendid delusions, which have hitherto engrossed him. There would be less of the glare of publicity, but there would be more of the kindliness of a quiet and sheltered home. He could not, by his own solitary strength, advance the little stone into a great mountain, but the worth and the efficacy of his labours, will be sure to recommend them to the imitation of many—and the good work will spread by example, from one individual, and from one district to another—and, though he may be lost to observation, in the growing magnitude of the operations which surround him, yet will he rejoice even in his very insignificance, as the befitting condition for one to occupy, among the many millions of the species to which he belongs —and it will be enough for him, that he has added one part, however small, to that great achievement, which can only be completed by the exertions of an innumerable multitude—and the fruit of which is to fill the whole earth.

CHAP. III.

APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF LOCALITY IN TOWNS TO THE WORK OF A CHRISTIAN MINISTER.

It is perhaps the best among all our more general arguments for a religious establishment in a country, that the spontaneous demand of human beings for religion, is far short of the actual interest which they have in it. This is not so, with their demand for food or raiment, or any article which ministers to the necessities of our physical nature. The more destitute we are of these articles, the greater is our desire after them. In every case, where the want of any thing serves to whet our appetite, instead of weakening it, the supply of that thing may be left, with all safety to the native and powerful demand for it, among the people themselves. The sensation of hunger is a sufficient guarantee for there being as many bakers in a country, as it is good and necessary for the country to have, without any national establishment of bakers. This order of men will come forth, in number enough, at the mere bidding of the people; and it never can be for want of them, that society will languish under the want of aliment for the human body. It is wise in government to leave the care of the public good, wherever it can be left safely, to the workings of individual nature; and, saving for the administration of justice be-

tween man and man, it were better that she never put out her hand either with a view to regulate or to foster any of the operations of common merchandise.

But the case is widely different, when the appetite for any good, is short of the degree in which that good is useful or necessary; and, above all, when just in proportion to our want of it, is the decay of our appetite towards it. Now this is, generally speaking, the case with religious instruction. The less we have of it, the less we desire to have of it. It is not with the aliment of the soul, as it is with the aliment of the body. The latter will be sought after; the former must be offered to a people, whose spiritual appetite is in a state of dormancy, and with whom it is just as necessary to create a hunger, as it is to minister a positive supply. In these circumstances, it were vain to wait for any original movement on the part of the receivers. It must be made on the part of the dispensers. Nor does it follow, that because government may wisely abandon to the operation of the principle of demand and supply, all those interests, where the desires of our nature, and the necessities of our nature, are adequate the one to the other, she ought, therefore, to abandon all care of our interest, when the desire, on the part of our species, is but rare, and feeble, and inoperative, while the necessity is of such a deep and awful character, that there is not one of the concerns of earthliness which ought, for a moment, to be compared with it.

This we hold to be the chief ground upon which to plead for the advantage of a religious establishment. With it, a church is built, and a teacher is provided, in every little district of the land. Without it, we should have no other security for the rearing of such an apparatus, than the native desire and demand of the people for Christianity, from one generation to another. In this state of things, we fear, that Christian cultivation would only be found in rare and occasional spots over the face of extended territories; and instead of that uniform distribution of the word and ordinances, which it is the tendency of an establishment to secure, do we conceive that in every empire of Christendom, would there be dreary, unprovided blanks, where no regular supply of instruction was to be had, and where there was no desire after it, on the part of an untaught and neglected population.

We are quite aware, that a pulpit may be corruptly filled, and that there may be made to emanate from it, the evil influence of a false or mitigated Christianity on its surrounding neighbourhood. This is an argument, not against the good of an establishment, but for the good of toleration. There is no frame-work reared by human wisdom, which is proof against the frequent incursions of human depravity. But if there do exist a great moral incapacity on the part of our species, in virtue of which, if the lessons of Christianity be not constantly obtruded

upon them, they are sure to decline in taste and in desire for the lessons of Christianity; and if an establishment be a good device for overcoming this evil tendency of our nature, it were hard to visit, with the mischief of its overthrow, the future race either of a parish or of a country, for the guilt of one incumbency, or for the unprincipled patronage of one generation. We trust, therefore, in the face of every corruption which has been alleged against them, that our parochial establishments will stand, so as that churches shall be kept in repair, and ministers in constant succession, shall be provided for them. At the same time, we hope that no restriction whatever will be laid on the zeal and exertion of dissenters; and that any legal disability, under which they still labour, will, at length, be done away. The truth is, that we know not a better remedy against the temporary and incidental evils of an establishment, than a free, entire, aud unexcepted toleration; nor how an endowed church can be more effectually preserved, either from stagnation or decay, than by being ever stimulated and kept on the alert, through the talent, and energy, and even occasional malignity and injustice of private adventurers. Still, however, such is our impression of the overwhelming superiority of good done by an establishment, that, in addition to the direct Christian influence which it causes to descend upon the country from its own ministers, we regard it as the instrument of having turned the

country into a fitter and more prepared field, for the reception of a Christian influence from any other quarter. Insomuch, that had the period of the reformation from Popery, in Britain, been also the period for the overthrow and cessation of all religious establishments whatever, we apprehend that there would not only have been no attendance of people upon churches, but a smaller attendance of people upon meeting-houses than there is at this moment. They are our establishments, in fact, which have nourished and upheld the taste of the population for Christianity; and when that taste is accidentally offended, they are our establishments which recruit the dissenting places of worship with such numbers as they never would have gotten out of that native mass which had been previously unwrought, and previously unentered on.

In order that men may become Christians, there must either be an obtruding of Christianity on the notice of the people, or the people must be waited for, till they move themselves in quest of Christianity. We apprehend that the former, or what may be called the aggressive way of it, is the most effectual. Nature does not go forth in search of Christianity, but Christianity goes forth to knock at the door of nature, and, if possible, awaken her out of her sluggishness. This was the way of it at its first promulgation. It is the way of it in every missionary enterprise. And seeing, that the disinclination of the human heart to en-

tertain the overtures of the gospel, forms a mightier obstacle to its reception among men, than all the oceans and continents which missionaries have to traverse, there ought to be a series of aggressive measures in behalf of Christianity, carried on from one age to another, in every clime and country of Christendom. To wait till the people shall stir so effectually, as that places of worship shall be built by them, and the maintenance of teachers shall be provided by them, and that, abundantly enough for all the moral and spiritual necessities of our nation, is very like a reversal of the principle on which Christianity was first introduced amongst us, and on which, we apprehend, Christianity must still be upheld amongst us. We, therefore, hold it to be wise, in every Christian government, to meet the people with a ready-made apparatus of Christian education. It is like a constant and successive going forth amongst them with those lessons which they never would have sought after, through all the sacrifices that they else would have had to make, and all the obstacles that they else must have overcome. It is in order to perpetuate the religion of the people, keeping up the same aggressiveness of operation, which first originated the religion of the people. We are aware that itinerancy is an aggressive operation, and that dissenters do itinerate. But we are mistaken if, in this way, there is more of the gospel brought into contact with the inhabitants of our country, throughout the space of a year, than is heard on

every single Sabbath within the pale of its two establishments. This is not fastening the contempt of insignificance upon dissenters; for, in truth, the good done by their locomotive proceedings, forms, we believe, a very humble fraction, indeed, of the good that emanates from their pulpits, and is performed through the week, and around the vicinity of their pulpits, by the ministers who fill them. It is a mere question of moral and spiritual tactics, which we are at present engaged with. The ability and the Christian worth of dissenters, and the precious contributions which they have rendered to sacred literature, should ever screen them from being lightly or irreverently spoken of. And yet, among all their claims to the gratitude of the public, we think that they have a higher still, in their wholesome reaction on the establishments of the land, in their fresh and vigorous, and ever-recurring impulses on a machinery, the usefulness of which they may disown in words, while, in fact, they are among the most effective instruments of its usefulness.

So much for the question of a religious establishment over a country at large. But we think that it has a special advantage in towns, which has been, in a great measure, overlooked, or, at least, been wofully defeated in the practical management of towns.

In our last chapter, we made a comparison between local and general Sabbath schools. Now, a church is, or easily might be, in effect, a local

Sabbath school. Its district is, or ought to be, the parish with which it stands nominally associated, and its sitters ought to be the inhabitants of that parish. The established ministers of a large town, should be enabled, each to concentrate the full influence of his character and office, on his own distinct and separate portion of the whole territory. Any thing that can disturb the reiteration of his attentions to the same local quarter of the city, should be resisted as a detraction from his real usefulness. And what we affirm, is, that the united influence of the exertions of all the clergy, when generalised and extended over the town, will never nearly amount to the sum of their separate influences, when each is permitted to give the whole both of his Sabbath and week-day labour to the people of his own geographical vineyard.

To demonstrate this at length, we would just have to repeat the argument of the last chapter, with the substitution of other terms. We could not offer a complete analysis of that influence which lies in parochial locality, without a frequent recurrence to the very considerations upon which we have already decided in favour of Sabbath-school locality. We shall, therefore, at present, study to observe all the brevity that is consistent with the importance of the subject.

The influence of locality may be resolved into two influences; first, that which operates on the agent to whom the locality is assigned; and, secondly, that which operates on the people who reside within the field of his undertaking.

In the first place, then, it is not so likely that a minister will go forth on his share of the population, when spread at random over the whole city, as when they lie within the limits of a space that is overtakable. He feels an incitement to move in the latter way of it, which he does not feel when his attentions are dispersed over a wide and bewildering generality. He, under the one arrangement, may have rare, and rapid, and transient intercourse with the individuals of a diffused multitude; but this can never ripen into solid acquaintanceship with more than a very few. Under the other arrangement, he may, at a greatly less expense, attain to terms of confidence with some, and of familiarity with many. And it would add prodigiously to this operation, were his hearers, on the Sabbath, also his parochial acquaintances through the week. By this simple expedient alone, he would attain such an establishment of himself in his parish, in a single month, as he will not otherwise reach, but by the labour and assiduity of years. The very consciousness that, in a certain quarter of the city, lay the great body of his congregation, would be enough to assure him of a welcome there, and a friendship there, that would ever be inclining his footsteps to his parish, as the fittest scene of promise and of preparation for all his enterprises. And he would soon find, that the business of the Sabbath and the business of the week, had a most wholesome, reciprocal influence the one upon the other. The former business

would immediately open a wide and effectual door of intercourse with the people, and the latter business would not only retain their people in attendance upon their minister, but would rapidly extend their demand of attendance upon him, whenever there was room for it. So that, like as the local Sabbath school teacher recruited his seminary out of the families of the district that was assigned to him; so may the local minister, with far less fatigue and locomotion, than are now incurred by the distractions of too manifold and scattered a concern, not only recruit his church out of the parish to which it has been appropriated, but keep up an effective demand for seats, which shall press on the existing accommodation, and must at length be provided with more.

But the second influence of locality in this matter, is perhaps of greater efficacy still. The first is, that by which the minister obtains a more intense feeling of his relationship to his people. The second is, that by which the people obtain a more intense feeling of their relationship to their minister. It is incalculable how much this last is promoted, by the mere juxta-position of the people to one another. There is a great deal more than perhaps can be brought out by a mere verbal demonstration, in a number of contiguous families, all related by one tie to the same place of worship, and the same minister. It would go to revive a feeling, which is now nearly obliterated in towns, whereby the house which a man occupies, should be con-

nected, in his mind, with the parish in which it is situated, and an ecclesiastical relationship be recognized with the clergyman of the parish. In these circumstances, where there was no interference of principle, and no personal disapprobation of the clergyman, attendance upon the parish church, would at length pass into one of the habitual and established proprieties of every little vicinage. Old families would keep it up, and new families would fall into it; and the demand for seats, instead of slackening under such an arrangement, would become more intense every year, so as to form a distinct call for more churches, whenever they were called for by the exigencies of a growing population.

There is nothing fanciful in the charm which we thus ascribe to locality. It is the charm of tact and of experience. It is better, when the people who live beside each other, are under one common impression of good from their minister, than when these same people live asunder from each other. It is not known how much that impression is heightened by sympathy. Did each of the thousand who attend a dramatic performance, satisfy himself with reading the composition at home, the total impression among them were not half so powerful, as when, within the infection of one another's feelings, they sit together, at its representation in a theatre. This is, in part, due to the power of sensible exhibition in the acting. But it is also due, in great part, to the operation

of sympathy. And when contiguous families hear the same minister on the Sabbath, or come within the scope of the same household attentions on other days, there is between them, through the week, a prolonged, and often a cherished sympathy which, were the families widely apart in distant places of the town, would have no operation. Such a common topic, too, of reference and attention, would have a cementing influence on every little neighbourhood. It would draw next-door families into closer and nearer relationship with each other, and shed a mild, moral lustre, over many vicinities, now crowded with human beings, but desolate in respect of all those feelings which go to sweeten and to solace human bosoms. It would, in fact, go a certain way, to transplant into our larger towns, the kindliness of select and limited intercourse; so that, even though the minister could be the visitant of as many families, and the friend of as many individuals, on the general, as on the local system, yet the very circumstance of their being scattered, instead of being contiguous, makes a heavy deduction from the amount of his influence upon them. And, on these various accounts, do we think, that a city clergy would be greatly more effective under an arrangement, where, instead of the hearers of all churches being intermingled in every direction over the town, they were as much as may be, recalled from this state of dispersion, so as that they may be found together in their respective

parishes, and there offer to each of the ministers one separate and compact body of acquaintanceship.

But, after all, the argument of greatest strength for a strictly parochial system in towns, is identical with the argument for a religious establishment all over the country. People will not be drawn in such abundance to Christianity, by a mere process of attraction, as Christianity can be made to radiate upon them, by a process of emanation. We have not yet heard of any dissenting minister in towns, who assumed to himself a locality for the purpose of its moral and religious cultivation. We think, that it would greatly add to the power of his ministrations, if he did so. But, as the case stands, his pulpit operates on the neighbourhood, chiefly as a centre of attraction; and the people move, in the first instance, towards him, instead of him, in the first instance, going forth among the people. We can see, how he may form his congregation out of the pre-disposition for Christianity, that there already is in the place; and, in this way, how dissenters have, in fact, rendered this important service to the nation, that they have retarded the decline of its religious spirit and character. But we do not see, in their system, what the forces are, by which the nation can be recalled from the declension into which it has actually sunk. We do not see, how the torpid, and lethargic, and ever-augmenting mass, can be effectually wrought upon. Many will continue to attend their meet-

ing-houses, and thus be retained by them on the side of Christianity. But we do not see, how it is likely that many will be recovered and brought over from the side of practical Heathenism. And thus it is, that, along with the multiplication of their pulpits, and the undoubted zeal and ability of those who fill them, there has been, in our chief towns, an increasing alienation from the word and ordinances, on the part of the inhabitants, and that, greatly beyond the rate of the increasing population.

The pulpit of an established minister, may, like a local sabbath-school, be turned into a centre of emanation. Instead of having a merely attractive influence, which can operate only where a taste for Christianity already exists, there may, in the person of him who fills it, and in virtue of the peculiar advantages which we have just explained, go forth a pervading influence, which may be made to spread itself through every portion of the space that he occupies, and be reiterated upon it at short intervals, and with successive applications. He, and the auxiliaries with whom he stands associated, may keep up an incessant locomotion among the families, and they will scarcely meet with one solitary exception in the way of a cordial and universal welcome. This is the way in which a local teacher recruits his school out of families that felt no moving inclination whatever towards a general teacher; and this, in effect, is the way in which a parochial clergyman, had he room and

space for it, may reclaim to congregational habits, a whole multitude that have sat motionless for years, and grown most alarmingly in number, under all that churches and meeting-houses have yet done for them.

The ideas of rest, and stillness, and stagnancy, have long been associated with an establishment. But the truth is, that they are its facilities for a busy movement of circulation over a given space, which confer upon it, in our apprehension, a mighty superiority over a mere system of dissenterism. It is true, that the movement is, in a great measure, internal; and for this reason, it does not bear ostensibly upon it the character of a missionary enterprise. But surely, a missionary object is as much fulfilled by the movement that comprehends all who are within, as by the movement that extends to all who are without. The precept of "Go and preach the gospel to every creature," includes an application to the outcasts at home, as well as to the outcasts abroad; and, on the very principle which inclines us to the frame-work of a missionary society, do we feel inclined to the frame-work of a national establishment.

It will readily be asked, why, if an establishment be an engine of such mighty operation, it has done so little. Is it at all palpable, that, with the same talent and professional ardour, an established clergyman does more to stay the declension of a religious habit in towns, than the dissenting minister who labours on the same field along with him?

And would the difference, in point of result, have been great, from the state of matters as it now exists around us, though, instead of so many endowed churches with territorial portions of the city annexed to them, there had just been the same number of additional meeting-houses, all drawing such hearers as they could out of a common population?

It is quite true that the establishment has been greatly more powerless in cities, than, with care and vigilance on the part of our rulers, it might have been. It is not merely of the inadequate number of churches that we complain, though these, in some of the chief cities of our empire, could not harbour more than a tenth part of the inhabitants. Neither is it of the manner in which the clergy have been loaded with such extra-professional work, as in fact, has reduced their usefulness as ministers, greatly beneath the level of that of their dissenting brethren. But, in addition to all this, the most precious advantages of an establishment, have been virtually thrown away, and its ministers disarmed of more than half their influence, by a mere point of civic practice and regulation. By what may be called a most unfortunate blunder in moral tactics, an apparatus that might have borne with peculiar effect on the hosts of a rapidly degenerating population, has been sorely thwarted and impeded in the most essential part of the mechanism which belongs to it. Not by the fault of any, but through the mere oversight of all, a wide

disruption has been made between city ministers, and the people of their respective localities; and we should esteem it a truly important epoch in the Christian economy of towns, were effectual measures henceforth taken, to repair gradually, and without violence, the mischief alluded to.

What we complain of is, the mode which has obtained hitherto of letting the vacant church-seats. They are open to applications from all parts of the town and neighbourhood, and that, till very lately, without any preference given to the inhabitants of the parish.

It is this, which, trifling as it may appear, has struck with impotency our church establishment in towns, and brought it down from the high vantage ground it might else have occupied. In this way each church is made to operate, by a mere process of attraction, over an immense field, instead of operating by a process of emanation, on a distinct and manageable portion of it. With the exception of his civil immunities, and his civil duties, which last form a heavy deduction from his usefulness, there remains nothing to signalise an established over a dissenting minister, though the capabilities of his office ought to give him the very advantage which a local has over a general Sabbath school. That which, in argument, forms the main strength of our establishment, has, in practice, been so utterly disregarded, as, in fact, to have brought every city of our land under a mere system of dissenterism. It is not of the powerful influence

of dissenters that we complain. It is of the feeble influence of their system. It is not that they are become so like unto us, as to have gained ground upon the establishment. It is, that we have become so like unto them, as both of us to have lost ground on the general population. Locality, in truth, is the secret principle wherein our great strength lieth; and our enemies could not have devised more effectual means of prevailing against us, in order to bind us and to afflict us, than just to dissever this principle from our establishment. Our city rulers, without the mischievous intent, have inflicted upon us the mischievous operation of Delilah; and since we are asked, why it is that, with all the strength and superiority which we assign to an establishment, we put forth so powerless an arm on the general community—we reply, that it is, because, under this operation, our strength has gone from us, and we have become weak, and are like unto other men.

It is well enough that every article of ordinary sale is to be had in stationary shops, for the general and indiscriminate use of the public at large; for all who need such articles, also feel their need, and have a moving force in themselves to go in quest of them. But this is no reason why the same thing should have been done with Christianity. It is what all men need, but what few feel the need of; and, therefore it is, that, under our present arrangement in towns, there are many thousands who will never move towards it, but where

still it is in our power to reclaim and to engage did we obtrude it upon them. We cannot think of a more effectual device, by which to send a reaching and a pervading influence to this sedentary part of our population, than by binding one church, with one minister, to one locality. Under the opposite, and, unfortunately, the actual system, the result, that is now visibly before us, was quite unavoidable. All the activity of dissenters, aided by the established church, whose activity and influence have been, in fact, reduced to that of dissenters, could not have prevented it. It is not mere Sabbath preaching that will retain, or, far less, recal a people to the ordinances of Christianity. It is not even this preaching, seconded by the most strenuous week-day attentions, to hearers lying thinly and confusedly scattered over a wide and fatiguing territory. With such a bare and general superintendence as this, many are the families that will fall out of notice; and there will be the breaking out of many intermediate spaces, in which there must grow and gather, every year, a wider alienation from all the habits of a country parish; and the minister, occupied with his extra-parochial congregation, will be bereft of all his natural influence over a locality which is but nominally his. The reciprocal influence of his sabbath and week-day ministrations on each other, is entirely lost under such an arrangement. The truth is, that let him move through his parish, he may not find so much as a hundred hearers within

its limits, out of more than ten times that number, who attend upon him. And conversely, however urgent might be the demand in his parish for room in his church, which, under the existing practice, it is not likely to be, he has not that room that is already in foreign occupation, to bestow upon them. A parochial congregation would have, at the very outset, throned him in such a moral ascendancy over his district of the town, as the assiduities of a whole life will not be able to earn for him. But, as the matter stands, he is quite on a level, in respect of influence, with his dissenting brethren; and the whole machinery of an establishment, in respect of its most powerful and peculiar bearings upon the people, is virtually dissolved. On the system of each minister feeding his church from his parish, he could not only have crowded his own place of worship, but stirred up such an effective demand for more accommodation, as might have caused the number of churches and the number of people to keep in nearer proportion to each other. But, under the paralyzing influence of the present system, it is not to be wondered at, that the urgency for seats should have fallen so greatly in the rear of the increasing rate of population; and that the habit of attendance on any place of religious instruction whatever, should have gone so wofully into desuetude—and that the feeble operation of waiting a demand, instead of stimulating, should be so incompetent to reclaim this habit; and that the labouring classes in towns,

should have thus become so generally alienated from the religious establishment of the land—and, what is greatly worse than the desertion of establishments, that a fearful majority should be now forming, and likely to increase every year, who are not merely away from all churches, but so far away, as to be beyond the supplementary operation of all meeting-houses—a majority that is fast thickening upon our hands, and who will be sure to return all the disorders of week-day profligacy upon the country, because that country has, in fact, abandoned them to the ever-plying incitements and opportunities of Sabbath profanation.

Before setting forth those expedients for the alleviation of this mischief, which we shall venture to recommend, we shall offer numerical estimates of the extent of it, taken from the actual survey of small slips and portions of the territory, but which, we are confident, do not exceed a fair average reckoning for the whole.

Let it be premised, that, in a country parish, the nnmber who should be in attendance upon church, is computed at one-half of the whole population. In towns where the obstacle of distance is not to be overcome, a larger proportion than this is generally fixed upon. We think it, however, overrated at two-thirds, and shall therefore assign the intermediate fraction of five-eighths, as the ratio which the church-going inhabitants of a town should bear to the total number of them.

The first result that we shall give, is the fruit of a larger survey, made in one of the extreme districts of Glasgow, and comprehending a population of 10,304. The number of Sabbath-hearers ought, at the rate now specified, to have been 6240. The number of seats actually taken, in all the churches and meeting-houses put together, was only 2930. This survey becomes more instructive, when regarded in the separate portions of it. As it passes onwards to the limits of the royalty, where the people become poorer, and the space which they occupy is in contact with that enormous parish, the Barony, whose population by a recent survey, is found to be 51,861, the proportion of non-attendance becomes much greater. There are, along the line of separation between the city and the suburbs, contiguous populations of 377, 400, 500, 475, 469, and 468, where the numbers that ought to attend a place of worship are 236, 250, 322, 297, 293, and 293, respectively; and where the sittings actually taken, which correspond to these numbers, are 76, 74, 131, 87, 103, and 113. Thus, in some instances, is it found, that the church-going population bear only the proportion of less than one-fifth to the whole, and than one one-third to that part of the whole, who would, in a well-ordered state of things, be in a regular habit of attendance upon ordinances. It is remarkable, that in one of those spaces which comprised a population of 875, there were not above 4 individuals who had a sitting in an estab-

lished church; so that, were it not for dissenters, who take up at least 148 out of the whole, and 38 in chapels of ease, there would have been a district of the city, with a larger population than is to be found in many of our country parishes, in a state nearly of entire Heathenism. The country, in fact, lies under the deepest obligation to the dissenting clergy; and let no petty jealousies interfere with the ackowledgments due to men who have done so much to retard the process of moral deterioration; and whose abilty and zeal have carried onward to the limit of its utmost possible operation, the high function that they fulfil in the commonwealth.

This survey was not carried beyond the limits of the Royalty; but we are sure, if it had, that all the results would have been aggravated. In a parish of upwards of 50,000 people, where one church, and three subsidiary chapels, form the whole amount of accommodation provided by the establishment, we confidently aver, that not one-fifth of those who live in it, and not one-third of those who should have sittings, are in the habit of attendance upon any ordinances whatever; and that this computation holds, after dissenterism has put forth all its resources, and it has been free to expatiate over every neighbourhood of human beings for several generations. Such is the tried inefficiency of its mechanism. It will never, of itself, do the work of an establishment, however essential it may be in a country, to stimulate and

to supplement an establishment. And when we contemplate the magnitude of those suburb wastes, which have formed so rapidly around the metropolis, and every commercial city of our land—when we think of the quantity of lawless spirit which has been permitted to ferment and to multiply there, afar from the contact of every softening influence, and without one effectual hand put forth to stay the great and the growing distemper—when we estimate the families which, from infancy to manhood, have been unvisited by any message from Christianity, and on whose consciences the voice of him who speaketh the word that is from heaven has never descended, we cannot but charge that country, which, satisfied if it neutralize the violence, rears no preventive barrier against the vices of the people, with the guilt of inflicting upon itself a moral, if not a political suicide.

It is to be presumed, that, in the central districts of the city, the rate of attendance upon places of worship is not so deficient. It is observable, that the mere juxta-position of a church or a meeting-house, stimulates, to a certain degree, the attendance of those who live in its immediate vicinity. The very sight of a fabric for Christian instruction, is, in itself, an obtrusion of Christianity on the notice of the people. But this circumstance singly, will not do much. The mere erection of fabrics for the accommodation of the inhabitants of a town, will have no sensible effect,

without an aggressive operation upon the inhabitants themselves. There are interior departments of population in Glasgow, where the amount of church-going is greatly less than all that we have yet specified. In that short street called the Goose-Dubbs, with the few lanes and closses which belong to it, there are 945 people, only 106 of whom have seats any where. The deficiency is as great in some of the sub-districts of the Saltmarket.* Dissenterism has done something for these families. It has done much more for them than the establishment has done, and yet but a humble fraction of what an establishment might do, and is best fitted to do. But the mere building and opening of a new church, will not attract them. They who are connected with the church, must go forth upon them. The sluggishness of the existing habit, will not be so easily overcome as those may imagine, who have only observed the readiness with which a place of worship is filled, where there is the glare of novelty, or the attraction of a little more eloquence than usual, or even the solid recommendation that attaches to him who is a firm and faithful expounder of the New Testament. All this will impress a preference and a locomotion on the part of those who have a pre-existent taste for

* In one district of the Saltmarket, there are 387 people, and only 61 of them who have seats in any place of worship. In Clay-Braes, there are 64 seats among 319 people. And in one continuous space of the Bridgegate, are there 209 people, only 7 of whom have seats any where.

Christianity; and thus a new congregation may immediately be formed, out of shreds and detachments from all the previous ones. But it will be a mixed, and not a local congregation. There is no portion of what may be called the outfield population, that will be sensibly reclaimed by it. And little do they know of this department of human experience, who think that it is on the mere strength of attractive preaching, that this is to be done.

An experiment may often be as instructive by its failure, as by its success. We have here to record the fate of a most laudable endeavour, made to recal a people alienated from Christian ordinances, to the habit of attendance upon them. The scene of this enterprise was Calton and Bridgeton—two suburb districts of Glasgow which lie contiguous to each other, bearing together, a population of above 29,000, and with only one chapel of ease for the whole provision, which the establishment has rendered to them. It was thought that a regular evening sermon might be instituted in this chapel, and that for the inducement of a seat-rent so moderate as from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a-year, to each individual, many who attended no where through the day, might be prevailed upon to become the regular attendants of such a congregation. The sermon was preached, not by one stated minister, but by a succession of such ministers as could be found; and as variety is one of the charms of a public exhibition, this also might

have been thought a favourable circumstance. But besides, there were gentlemen who introduced the arrangement to the notice of the people, not merely by acting as their informants, but by going round among them with the offer of sittings, and, in order to remove every objection on the score of inability, they were authorised to offer seats gratuitously to those who were unable to pay for them. Had the experiment succeeded, it would have been indeed the proudest and most pacific of all victories. But it is greatly easier to make war against the physical resistance of a people, than to make war against the resistance of an established moral habit. And, accordingly, out of the 1500 seats that were offered, not above 50 were let or accepted by those who had before been total non-attendants on religious worship; and then about 150 more were let, not, however, to those whom it was wanted to reclaim, but to those who already went to church through the day, and in whom the taste for church-going had been already formed. And so the matter moved on, heavily and languidly, for some time, till, in six months after the commencement of the scheme, in September 1817, it was finally abandoned.

There were several ingredients of success, however, wanting to this experiment. There was no such reiteration of one minister, as would ripen into familiarity or friendship between him and his hearers. There was no reciprocity of operation, between the duties of the Sabbath, and the

duties of the week. The most aggressive part of a minister's influence upon the people, lies in his being frequently amongst them; the recognised individual, whose presence is looked for at their funerals, and who baptizes their children, and who attends their sick-beds, and who goes round amongst them in courses of religious visitation. There was nothing of all this in the experiment; nor were the Christian philanthropists who did go forth upon the population, so firmly embodied under one head, or so strictly and officially attached to one locality, as fairly to represent the operation of a stated minister, and, where possible, a residing eldership. Above all, in so wide and dispersed a locality in question, it was not by the marvellous doings of one year, that a great or visible change in the habits of the people ought to have been expected. The descent of more than half a century, will not be so easily or so speedily recovered. Such an achievement as this, can never be done without labour and without the perseverance of men, willing to plod and to pioneer their way through the difficulties of a whole generation.

This may serve to guide our anticipations, respecting the probable effect of new churches, built in places of the most crowded and unprovided population. A given territory ought, by all means, to be assigned to each of them; and, in letting the seats, a preference should be held out to the residents upon that territory. But we should not be sanguine in our hopes of the pre-

ference being, to any great extent, actually taken by them in the first instance; and, this, if the cause be not adverted to or counted on, may, for a time, damp and discourage the whole speculation. On our first entrance upon new ground, we must consider that there is a minority already in possession of sittings elsewhere, and that, nearly up to the existing taste for church-going; and that there is a majority in whom that taste must be formed and inspired, ere the church can be recruited out of their numbers. A congregation, out of these, may be looked for in time, as the fruit and the reward of perseverance; but it cannot be looked for immediately. The best rule of seat-letting, in these circumstances, is, to hold out a preference, in the first instance, to the inhabitants of the new parish, and then, in as far as that preference is not taken, to expose the remaining seats to the applications of the general public. It is of importance, however, that each of the extra-parochial sittings should be let in the name of one individual, instead of their being let by threes and fours in the name of the head or representative of a family, for, in this latter case, they may pass from one member of it to another, and, perhaps, descend to its next and its succeeding generations. The object of this last regulation is, to secure a more rapid and abundant falling in of extra-parochial vacancies, which should be rigidly and unviolably offered to parishioners from one year to another, as they occur. Under such

a constitution, there may, at the outset of every new church, be but a small proportion of parishioners attending it; but, with the removal or the dying off of extra-parochial hearers, there will be a certain number of vacancies to dispose among them annually. Meanwhile, the interest of the minister, in his new parish, will be gradually extending, and, with very ordinary attention on his part, may so keep pace with the disappearance and decay of the exotics among his congregation, as will enable him to replace them by parish applicants; and thus, in the process of time, will a home be substituted in the place of a mixed congregation. It were laying an impossibility upon a clergyman, at once to call in from a yet unbroken field, fifteen hundred ready and willing attendants, upon his ministrations. But this, without any colossal energy at all, he might do at the rate of fifty in the year. So that though he begins himself with a mixed auditory made out of hearers from all the parishes of the city, there may be such a silent process of substitution going forward during the course of his incumbency, as shall enable him to transmit to his successor an almost entirely parochial congregation.

This is the way, in fact, in which all our existing congregations might be at length parochialised. It should be done by an enactment of gradual operation. Were they now broken up, for the purpose of being new-modelled, and that instantly on the local principle, there would be violence

done to the feelings of many an individual. But what is more, it would also be found that after the dispersion of our mixed congregations, there would be a very inadequate number of applicants in the poorer parishes ready to take the places which had thus been dispossessed. It is much better if the existing arrangement can be righted without the soreness of any forced or unnatural separations, and in such a way as that no actual sitter can, on his own account, personally complain of it. Though he retain his right of occupation till death, the substitution of a home for a foreign congregation, will yet go on, and as rapidly perhaps as the parochial demand for seats can be stimulated. So that the sure result will at length be arrived at, of the parish and congregation being brought within the limits of one influence, and reduced to the simplicity of one management.

There is a philanthropy more sanguine than it is solid, which, impatient of delay, would think an operation so tardy as this unworthy of being suggested, and refuse to wait for it. But it is the property of sound legislation to look, to distant results, as well as to near ones—to be satisfied with impressing a sure movement, though it should be a slow one—nor does the wisdom of man ever make a higher exhibition, than when apart from the impulse of a result that is either speedy or splendid, she calmly institutes an arrangement, the coming benefit of which will not be fully realised till after the lapse of our existing generation.

But it is not enough that the demand of each parish, for seats, should be stimulated up to the extent of its present accommodation. The truth is, that all our large towns have so far outgrown the church establishment, that though each church were crowded, and with local congregations too, and each meeting-house already in existence were also filled to an overflow, there would still be a fearful body of the people in the condition of outcasts from the ordinances of Christianity. The mere erection of additional fabrics will do nothing to remedy this, without an operation on the people who should fill them. It must be admitted that the Calton experiment looks rather discouraging. But still, we think that certain adverse ingredients may be removed from it, and certain favourable ingredients be substituted in its place. It was really not to be expected, that much could be done by an indefinite number of ministers, who each had the transient intercourse of a rare and occasional Sabbath evening with the people, without any week-day movement amongst them at all. But is there not a greater likelihood of success, when the same attempt is made by one minister in his own parish, in conjunction, perhaps, with an assistant equally bound to its locality with himself? And what the influence of a few private philanthropists, going forth on so wide and populous a district as the one we are alluding to, could not accomplish by a transient effort, may at length be accomplished by persevering and reiterated efforts on the part of

an official body, raised, perhaps, into existence for the very object of calling out a parochial congregation, and animated with a sense of the importance of achieving it. Even with all these advantages, the strenuousness of an encounter with previous and established habits will be felt, an encounter which will require to be as assiduously met by moral suasion through the week, as by preaching on the Sabbath. At the same time, it is a very great mistake, to think that any other peculiar power is necessary for such an operation, than peculiar pains-taking. It is not with rare and extraordinary talent conferred upon a few, but with habits and principles which may be cultivated by all, that are linked our best securities for the reformation of the world. This is a work which will mainly be done with every-day instruments operating upon every-day materials; and more, too, by the multiplication of labourers, than by the gigantic labour of a small number of individuals. The arrangement now suggested, may exemplify this. Let a Sabbath evening sermon be preached in the church of a city parish, to a parochial congregation, distinct from the day-hearers altogether. Let a moderate seat-rent be exacted, and a preference for these seats be held out to those in the locality, who have sittings no where else. Some care and some perseverance will be necessary to ensure the success of such an enterprise. But there is nothing impracticable about it, and no such impediments in the way of its exe-

cution, as to stamp upon it the least degree of a visionary character. There need be no additional labour to the minister, who may, in fact, take full relief to himself, from an assistant. There may, at length, be no additional expense to the city, seeing that out of the produce of the seat-rents, all the charges of the evening arrangement will in time be defrayed. There will even be no additional fabrics to build, in the first instance, which the people are not yet in readiness to fill, were they erected in any sensible proportion to the existing deficiency. Thus, by a very cheap and simple arrangement, may the number of ecclesiastical labourers be doubled in every city of our land; and, with the distinctness of the day and evening congregations, the number of sitters belonging to the establishment, at length, be doubled also. We are not aware of a speedier method for reclaiming the outcasts and wanderers of a city population, to congregational habits; nor can we think how an approximation equally rapid, and, at the same time equally practicable, can be made in towns to the parochial system. It would instantly improve the condition of the minister as to his relationship with the parish, who will gain more by it, in point of recognition, within his own locality, in a single month, than he could do by preaching to a mixed congregation for a whole life-time. And it would gradually extend a taste and a demand for the services of Christianity, among a people who had no taste and no demand

for them before. It is altogether a chimerical apprehension, that it may only change day-sitters into evening sitters, and cause those who have now a full participation of ordinances to be satisfied with less. It would change total non-attendants into attendants upon an evening service, who, at length, not satisfied with their deficiency from others, would have a demand for more. Instead of diminishing the taste which now is, it would create the taste which must still be called into existence. Instead of superseding the use of new churches for the people, it would prepare a people for the new churches, and turn out to be the most effectual nursery of their future congregations.

And here let it be remarked, how effectually it is, that Sabbath-evening schools subserve the prospective arrangement which we are now contemplating. It requires a much harder struggle than most are aware of, to prevail on grown-up people, who never have attended church, to become the members, either of a day or an evening congregation. But the compliance which cannot be won in manhood, for attendance on a church, we win in boyhood, for attendance on a school; and, when the boy becomes the man, a second effort is not necessary. It were, in fact, a far more congenial transition for him to pass from the evening school to the evening church, than if he never had attended school at all; and far more congenial for the member of an evening, to become the member of a day congregation, than if, brought up in

the utter want of congregational habits, he never had attended either the one or the other. Thus it is, that the Sabbath school system, which many regret as a deviation from the regularities of an establishment is the very best expedient for feeding an establishment, and making it at length commensurate with the moral and spiritual necessities of our population. It connects the susceptibility of youth with a result, which, but for the possession of an element so manageable, might never be arrived at. It appears like the first and the firmest step to a great moral renovation in our land. And a parochial system, which might never have been reared in towns, out of such stubborn materials as the depraved and inveterate habits of our older, is thus likely to be formed and extended out of the softer materials of our younger generation.

It is felt by many as a deduction from the good of the local system in towns, that the poorer among the families so frequently change their places of residence; and that there must not only be the same parish, but also the same parishioners, else the acquaintanceship which is formed, will be constantly liable to be broken up, by the constant dispersion of its members. The quantity of fluctuation is greatly over-rated. The district referred to in our last chapter, as having been assumed by a philanthropic individual, for the purpose of its moral and economical cultivation, contains 219 families, of which there were 23 removals at the last

term, or about one-tenth of the whole. It will, speaking generally, be found not to exceed this fraction, in small contiguous districts of such a population; and even from this, there ought to be an abatement, in estimating the number of yearly removals from a parish: for many of the movements are internal, being from one small district of the parish to another. And besides, even though there were removals out of the parish every year, at the rate of one-tenth of all the families in it, we are not to infer, that, in ten years, there is a complete change of families; or that the old parish is thus scooped away by so many liftings of the people who live in it. The truth is, that the movement is far more a vibratory than a successive one. The families that leave a parish this year, are, in a great measure, the very families that came to it last year. There is a certain number, and those chefly of the worse-conditioned of the population, who are constantly upon the wing; and they alternate from one parish to another, over the heads of a stable population. A locally parochial system would serve, in the long run, to retain even these; but, even in their present amount, they leave the great bulk of the inhabitants of every parish, in a fixed and permanent state for any species of cultivation that might be applied to them. We believe, indeed, that the families of a city parish are less given to change than those of an agricultural parish, from the expiry of leases, and, above all, the yearly fluctuation of farm-servants. So that,

there is scarcely any department, however poor, of any city, however crowded, which would not, in the course of time, be turned into a home walk; and where the simple perseverance of such ecclesiastical attentions as are current in the country, would not, were the parishes sufficiently small, have the effect of binding the minister to the families, and of binding the families to one another. The new comers would soon catch the *esprit de corps* that was already formed in the neighbourhood of their new residence, and be soon so far assimilated by the overwhelming admixture of their superior number, to the tone and habit of the people who were there before them, as at least, to be accessible to all the attentions which are current in the parish, and be trained very shortly, to such a recognition of the parish-church and parish-minister, as, in our large towns at present, is nearly unfelt and unknown altogether.

There is nothing in the mere circumstance of being born in a town, or of being imported into it from the country, which can at all obliterate or reverse any of the laws of our sentient nature. That law, in virtue of which a feeling of cordiality is inspired, even by a single act of recognition, and in virtue of which it is augmented into a fixed personal regard by many such acts, operates with just as much vigour in the one situation as it does in the other. In towns, every thing has been done to impede the reiteration of the same attentions upon the same families. The relationship between

ministers and their parishes has, to every moral, and to every civilising purpose, been nearly as good as broken up. Every thing has been permitted to run at random; and, as a fruit of the utter disregard of the principle of locality, have the city clergyman and his people almost lost sight of each other. It is the intimacy of connection between these two parties which has impressed its best and most peculiar features on the Scottish nation; and it were giving way to a mystic imagination altogether, did we not believe that the treatment of human nature, which leads to a particular result in the country, would, if transplanted into towns, lead to the same result on their crowded families. We have no right to allege a peculiar aptitude to moral worthlessness, in the latter situation, when we find that every moral influence, which bears upon the former, has, in fact, been withdrawn from our cities. The moral regimen in the one, is diametrically the reverse of what it is in the other; and, not till they are brought under the operation of the same causes, can we estimate aright the question, whether the town or the country is most unfavourable to human virtue.

It may be long before we are in fair circumstances for determining this question experimentally, because it may be long ere our enormous city parishes are so far subdivided, as that one church and one minister shall be commensurate to the population of each of them. But certain it is,

that the mere act, either of building the churches, or of splitting down the parishes, will not suffice for the purpose of reclaiming the people to the habit of their Scottish forefathers. There must be a previous operation upon the people, ere the desire or the demand for Sabbath accommodation can guarantee to the builders of churches, that their churches shall be filled. For this purpose, we hold the strict, and, as nearly as may be, the exclusive union of churches with their parishes, to be indispensable; and, even with this advantage, do we think, that the existing habit of alienation from ordinances, instead of being altogether reclaimed by exertion, will, in part, need to be removed by death; and that it is mainly to an operation upon the young, and that through the medium of Sabbath schools, that we have to look for the coming in of a better order of things, with the coming up of another generation.

CHAP. IV.

THE EFFECT OF LOCALITY IN ADDING TO THE USEFUL ESTABLISHMENTS OF A TOWN.

It were, perhaps, a sanguine anticipation to expect, that the gradual process, unfolded in the last chapter, for reclaiming the people of our cities, to a habit of attendance on the ordinances of Christianity, should be completed in the course of one, or even of two generations. For, what a rapid process of church-building would this imply? More would need to be done in this way in several of our towns, than has been done altogether, since the first erection of them. There are many of them, in fact, so unprovided with churches, that it were a great achievement, could these be built, and people be prepared for filling them, to such an extent, as that, out of each five thousand of the inhabitants, there might be a congregation belonging to the establishment. This would still leave greater room for dissenters than that which they have actually succeeded in occupying, and might, therefore, still leave unfinished, the great work of retrieving a habit which surely may be recalled, seeing that it once existed. The time once was, when, in virtue of the nearer proportion which obtained between a city population, and the places of worship that were provided for them, we saw nearly the present number of churches more

crowded than they are now, out of less than half the number of our present residenters.

This, by the way, holds out to us another view of the importance of dissenters, and of the increasing demand that may still obtain, through a very lengthened period of years, for their services. The process by which the establishment will gain ground, on the out-field population, that is, on those who at present neither attend church nor meeting-house, must be very gradual; and mean while, if it advance at all, it will not lessen the demand for seats from the dissenters, but rather increase it. There is a direct and arithmetical style of computation, which often fails when it is applied to the phenomena, or the principles of human nature. It is thus, for example, that many conceive an alarm, lest one benevolent society should suffer in its revenues, when another benevolent society is instituted in the same town, and among the same people. They calculate by a mere process of subtraction upon the money of subscribers; and they do not calculate on the moral impulse which every new scheme of philanthropy is fitted to send into their hearts. They seem not aware, that the mere habit of liberality, in behalf of one object, renders them more accessible to the claims of any new object, than if the habit had not been previously called into existence. The truth is, that after all which is given away in liberality, there still is left, in the fund for such luxuries as may easily be dispensed with, and in

the fund which goes to the loose and floating expenses of pocket-money, an ample remainder for meeting fresh and frequent applications. The money is, of course, lessened by the amount that has previously been given; but, if the habit and disposition of giving be increased, this may secure for an indefinite length of time, more than a full compensation. And thus it is, that in starting some new enterprise of philanthropy, one may far more surely count on being liberally supported, in a town teeming with previous charities, and where the fund for benevolence has, therefore, to a certain degree been impaired, but the feeling of benevolence has been strengthened by exercise—than in a town, where, as no encroachment has yet been made upon the means, so no excitement has yet been given to the motives of charity.

And there is a similarity to this, in the matter before us. The new church which is opened, will not so operate by a process of subtraction upon those who hear in meeting-houses, as it will operate by a process of fermentation upon those who hear no where. It will increase the taste and the demand for church-going. If rightly followed up, by such local and aggressive operations as we have already explained, it will leaven the dead mass, and revive an appetite for the ministrations of Christianity, beyond its own power to meet and to gratify. The population is greater than, perhaps, with the most rapid process of church-building, which can rationally be counted on, will be

overtaken in the course of a century. And, meanwhile, it were no paradox to those who know the amplitude of the field that is yet unbroken, and who calculate on the power of a living excitement sent over the face of it, though, for many years to come, churches and meeting-houses were seen to spring up in frequency together, and both the dissenters and the establishment gained ground contemporaneously on the vast unoccupied extent that yet lies before them.

To make this plain by an example. The number of people in Glasgow and its suburbs is about one hundred and fifty thousand; of whom ninety thousand should be in a condition to attend church. Even though our chapels of ease were turned, as they ought to be, into parish churches, there is scarcely accommodation in our establishment for the one-fourth of this number; and, ere it can overtake the one-half, there must be no less than fifteen additional fabrics built; leaving, after all, as large a space for the energies of dissenterism, as the establishment shall itself have overtaken.

In repairing the defects of a great moral apparatus, it does harm to underrate the magnitude of the object. It is by so doing, that the advisers of public measures are often so sanguine in respect of anticipation, while the measures themselves are so slender in respect of efficiency. The grant, for example, of a million sterling for new churches in England, and the proposal of a hundred thousand pounds for the same purpose in Scotland, sound

far more magnificently in the public ear, than they will be found adequate to the necessity which they are intended to meet. They have certainly been matters of gratulation to those who are friendly to our national establishments, and who, at the same time, regard Christianity as the alone specific for all the distempers of society. Yet it is not to be disguised, that, even when carried into full accomplishment, they will leave a vast extent of our population unprovided for. And, what is more, Government will positively have retarded the cause which it means to help, if, by its interference, it shall propagate this delusion—that, as the strength and wisdom of our great national council are now in motion upon the undertaking, all individuals, and all the subordinate bodies of the state, may now wait, suspended in a kind of respectful abeyance on that supreme body, whose function it is to oversee all, and to provide for all.

This is the precise mischief which is to be apprehended in the case of every wide and general superintendence. The more wide and the more general, the means will be *absolutely* greater, and the effort for the accomplishment of any given object will also be absolutely greater: and this is enough to fill and to satisfy the imaginations of all, who look no farther than to the measure itself, and have not patience nor arithmetic for computing the proportion which it bears to the evil it is meant to remedy. But, *relatively* to the whole amount

of what ought to be done, will it come greatly short of what many individuals would do for their own local districts, and many corporations would do for their own townships. For the purpose, however, of calling out these latter to the full stretch of their means and energies, it is necessary that there should be no delusive expectation of aid from a higher quarter, so as that they should feel the full weight of the responsibility which lies upon them. It is thus, that we should like the principle of locality to be brought forth into operation, and directed to the object of multiplying both schools and churches over the face of our land. It works far more intensely and productively within its own limited sphere, than Government, we fear, will soon find itself able to do, over the whole country, or than a great city superintendence will do in the bulk, for its general population. And, therefore it is, that we contemplate a great national effect, not as the result of any corporate movement, or any legislative operation, but as the result of a slow accumulative process, helped forward mainly by the growth and expansion of Christian philanthropy in our land, and at length completed into a whole, by the simple apposition of parts done separately, and done independently.

But while it is to be feared, that the movement of our legislature, in behalf of Christian institutions, (far more showy than it is productive,) has lulled asleep much of the private liberality that else would have operated; it were also to be re-

gretted, as a very mischievous re-action, should the zeal, and the bustle, and the adventure, of individuals in the same cause, have the effect to slacken, rather than to excite our tardy corporations. It is exceedingly desirable, that they too should come forward, were it for nothing else than the weight of their testimony, which is eminently fitted to carry the public mind along with it. Only, it were a salutary accompaniment, if, along with their testimony, there also went forth the lesson of their utter inability for more than a small fraction of this great achievement. The resources, in fact, for giving such a national extension to the cause, as will work a national effect on the habits of our people, must be provided in another way than out of the present resources of any corporation. Nor can we expect that, with their existing means, any more than a few rare and desultory efforts will be made for an object which, after all they shall do, will still appear to lie at a hopeless and impracticable distance.

It is well, indeed, that both the council of a city and the great council of a nation, should be told what an arm of impotency it is that they often put forward. It is altogether grievous to remark the satisfaction, with which a magistracy will dwell on the achievement of adding one church more to a city, that stands in need of an additional twenty. It is not the one church that is to be regretted. But it is the repose, or even the triumph of a great exploit, which is evidently felt by many of our public

functionaries upon the occasion. It is not even the circumstance of one church only being built in the space of two or three years, that ought to be complained of. It were vain to expect any thing else than a very gradual movement, even though all the applicable energies of society were brought to bear upon it. But the thing to be mainly regretted is, the deceitful imagination that enough is doing, or enough is done, when we see put on their uttermost stretch, the feeble and inadequate energies of a ruling corporation. The glare of magnitude and publicity, which is attendant upon its proceedings, serves far more to blind the general understanding into the treacherous conclusion, that enough is doing, than it does to enlighten it upon the question, how much is to be done. After the slight and superficial enterprise is over, it may be made out arithmetically, that the former proportions of the outfield to the church-going population are not sensibly affected by it; that the elements of depravity are nearly in as great force as ever, and the counteractions which have been provided for it, nearly in as great feebleness as ever; and, in a word, that, thoroughly to fill up the neglected spaces, which have so widened and multiplied over the expanse of a town or of a kingdom, something far more gigantic must be done, than appears to lie within the means either of Government or of any inferior municipality in the land.

It is the misfortune both of a civic and of a nation-

al legislator, that he deals so much in generalities. He casts a hurried glance over the whole field of contemplation, and the influence of what he does, or of what he devises, is thinly spread along the face of the territory before him. He is seldom arrested by that dull and humbling arithmetic, which casts up to him the utter insignificance of all that he has attempted on the general mass and habit of society. He vainly tries, by his one enactment, to measure strength with the needs or the immoralities of a vast population. Nor will he submit to the mortification of being told, that though the sound of it has gone forth among all, the sensible and pervading influence of it is scarcely felt among any. It is the wideness of his survey which makes him overlook particulars: and with his habit of largely expatiating, does he neglect completely and minutely to fill up. This it is which accounts for the utter futility of many projects splendid in promise, and vanishing away into a meagre accomplishment. This it is which explains the abortive magnificence of many of our great national undertakings.

But all this is the natural effect of office and situation; nor can we well expect it to be otherwise, either with the members of a legislature, or with the members of a municipality. But it is to be regretted, of our private philanthropists, who are at liberty to begin their own work in their own way, that they should not have entered on the clear path of comfort and just calculation, and,

ultimately, of sure and complete success. The prevailing tendency, hitherto, has been, to attempt great things rather than to do small things thoroughly and well; to set up a mechanism which will work for the whole city, rather than reduce the city into manageable parts, and seek for the accomplishment that is proposed, by the mere apposition of these parts to each other; to aspire, and that, by the energies of one grand association, after some universal result, which never will be reached but by the summing up of the separate achievements of many lesser associations. It may look a strange way of proposing a universal good, either for a city or for a nation, to bid our active philanthropists never admit the town as a whole, or the nation as a whole, into any of their speculations. But we are quite satisfied, that much of that effort, which would else have been productive, is wasted; and that, merely because of the insuperable magnitude of the object at which it aims. There are many individuals, whose zeal for the good of humanity is now dissipated and lost among vague generalities that might be turned to a tenfold more beneficial account, could they only be prevailed upon to meddle not with matters that are too high for them—many individuals who have worth enough to live for the good of society, but who have not wisdom enough for suiting their exertions to the real mediocrity of their powers; and who, accordingly, come forth upon their enterprise, just as if the whole burden of this world's benevolence lay

upon their shoulders. The best thing they can do is, to gather in their ambitious fancies, and give themselves, instead, to actual and living fulfilments on the sphere which is immediately around them. The eyes of a fool, says Solomon, are towards all the ends of the earth. We cannot join in the hostility that has often been expressed against missionary operations; but certainly there is a vague and vagrant philanthropy in our day, which loses much of its energy in its diffusiveness, and which it were far better to fasten, and to concentrate, and to confine, within the limits of a small locality. We leave to those more lofty and adventurous spirits, whom Providence will certainly call forth, the task of devising for the good of the world abroad; and we trust that they will never fail to be supported in this noble cause, by the liberalities of the people at home. But our object, at present, is, to guide to its highest productiveness, the benevolence of him whose station and opportunities restrain him more to his own vicinity; and to engage him, if possible, with the near and practicable realities which lie within his reach. His best contribution to the interest of the world, is, to do the humble and practicable task which his hand findeth to do, and to do it with all his might, till he has finished it off. A single obscure street, with its few divergent lanes, may form the length and the breadth of his enterprise; but far better that he, with such means and such associates as are within his reach, should do this thoroughly, than that, merging himself in

some wider association, he should vainly attempt in the gross, that which never can be overtaken but in humble and laborious detail. Let him not think, that the region which lies beyond the limits of his chosen and peculiar territory, is to wither and be neglected, because his presence is not there to fertilise it. Let him not proudly imagine himself to be the only philanthropist in the world. Let him do his part, trusting, at the same time, that there are others around him who have zeal enough, and understanding enough, to do theirs. The example of a well-cultured portion of the territory, will do more to spread a beneficent influence over the whole, than is done by the misplaced energies of men who cannot be tempted to move, till some design of might and of magnificence is proposed to them. The efficacy of this humbler style of benevolence will, at length, come to be witnessed; and the comfort of it to be felt; and it will diffuse itself, by sympathy, over the contiguous spaces; and the local resources of each space will be abundantly called forth on the near and exciting object of its own cultivation; and the result universal will be attained, not by the combination of all the powers into one effort, but by the summation of many efforts done by these powers apart from, and independent of, each other—not by one stalking society lording it over the whole, but by manifold associations, each assuming its own distinct task, and fulfilling a work commensurate to its own separate energies.

The institutions which are most wanted in our great towns and populous villages are those, the object of which is, the christian education of our labouring classes. This object embraces schools for ordinary scholarship through the week, and churches for the delivery of gospel doctrine and exhortation upon the Sabbath. They who are friendly to the religious establishments of our country, can find their way far more immediately to the erection and endowment of the former, than of the latter. They who found a school, have the patronage of the school. They who build and endow a church for the establishment, cannot, without many forms, and the concurrence of many authorities, retain the patronage of the church. This is a peculiarity which leads us to postpone to the next Chapter, the most essential explanations that are connected with the multiplication of churches. And all we shall attempt at present, is, to instruct the friends of general education, in what appears to us the likeliest mode of equalising our schools to the necessities of our population.

We have already, in a little work which stands separately out from our present series of expositions, endeavoured to demonstrate the Scottish system of education, and to prove both the possibility and the great advantage of its application to large towns. We refer our readers to that small performance*; and shall be satisfied with a short

* Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the advantage of establishing them in Large Towns.

recapitulation of as much of it as is necessary to our present argument.

It is with common, as it is with christian education. There is not such a native and spontaneous demand for it in any country, as will call forth a supply of it at all adequate to the needs of the population. If the people are left to themselves, they will not, by any originating movement of their own, emerge out of ignorance at the first; nor will they afterwards perpetuate any habit of education to which they may have been raised in the course of one generation, if, in all succeeding generations, they are left wholly to seek after scholarship, and wholly to pay for it. To keep up popular learning, there is just the same reason for an establishment, as we have already alleged in behalf of an establishment for religion. The article must be obtruded upon them, and, in some degree, offered to them; and if the best way of so obtruding it, is, that there shall be one fabric of general repair for the people of each distinct locality, to which parents, under the impulse of near and surrounding example, may send their children for the purposes of education—then let these fabrics be multiplied to a sufficient extent; and under a right management will the security be complete, both for the people attaining a right place in the scale of mental cultivation, and after they have attained it, for never again descending to the low state out of which they had been called.

We have, in the small work to which we have

just referred, attempted to expose the defects both of a wholly gratuitous, and of a wholly unendowed system of education; affirming that, under the one scheme, the article is undervalued, and that under the other, it is not sought after to the extent to which it would be beneficial. Almost all the education of our great towns is shared between these two methods, and a woeful decline from the habit and accomplishment of our Scottish country parishes, is the undeniable consequence. To restore the mass of our population in towns, to the degree of scholarship that has shed so proud a moral glory over the face of the country at large, there seems no other expedient than that of erecting Schools and School-houses, and salarying teachers for each little district of a town and suburb population; establishing a local connection between each fabric and a given portion of the vicinity around it; and announcing it as the privilege of all the families which reside within its limits, that in that fabric a good and a cheap education is to be had for their children*.

It is a moderate computation, that one-fifteenth of the whole population should be at school; and that a school, therefore, where a hundred children are taught, should serve the demand of a popula-

* We are aware that Lancastrianism undertakes a more economic plan of education. It may do very well at the first breaking up of a country, where there was no habit of scholarship before. But we hold it to be a bad substitute for the old Scottish method, which provides a local and residing schoolmaster, and brings such a number of scholars around him as do not exceed the range of his own minute and personal superintendence.

tion of fifteen hundred. It is an equally moderate computation, that permanently to provide for the endowment of such a school, would require the sum of a thousand pounds sterling; or, in other words, that ere such a system could be completed for Glasgow and its suburbs, the sum of a hundred thousand pounds behoved to be expended on it.

We are quite prepared here for the epithets of visionary and theoretical, as ready to fall in most impetuous denunciation on all those who should affirm, that, for the cause of popular education amongst us, a sum so mighty ever will be raised, or an object so vast ever will be overtaken. We are aware of the discredit which this charge has inflicted, and of the damp and discouragement which it has thrown over many of the best projects of benevolence; and we, therefore, count it worth while to pause a little here, and examine somewhat attentively what the grounds are on which a charge of this sort may be soundly preferred, and what the schemes are which most abundantly deserve it.

It does not bring down the imputation of visionary upon a man, when he simply affirms of any state or condition of things which has not yet been attained by society, that it were a desirable attainment. It were truly desirable that all men were virtuous. It were desirable that such were the providential habits of our poor, as that the country should not be liable, through any mismanagement of theirs, to the burden of an excessive population. It were desirable that such a

habit of education as would tend both to exalt their individual character, and to raise them above the influence of those delusions which might array them in hatred and turbulence against the cause of order, had a universal establishment among their families. There seems to be no imputation of the visionary, incurred by simply affirming all these things to be desirable. There is full permission to express our wishes on the subject, whatever ridicule or resistance may be awaiting our speculations. It is not the mere expression of that to be desirable, which all men feel to be desirable, that provokes the charge of visionary; and the question still remains, what distinctly and precisely the provocative is?

The imputation of visionary, then, seems specifically to fall on him, who affirms that to be practicable, which they, who advance the imputation, think to be impracticable. Both parties may equally feel the object in question, to be desirable. The man of sanguine temperament, thinks that it is not merely a thing to be desired, but a thing that may be done. The man of slow and sober reflection, thinks too, that it were a matter to be desired, but that it cannot be done.

There is, at the same time, a distinction to be attended to here. One may barely affirm an object to be practicable, without specifying the means that he has in contemplation. If no adequate means occur to those who hear the affirmation, he lays himself open to the imputation of being

a visionary. Or he may propose the means, and, if they appear to the others inadequate to the accomplishment, then, with a contempt which may be seen to leer under a front of conscious sagacity, will they again pronounce him to be a visionary.

Let us apply these very obvious preliminary remarks to the topic that is now before us.

All the friends of universal education will agree in thinking it very desirable that an apparatus were raised for providing it. It is quite obvious, that, in none of our great towns, is there such an apparatus; and the question simply is, what appears the likely and the practicable way of arriving at it?

We have heard, that, among the legal and constituted bodies of the place, various movements have been made towards such an object; but we never heard that more than one school was in contemplation for each of the parishes. Such an achievement we are sure would satisfy the great bulk of our practical men, and the signal effort that Glasgow had made for the education of her citizens, would be talked of and approven, and set the public imagination at rest upon the subject for half a century.

Now, to such a measure as this, and the anticipations that are connected with it, let us apply the test for determining whether it be of a visionary character. The test is, the inadequacy of proposed means to a proposed object. This measure, then, instead of providing a school for each fifteen hun-

dred of our people, would only provide a school for about each twelve thousand of them. We doubt whether the advantage rendered to education, by such a proceeding, would not be more than neutralised by the disguise that it might serve to throw over the nakedness of the land. We fear, that it would operate for ages as a sedative upon a far more efficient philanthropy, than ever can be exerted through the medium of any corporation. The goodly apparatus of twelve established schools, with the usual accompaniment of a yearly examination, and a published statement of the appearance and proficiency of scholars, would so fill and satiate the eye of our citizens, that even the arithmetic of the subject, however obvious, might not disturb their complacency. To propose any thing, with the view of supplementing that which looked so ample already, would appear to be quite uncalled for, and thus might the holders of our wealth be lulled into a profounder apathy than before. Meanwhile, the people, with this fractional attempt upon their habits, would, to all sense and observation, exhibit about the same ignorance as ever. And the men who glowed with the fond anticipation of a more exalted and enlightened peasantry, and were confident of carrying it into effect by means so inadequate—these would turn out to be the visionaries.

We have also heard of various consultations upon this subject, with the Government of the country. There is one way, that we shall explain

afterwards, in which we think that its interposition might in time be rendered effective. But we fear that any hand which it proposes to put forth at present, will be a hand of impotency. One school for each parish, and one parish for each ten or twelve thousand of many a city population, will be an apology for a good thing, but it will not be the good thing itself. And those who count upon a renovating influence on our people, from an apparatus so meagre as this, whether they be the public functionaries of the state, or the men whom the functionaries advise with, are indeed the most egregious of all visionaries.

There are certain of our mere operatives in public business, who, however plentiful their reproach of others as visionaries, never dream that they are visionaries themselves. They seem to regard it as their sufficient exemption from such a charge, that their hand is so wholly occupied in practice, and their mind so little, if at all, occupied with principle. It would look, as if to escape from being a theorist upon any given topic, it were altogether necessary to abstain from thinking of it; and that, to stamp a sound and experimental character on a man's notions, it is quite enough that he personally bustle and spend all his time among the mere matters of manipulation and detail. Such men never, perhaps, in the whole course of their lives, have given one hour of meditative solitude to the question at issue; and, perhaps, think that the whole effect of such a sea-

son of loneliness, would be to gather around them the spectres of vain imagination. They have no other conception of a student, than as of one who muses all day long, over the inapplicable abstractions of an ideal and contemplative region; nor do they see how, in calm and collected retirement, it is possible for the mind to calculate and to recollect, and to be altogether conversant among the realities of the living world, over which it may have cast a most observant regard, and the well known familiarities of which, it is able to turn into the materials of a just view, and a just anticipation. In these circumstances, it ought not to be wondered at, that practical men have engrossed the credit of all the practical wisdom that there is in society; and that they have missed the self-discernment which might have led them to perceive, that the possessor of a body, which moves its dull and unvarying round through the duties of public office, and of a mind that is either profoundly asleep to the rationale of public affairs, or catches its occasional view of them by rapid and confused glances—that he, with all the confidence which a kind of coarse and hackneyed experience has given to him, may, very possibly, be the most blundering and bewildered of all visionaries.

The thing to be chiefly dreaded from the deed of Government, or the deed of a city corporation, in this matter, is, that it may overbear the public into the conclusion, that enough has been done, because they have done it. There is an imposing

magnitude in the measures of a public body, which can only be reduced to its correct estimation, by being arithmetically compared with the magnitude of the subject over which it operates. It is seldom, when a boon is thus conferred upon a country, that it is accompanied with the proclamation of its insignificance, relative to the whole need of a country. But it were well, both in the case of schools and churches, that such a proclamation were made. In this way, the very partial endowment, instead of acting as a soporific, would act as a stimulus on the benevolence of individuals. If, when the rulers of the nation, or the rulers of a city, did something, (and it is most desirable that they should,) they made a full demonstration of its inadequacy to the object; this would effectually be leading the way to its full accomplishment. Such a high testimony would call forth the means and energies of many voluntary associations; which, instead of being superseded into downright inaction, as they else might have been, would be excited to follow the paternal example, that had thus been set before them.

But voluntary associations have come forward in the cause of education, without waiting for any such signal. And if, to look confidently forward to a proposed end, with feeble and disproportionate means, be to incur the character of visionary, then we fear that this imputation must be made to rest upon them also. They have all been greatly less efficient than they might have

been, from their neglect of the principle of locality. There are many associations which, by their resources, could have done that permanently and substantially for a district of the town, which they have vainly attempted, and have, therefore, done partially and superficially for the whole. The money which could have built a local school, and emanated enough of interest for ever to have kept it in repair, and provided the teacher with a perpetual salary, has been dissipated in transient and ineffectual exertions for the accomplishment of a universal object. The error is, to have been led away, by the splendour of a conception, far greater than it was able to realise. It is this ambition, to plan beyond the ability to execute, which has involved in failure and misdirection, so many of the efforts of philanthropy. And they who have so precipitately counted on any general result, that would be at all sensible, from the proceedings of any one society, however magnificent in its scale, and however princely the offerings that were rendered to it, have evinced themselves well entitled to the character of visionaries.

The great mischief of any such society, is, that it blinds the public eye to the utter inadequacy of its own operations. It sends a feeble emanation over the whole city; which were doing an important benefit, had it only the effect of making the darkness visible. But, instead of this, we fear, that the light which it thus diffuses, imperfect as it is, is rated, not according to the intensity with

which it shines upon our population, but according to the extent in which it is thinly and obscurely spread over them. The very title of a school for all, is enough to deceive a miscalculating public, into the imagination, that all are provided with schooling. If, instead of trying to engross the whole, the society in question had concentrated its means and its energies upon a part, and upon such a part, too, as it could overtake most thoroughly, there would have been no such pernicious delusion in the way of rendering a solid and entire benefit to the labouring classes. The very contrast it had produced between the district it so effectually brightened, and the total darkness of the surrounding or contiguous spaces, would have forced that lesson upon the public notice, which, under the generalising system, is thrown into disguise altogether. Instead of a semblance of education for the whole, let there be the substance of it in one part; and this will at length, spread and propagate its own likeness over all the other parts. It will serve like the touch of a flame to kindle the whole mass into a brilliancy as luminous as its own. It never would be permitted to stand a barren and solitary memorial. Other men would soon feel a responsibility in other quarters, who now feel none at all. Other societies would speedily arise in other districts; and the whole effect, which was so vainly looked for, as the result of one great organization, will at length be made out, by the apposition of successive parts to one another.

Our earnest advice, for these reasons, is, that no benevolent society for education shall undertake a larger space of the city than it can provide for, both completely and perpetually; by reclaiming its families to a habit of scholarship for ever, through the means of a permanent endowment, attached exclusively to the district of its operations. It is far better to cultivate one district well, though all the others should be left untouched, than to superficialise over the whole city. It is far better, that these other districts be thrown as unprovided orphans, upon a benevolence that is sure to be called out at other times, and in other circles of society. Instead of casting upon them a feeble and languid regard, it is infinitely better to abandon them to the fresh, and powerful, and unexpended regards of other men. Let none of us think to monopolise all the benevolence of the world, or fear that no future band of philanthropists shall arise, to carry the cause forward from that point at which we have exhausted our operations. If education is to be made universal in towns by voluntary benevolence, it will not be by one great, but by many small and successive exertions. The thing will be accomplished piecemeal; and what never could be done through the working of one vast and unwieldy mechanism, may thus be completed most easily, in the course of a single generation.

Let us now attempt to trace the character of the process that we have just recommended, from

the first beginning of it, and along that line of conveyance, by which it is finally brought onward to the result of an adequate provision for the entire and universal scholarship of our city families. We see nothing of the visionary at its commencement. One society, that should propose to raise a hundred thousand pounds for a project so gigantic, may well be denounced as visionary; but not so the society that should propose to raise one or two thousand pounds for its own assumed proportion of it. There is many an individual, who has both philanthropy enough, and influence enough, within the circle of his own acquaintanceship, for moving forward a sufficiency of power towards such an achievement. All that he needs, is the guidance of his philanthropy at the first, to this enterprise. When once fairly embarked, there are many securities against his ever abandoning it till it is fully accomplished. For, from the very first moment, will he feel a charm in his undertaking, that he never felt in any of those wide and bewildering generalities of benevolence, which have hitherto engrossed him. To appropriate his little vicinity—to lay it down in the length and the breadth of it—to measure it off as the manageable field within which he can render an entire and a lasting benefit to all its families—to know and be known amongst them, and thus have his liberality sweetened by the charm of acquaintanceship with those who are the objects of it—instead of dropping, as hereto-

fore of his abundance, into an ocean where it was instantly absorbed and became invisible, to pour a deep, and a sensible, and an abiding infusion into his own separate and selected portion of that impracticable mass which has hitherto withstood all the efforts of philanthropy—instead of grasping in vain at the whole territory, to make upon it his own little settlement, and thus to narrow, at least, the unbroken field, which he could not overtake—to beautify one humble spot, and there raise an enduring monument, by which an example is lifted up, and a voice is sent forth to all the spaces which are yet unentered on—this is benevolence, reaping a reward at the very outset of its labours, and such a reward, too, as will not only ensure the accomplishment of its own task, but, as must, from the ease, and the certainty, and the distinct and definite good which are attendant upon its doings, serve both to allure and to guarantee a whole host of imitations.

And, to redeem this initiatory step still further from the charge of visionary, it ought to be remarked, that even though not followed up by any imitation, it is not lost. A certain good will have been rendered to society, and a good too, fully proportionate to the labour and expense that have been bestowed upon it. If permanently to cover the whole city with education, be an enterprise worth a hundred thousand pounds, then, to cover a hundredth part of it, is an enterprise worth a thousand pounds. The purchase and the pur-

chase-money are equivalent to each other; and if not a magnificent operation, it is, at least, not like many of the magnificent projects of our day—it is not an abortive one.

Viewed, indeed, in the light of one isolated effort—of one single feat of liberality, there is something altogether, independent of its being a likely stepping-stone to many similar undertakings by other hands and in other places, that is well calculated to engage the kindly affections of our nature. It is vesting one's self with the noblest of all property, when he can point to a certain geographical district in a great city, on which he has stamped a visible impress of his benevolence, which it will wear to the end of time, and be a blessing to its future families throughout all generations. Some may regard this more in the light of a solace to the vanity of his constitution—but surely it is fitted to soothe and to satisfy his better feelings, that the objects of his liberality come so distinctly under his notice; that the good he has rendered, survives the exertion he has made in so separate and visible a form; that the families he has benefited, can be so specifically pointed to, and the children, who, through him, are brought under the wholesome ministration of a sound and a cheap scholarship, may be met, as often as he will, to witness the progress of his own experiment, and cheer them on to the attainments which he himself has provided for them. There is in all this, a concentrated charm, which were dissipated into thin

air, had the same cost and the same exertion been incurred among some of the heartless and unproductive generalities of a more extended operation.

But more than this. It is felt by every man as a stronger pull, both on his liberality and his exertion, when he sees the end of what he is embarked upon, than when that end lies at an obscure and indefinite distance from him. The moment that an exhausted crew come within sight of land, a new energy is felt to revisit and revive them. An enterprise of charity may be so vast that this sight may never be attained; or, it may be so circumscribed within distinct and narrow boundaries, that it may never fail, from the very outset, to enliven the hope, and spirit on the progress of benevolent adventurers. Under the local system, this principle comes into full play, and works a mighty increment of good to society. Insomuch, that even with the same number of philanthropists, a greater amount both of money and of exertion is rendered to the cause, by separate bands of them, each of them expatiating on its own local and limited province, than by the whole body of them putting forth one gigantic effort on the whole field of operation that lies before them.

And again. The very same system does call forth a greater number of philanthropists. This is due, not merely to the superior practicability of its object, but also to the strength of that local interest with which it is associated. When the good proposed to be done, is for the special behoof

of one city parish, or even one department of a city parish, this carries a far more forcible appeal than any general object would, to all those connected with it, either by office, or by property, or by residence. It is felt by all such, as a directly pertinent application, and so, both in respect of agency and of subscription, calls forth a host of latent capabilities, that, under a general system, would never have been reached, and never have been entered upon. There can be no doubt, that the more you subdivide a territory into districts, the more intense, and the more productive, will be the operation in each of them; so as to draw out a far greater number of supporters, and to raise a far greater sum than ever could have been raised out of the same district, for any scheme of universal education. Better that this scheme should never be entertained, than that it should so float in the imaginations of the sanguine, as to lead them away from the alone path of practical wisdom, which can conduct to its accomplishment. Better far, surely, that it should at length come out in exhibition as the actual result of each particular body labouring assiduously for its own particular object, than that, in the shape of an airy dream, to which the public eye is generally and collectively drawn, it should call forth the one ostentatious, but futile movement that will never realise it.

It is not known how precious and how productive a thing the operation of this local interest is, even in the very poorest of our districts. The

capabilities of humble life are yet far from being perfectly understood, or turned to the full account of which they are susceptible. We certainly invite, and with earnestness too, the man of fortune and philanthropy, to assume a locality to himself, and head an enterprise for schools, in behalf of its heretofore neglected population. But little is it known to what extent the fund may be augmented by pains and perseverance among the population themselves. With a little guidance, in fact, may the poor be made the most effective instruments of their own amelioration. The system which could raise a single penny in the week from each family, would, of its own unaided self, both erect and perpetuate a sufficient apparatus for schooling over the whole empire, or over any part into which it was introduced, in about twelve years. This is a mine which has lately been entered upon, for the purpose of aiding those excellent religious charities that have so signalised our nation; and more is extracted from it than from all the liberalities of the opulent. In a cause so near and so exciting as that of home education, it could, by dint of strenuous cultivation, be made to yield much more abundantly. So that, should the rich refuse a helping hand to a cause so closely associated with the best interests of our country, we do not despair of the poor being at length persuaded to take it upon themselves, and of thus leaving the higher classes behind them in the career of an enlightened patriotism.

Yet it were well, that the rich did step forward and signalise themselves in this matter. Amid all the turbulence and discontent which prevail in society, do we believe, that there is no rancour so fiery or so inveterate in the heart of the labouring classes, but that a convincing demonstration of good will, on the part of those who are raised in circumstances above them, could not charm it most effectually away. It is a question of nicety, how should this demonstration be rendered? Not, we think, by any public or palpable offering to the cause of indigence, for this we have long conceived should be left, and left altogether to the sympathies of private intercourse; it being, we believe, a point of uniform experience, that the more visible the apparatus is for the relief of poverty, the more is it fitted to defeat its own object, and to scatter all the jealousies attendant upon an imaginary right among those who might else have been sweetened into gratitude by the visitations of a secret and spontaneous kindness. Not so, however, with an offering rendered to the cause of education, let it be as public or as palpable as it may. The urgency of competition for such an object, is at all times to be hailed rather than resisted; and on this career of benevolence, therefore, may the affluent go indefinitely onward, till the want be fully and permanently provided for. We know no exhibition that would serve more to tranquillise our country, than one which might convince the poorer classes, that there is a real

desire, on the part of their superiors in wealth, to do for them any thing, and every thing, which they believe to be for their good. It is the expression of an interest in them, which does so much to soothe and to pacify the discontents of men; and all that is wanted, is, that the expression shall be of such a sort, as not to injure, but to benefit those for whom it is intended. To regulate the direction of our philanthropy, with this view, all that needs to be ascertained, is, an object, by the furtherance of which, the families of the poor are benefited most substantially; and, at the same time, for the expenses of which, one is not in danger of contributing too splendidly. We know no object which serves better to satisfy these conditions, than a district school, which, by the very confinement of its operation within certain selected limits, will come specifically home with something of the impression of a kindness done individually to each of the householders. It were possible, in this way, for one person, at the head of an associated band, to propitiate towards himself, and, through him, towards that order in society with which he stands connected, several thousands of a yet neglected population. He could walk abroad over some suburb waste, and chalk out for himself the limits of his adventure; and, amid the gaze and inquiry of the natives, could cause the public edifice gradually to arise in exhibition before them; and though they might be led to view it at first as a caprice, they would not be long of feeling that it

was at least a caprice of kindness towards them—some well-meaning quixotism, perhaps, which, whether judicious or not, was pregnant, at least, with the demonstration of good will, and would call forth from them, by a law of our sentient nature, which they could not help, an honest emotion of good will back again; and, instead of the envy and derision which so often assail our rich when charioted in splendour, along the more remote and outlandish streets of the city, would it be found, that the equipage of this generous, though somewhat eccentric visitor, had always a comely and complaisant homage rendered to it. By such a movement as this, might an individual, throughout a district, and a few individuals throughout the city at large, reclaim the whole of our present generation, to a kindliness for the upper classes that is now unfelt; and this too, not by the ministration of those beggarly elements, which serve to degrade and to impoverish the more; but by the ministration of such a moral influence among the young, as would serve to exalt humble life, and prepare for a better economy than our present, the habits of the rising generation.

We know not, indeed, what could serve more effectually to amalgamate the two great classes of society together, than their concurrence in an object which so nearly concerns the families of all. We know not how a wealthy individual could work a more effectual good, or earn a purer and more lasting gratitude, from the people of his own se-

lected district, than by his splendid donative in the cause of education. Whatever exceptions may be alleged against the other schemes of benevolence, this, at least, is a charity whose touch does not vilify its objects; nor will it, like the aliment of ordinary pauperism, serve to mar the habit and character of our population. Here, then, is a walk on which philanthropy may give the rein to her most aspiring wishes for the good of the world; and while a single district of the land is without the scope of an efficient system for the schooling of its families, is there room for every lover of his species to put forth a liberality that can neither injure nor degrade them.

Every enlightened friend of the poor ought to rejoice in such an opportunity, amid the coarse invectives which assail him, when led by his honest convictions to resist the parade and the publicity of so many attempts as are made in our day, in behalf of indigence. It may sometimes happen, that selfishness, in making her escape from the applications of an injudicious charity, will be glad to shelter herself under some of those maxims of a sounder economy, which are evidently gaining in credit and currency amongst us. And hence the ready imputation of selfishness upon all, who decline from the support of associations which they hold to be questionable. And thus is it somewhat amusing to observe, how the yearly subscriber of one guinea to some favourite scheme of philanthropy, thereby purchases to himself the

right of stigmatizing every cold-blooded speculator who refuses his concurrence; while the latter is altogether helpless, and most awkwardly so, under a charge so very disgraceful. In avowing, as he does, the principle, that all the public relief which is ministered to poverty, swells and aggravates the amount of it in the land, and that it is only by efforts of unseen kindness, that any thing effectual can be done for its mitigation—he cannot lay bare the arithmetic of private benevolence, and more especially of his own—he cannot drag it forth to that ground of visibility, on which he believes that the whole of its charm and efficacy would be dissipated—he cannot confront the untold liberalities which pass in secret conveyance to the abodes of indigence, with the doings and the doqueted reports of committeeship—he cannot anticipate the disclosures of that eventful day, when He who seeth in secret shall reward openly, however much he may be assured, that the droppings of individual sympathy, as far outweigh in value the streams of charitable distribution, which have been constructed by the labour and the artifice of associated men, as does the rain from heaven, which feeds the mighty rivers of our world, outweigh in amount, the water which flows through all the aqueducts of human workmanship that exist in it. From all this, he is precluded, by the very condition in which the materials of the question are situated; and silent endurance is the only way in which he can meet the zealots of public

charity, while they push and prosecute the triumph of their widely blazoned achievement—even though convinced all the while, that, by their obtrusive hand, they have superseded a far more productive benevolence than they ever can replace; that they have held forth a show of magnitude and effort which they can in no way realise; and with a style of operation, mighty in promise, but utterly insignificant in the result, have deadened all those responsibilities and private regards, which, if suffered, without being diverted aside, to go forth on their respective vicinities, would yield a more plentiful, as well as a more precious tribute, to the cause of suffering humanity, than ever can be raised by loud and open proclamation.

The disciples of the Malthusian philanthropy, who keep back when they think that publicity is hurtful, should come forth on every occasion when publicity is harmless. That is the time of their vindication; and then it is in their power to meet, on the same arena, with those Lilliputians in charity, who think that they do all, when, in fact, they have done nothing but mischief. We hear much of the liberality of our age. But it appears to us to be nearly as minute in respect of amount, as much of it is misplaced in respect of direction; nor can we discover, save among the devoted missionaries of Serampore and a few others, any very sensible approximations to the great standard of Christian charity, set forth in the gospel for our imitation. The Saviour was rich, and for our

sakes he became poor; and ere the world he died for, shall be reclaimed to the knowledge of himself, many must be his followers, who regard their wealth, not as a possession but as a steward-ship. We anticipate, in time, a much higher rate of liberality than obtains at present in the Christian world; nor do we know a cause more fitted to draw it onwards, than one which may be supported visibly, without attracting a single individual to pauperism, and which, when completed, permanently and substantially, will widen, and that for ever, the moral distance of our people, from a state so corrupt and degrading. Ere the apparatus shall be raised, which is able, not faintly to skim, but thoroughly to saturate the families of our poor with education, there will be room for large sums and large sacrifices; nor do we know on whom the burden of this cause can sit so gracefully and so well, as on those who have speculated away their feelings of attachment from all societies for the relief of indigence—and who are now bound to demonstrate, that this is not because their judgment has extinguished their sensibilities; but because they only want an object set before them which may satisfy their understanding, that, without doing mischief, they may largely render of their means to the promotion of it.

We are sensible, that, to look for a universal result, in the way that we have now recommended, is to presuppose a very wide extension of Christian zeal, seconded by an equal degree of Christian

liberality all over the land. If it be visionary to look for this, then do we hold it alike visionary, to look for any great moral improvement in the economy of our national institutions without this. We see not our way to any public or extended amelioration, save, through the medium of greater worth in the character of individuals, and a greater number of such individuals in the country; and but for this, would we give up in despair, that cause on which both politicians and moralists have embarked so many sanguine speculations. It is not, we think, on the arena of state partizanship, that a victory for this cause is to be decided; but that, similarly to the growth of the small prophetic stone, which at length attained to the size of a mountain that filled the whole earth, will it gradually proceed onwards, just as the spirit and principles of the gospel find a numerical way through human hearts, and multiply their proselytes among human families. If it be here, that a contemptuous scepticism discovers the weak side of our argument, and proclaims it accordingly; it is also here, that Prophecy lifts up the light of its cheering countenance on all our anticipations. Meanwhile, its best and brightest fulfilments are not to be without human agency, but by human agency; and even already do we see a rising philanthropy in our day, which warrants our fondest hopes both of the increase of learning and virtue amongst our population. For a time, it may waste a portion of its energies among the bye-paths of inexperience. Ambition may be-

wilder it. Impatience may cause it to overrun itself. A taste for generalities may dazzle it into many fond and foolish imaginations; and the ridicule of an incredulous public may await the mortifying failures, which will ever mark the enterprise of him, whose aim is beyond the means of his accomplishment. But the spirit of benevolence will not be evaporated among all these difficulties: It will only be nurtured into greater strength, and guided into a path of truer wisdom, and sobered into a habit of more humble, and, at the same time, far more effective perseverance. Man will at length learn to become more practical and less imaginative. He will hold it a worthier achievement to do for a little neighbourhood, than to devise for a whole world. He will give himself more assiduously to the object within his reach, and trust that there are other men and other means for accomplishing the objects that are beyond it. The glory of establishing in our world, that universal reign of truth and of righteousness which is coming, will not be the glory of any one man; but it will be the glory of Him who sitteth above, and plieth his many millions of instruments for bringing about this magnificent result. It is enough for each of us to be one of these instruments, to contribute his little item to the cause, and look for the sum total as the product of innumerable contributions, each of them as meritorous, and many of them, perhaps, far more splendid and important than his own.

CHAP. V.

ON CHURCH PATRONAGE.

In the case of a district school, where the appointment of the teacher lies with those who built and who partially endowed it, matters may be so ordered, as that we shall not have much to fear from a corrupt exercise of the patronage. It were well, we think, for the purpose of securing a local and a residing patronage, that a voice in the election of the teacher should be given to two or three of the ecclesiastical functionaries of the parish in which the school was situated. These would feel a responsibility for their choice to the district families with whom they stood so closely associated. And should their propensity to favouritism not be overruled by the force of public opinion, the patrons by subscription, by whom they, in most instances, would be far outnumbered, were enough to neutralize it. And lest there still were an unity of disposition, among the majority of electors, in behalf of an unworthy candidate, it would go far to check this tendency, that the school, though endowed to a certain extent, is endowed but partially. The office, in fact, if it be rightly constituted, is only an object of ambition to those who are qualified. The teacher may have a dwelling-house and a salary, and still have his main dependence on the scholars' fees. It will thus be an object of keenest competition to those who hope most san-

guinely for a crowded attendance; and amid the quantity of known and aspiring talent that will come forth upon every vacancy, it is not to be conceived, that, in the face of a vigilant neighbourhood, and when parents, by the simple withdrawment of their young, could reduce the teacher to starvation, the patrons will disgrace themselves, and that without essentially benefitting their client, by a glaringly unfit nomination.

And, in the very same way, might not a district chapel be raised as well as a district school, and with still greater securities even, for a right exercise of the patronage? How often, for example, do we observe a meeting-house, built at the expense of so many adventurers, and with the prospect of such a return from the seat rents, as, after defraying the salary of the minister, and all other charges, will yield them a full indemnification? Here the effective patronage is as good as shared between the electors and the hearers, and the hold is in every way as strong as human interest can make it for a pure, or at least for a popular appointment. And, with such an appointment, all the expenses of the institution may be covered; so that though at first sight it looks a more arduous enterprise to found a chapel than a school, the truth is, that the latter may require a stretch of benevolence which the former may not. To make common education universal among the children of the operative class, it seems necessary that there should be a gratuitous erection, and a

gratuitous salary; enabling the teacher to meet the whole population with scholarship on reduced fees: in which case a part only of the whole expense is laid upon the attendance. To meet the same class with Christian education, we have ample and repeated experience, that the whole expense may be charged upon the attendance; provided only, that right measures be taken to secure an attendance. This is done simply by a popular appointment; by holding forth instruction to the people from a man of acceptable doctrine, and of esteemed ability and character. That the house be well filled, the great and sufficient step is, that the pulpit be well filled. This, therefore, will be the first care of those who have a direct interest in the attendance: and it is a care which is often so abundantly repaid, as to make the chapel indemnify itself, and that out of a congregation chiefly made up of the families of labourers.

If, then, the process that we have already recommended for pervading a city with common education, through the week, be at all practicable, there appears to be a still smoother and more practicable way of pervading it as thoroughly with Christian education, on the Sabbath. By the simple and successive apposition of chapel-districts to each other, may a sufficient apparatus at length be reared in a town for the religious instruction of all its families; and such we conceive to be the efficiency of a wisely exercised patronage in drawing out the attendance of the people, that we

think a system of this kind may at length be completed without any draught whatever on the liberality of the public. This great achievement lies, we think, within the power and scope of dissenterism; and if so little progress has yet been made towards it, it is only because dissenters have not localised. They have attracted a few scattered families towards them, but they have not sent forth an emanating influence upon the whole. They have not yet found their way to that strong reciprocal influence which lies between the week-day attentions of one man reiterating upon one neighbourhood, and the Sabbath instructions that are delivered by the same man in the heart of the same neighbourhood. They have not penetrated or transfused the mass of our population. They have only drawn together a few of its particles. That principle of locality, of the truth and power of which, the trial of a single month will give more satisfying evidence than the argumentation of many volumes, has not yet by them been proceeded on to any extent; and we know not how long it may continue to be regarded both by them and by the general public, as a mere imaginative charm of no force and no efficacy. Did an association of Christian philanthropists only try this experiment on any suburb and neglected portion of a city multitude, we are persuaded that they would soon find themselves in possession of a new power for calling forth the people to the ministrations of the gospel. Let them simply rear their taber-

nacle, and assume for it a locality, to the families of which they might grant a preference for seats, and restrict the week-day services of the minister whom they have chosen. At first, in a rude and heathenish district, the preference would not be extensively taken; in which case the remaining seats would be held forth to general competition. Now, it is not yet known how surely and how speedily the assiduities of the minister, within the limits of his territorial district, would spread the desire among its people to sit under him; nor how readily the very obtrusion of his chapel upon their notice, as a chapel appropriated for the use of their little vicinity, would hasten forward their attendance; nor how powerfully, by the force of contiguous and increasing example, next door families would be drawn into the common relationship of parishioners and hearers with the man who preached so near them every Sabbath, and was daily observed to be plying amongst them, during the week, the sacred and benevolent attentions of his office. There might, at the outset of such an enterprise, be only a partial attendance from the district, supplemented by hearers from all parts of the city. But should the vacancies that occur by the death or removal of these hearers, be rigidly held forth, in the first instance, to local applicants; a single generation would not elapse, ere this chapel-minister, though a dissenter, stood vested with all that ascendency over his little neighbourhood, which a parochial congregation

is fitted to give to a minister in the Establishment. He would soon ascertain the comfort and the power of operating within a locality, occupied by the people of his own congregation; and would find that in such a concentration of all his forces, there lay an efficacy tenfold greater than what lies in the diffuseness and variety of his present movements. It is thus that dissenters may gain by territorial conquest, upon an Establishment which either provides inadequately, or patronizes carelessly, for the religious welfare of a city population. They may not only draw people, but recover ground from the church, and bring, if they will, every inch of the domain they have thus wrested under a parochial economy. They might at length work themselves into an arrangement of high influence, which, by the existing practice of our cities, is still denied to the established clergy, who are compelled to sit loose to their parishes, from the influx of extra-parochial hearers upon their congregations. The ministers of the Establishment would thus become mere congregational teachers, whereas those of the dissent would attain, through the medium of locality, a close and intimate relationship with the great mass of our city families. Should the present wretched mode of seat-letting be perpetuated, it lies with the dissenters themselves to become, if they will, the stable and recognized functionaries of religion in our great towns; and, by a fair usurpation,

to change places with the Establishment altogether.

If it be possible to cover the face of a city with district-schools, for the expense of which there must be a draught on the liberality of the public, it is surely as possible to cover it with district-chapels, which, with the benefit of locality, and a wise exercise of the patronage together, may at all times be made to pay themselves. The former advantage is little understood, and has scarcely at all been acted on by dissenters. The latter is far more palpable, though without the aid of locality, it will never, for reasons that have already been adduced, stay the moral and religious deterioration of cities. Were dissenters armed with both these advantages, it would give them a might and a pre-eminence in large towns which they have never yet attained. They would, in fact, acquire for the apparatus they had reared, all the homage and all the perpetuity of an establishment; and wield those very influences over the population, for which alone a national church is in any way desirable,

But an instrument that is ready made to our hands should not be wantonly set aside; and it were far better that the church should be stimulated than that it should be superseded. It has already a great advantage over dissenters, in that locality, the full benefit of which, were it not for the obtuseness of our civic legislators, might be so soon and so easily restored to it. But there is

not the same hold upon it for a pure exercise of the patronage. The expense of its fabrics and its salaries is not in general derived from hearers, and therefore the taste of hearers may not be at all consulted in its appointments. Instead of a respectful deference to the popular opinion, on these occasions, there is often a haughty, intolerant, and avowed defiance to it—and we then see the longings of the public sorely thwarted by the resolute and impregnable determination of the patron. It may be easily conceived, therefore, how wide the disruption is between the ruling and the subject party, when a spirit altogether adverse to the prevailing taste is seen to preside over the great bulk of our ecclesiastical nominations. If power and popularity shall ever stand in hostile array against each other, we are not to wonder though the result should be, a church on the one hand, frowning aloof in all the pride and distance of hierarchy upon our population, and a people on the other, revolted into utter distaste for establishments, and mingling with this a very general alienation of heart from all that carries the stamp of authority in the land.

We should like, even for the cause of public tranquillity and good order, that there were a more respectful accommodation to the popular taste in Christianity, than the dominant spirit of ecclesiastical patronage in our day is disposed to render it. We conceive the two main ingredients of this taste to be, in the first place, that esteem which is felt by

human nature for what is believed to be religious honesty; and, in the second place, the appetite of human nature, when made, in any degree, alive to a sense of its spiritual wants, for that true and Scriptural ministration which alone can relieve them. Now, if these be, indeed, the principles of the popular taste, we know not how a deeper injury can be inflicted, than when all its likings and demands, on the subject of religion, are scorned disdainfully away. There is a very quick and strong discrimination between that which it relishes and that which it dislikes, in the ministrations of a religious teacher; and, previous to all enquiry into the justice of this discrimination, it must be obvious, that if instead of being gratified by the compliances of patronage, it is subjected to an increasing and systematic annoyance, this must gender a brooding indignancy at power among the people, or, at least, a heartless indifference to all that is associated with the government of the country, or with the matters of public administration.

In every matter that is seen intensely to affect the popular mind—that mind which is so loud in its discontent, and so formidable in its violence—that mind, the ebullitions of which have raised so many a wasting storm in our day, and which, still heaving, and dissatisfied, and restless, seems as if it would roll back the burden of its felt or its fancied wrongs on the institutions from which they have germinated—it surely is the part of political wisdom to allay rather than infuriate the disorder,

by according all which it can, and all which it ought, to the general wish of society. And the obligation were still more imperious, should it be made out that the thing wished for would add to the public tranquillity, by adding to the public virtue—that what is granted would not merely appease a present desire, but would shed a pure as well as a pacifying influence over the future habits of our population—that, instead of a bribe which corrupted, it were a boon to exalt and to moralise them: thus combining what is rarely to be met with in one ministration, the property of calling forth a grateful emotion now, and the property of yielding the precious fruit both of national worth and loyalty hereafter.

We believe that there is no one subject on which our statesmen are more woefully in the dark, than the right exercise of church patronage. They apprehend not its true bearings on the political welfare of the country. The whole question is blended with theology: and this has shaded it with such a mystery to their eyes, as one profession holds forth to the eye and the discernment of another. They have not, in fact, steadily looked to the matter, with their own understanding; and acting, as they often do, in the hurry of their manifold occupations, on the guidance and information of others, they have very naturally reposed this part of their policy on the advice of mere ecclesiastics. It is true, that, in many a single instance, the nomination may be so over-

ruled by family interest and connection, as to bring patronage and popularity into one. But, with this abatement, there is a leading policy which presides over this department of public affairs; and we repeat it, that it is a policy mainly derived from the representations and the authority of churchmen. It is far more the interest of a government to be right than wrong; and we think, that in this, as in every other branch of their operations, they do what is honestly believed to be most for the civil and political well-being of the state. But, just as in questions of commerce, they may be misled by lending their ear to the political science of party and interested merchants; so, in questions of church countenance and preferment, they may be misled by lending their ear to the oracles of a spiritual partizanship. It is thus that the main force of their patronage may be directed to one kind of theology; and that may be the very theology which unpeoples the Establishment of its hearers. It is thus that their honours and rewards may, in the great bulk of them, be lavished on one set of ecclesiastics, and these may be the very ecclesiastics who alienate the population from the church, and so widen the unfortunate distance that obtains between the holders of power in a country, and the subjects of it.

It is manifest, therefore, that there must, on this subject, be a delusion somewhere, though it may not be easy to expose it. It is obviously for the interest of statesmen that there should be a

harmony of temper between them and the population; and never is this so forced upon our convictions as when, in a time like the present, a slumbering fire is at work, which, if much further irritated, will break out into fierce and open conflagration on the existing structure of society. We know not what the political concessions are, which would allay the tumults of the public mind; nor are we sure that any concessions of that sort would be at all effectual. But there is, at least, one avenue by which our rulers might still find their way to acceptance and gratitude all over the land. There is, at least, one link of communication, to the fastening of which they have only to put forth a friendly hand; and, by keeping hold of which, they will be sure to retain a steady hold on the affections of a now alienated multitude. It must be quite palpable, even to themselves, that there is one kind of church appointment which sends a glow of satisfaction abroad among the families of a parish; and that, by a boon so cheap and simple, as a mere habit of acceptable patronage, they may bring in as many willing captives to the Establishment, as there is room in the Establishment to receive. Little as they may know of the theology of the question, they must, at least, know that which so much glares upon the observation of all, as that, with a certain style of ecclesiastical patronage, they may, when they will, turn the great current of the population into the national church, and again replenish the emp-

ty pews and spacious but deserted edifices of the their great hierarchy, with willing and delighted hearers from all the ranks of society. And the question recurs, what is the might and the mystery of that spell which has so bewildered our men of power from the path that would lead to a result so desirable? Or, if not the effect of an infatuation, but of a principle, what are the weighty reasons of vindication for a policy that has so severed the church from the common people, and reduced to naked architecture one-half of that costly apparatus, reared by a former age, for upholding the Christian worth and virtue of the commonwealth?

There seem to be three distinct grounds, on which the popular taste in Christianity is so much held at nought by the dispensers of patronage. First, on the ground of the contempt that is felt for it, as a low, drivelling affection; secondly, on the ground of the moral reprobation in which it is held as being inimical to human virtue; and, thirdly, on the ground of the suspicion that it is in close alliance with a factious and turbulent disposition, and that, therefore, every encouragement which is awarded to it forms an accession of strength to the cause of democracy in the land. On one or other of these grounds is there an array of contempt and resistance against the popular taste; and men of the highest ascendency in the kingdom are often to be seen among the foremost in this array. The cry of, down with fanaticism,

ascends from the bosom of the church; and the dignitaries of the state may be observed in firmly leagued opposition with the dignitaries of religion, against the warmest likings of the multitude.

I. First, then, the popular taste in Christianity is often treated by the holders of patronage, as if it were a perverse appetite for absurdity and error. It is looked to as a thing of whim, and a thing of imagination; and there can be no doubt that it has its occasional whims and absurdities—its squeamish dislike to what is in itself very innocent—and its fanciful and extravagant regards to what in itself is very insignificant. Among these we would remark its puling and fantastic antipathy to all the visible symptoms of written preparation in the pulpit*,—and its jealousy of all doctrine that is uttered in any other than the current phraseology,—and its sensitive recoil from such innovations of outward form, as might simplify or improve any of the services of the church,—and its appetite for length and loudness, and wearisome occasions, and other puerilities, which have made it appear an utterly weak and contemptible thing, in the eye of many a scornful observer. The popular taste, even in its pur-

* We must, however, earnestly recommend to all the readers of sermons, that they shall try to attain the habit of reading them freely and impressively, and in such a way as marks the direct communication of personal feeling from the speaker to those whom he addresses.

est and most respectable form, will still be a subject for caricature. But it has supplied additional features for such a sketch out of its own follies, and its own excrescencies; insomuch, that, to the eye of many, and those too among the most powerful and enlightened of our land, does it hold forth the general aspect of a freakish and wayward propensity, which it is quite fair to trample upon, and, at all events, no outrage on any worthy feeling of our nature, utterly to thwart and to disregard.

And here one reason at least becomes manifest, why, on the part of clergymen, the mere whimsies of popular feeling ought not to be complied with; and that between favourite preachers and their doting admirers such a spectacle should never be held out, as that of servile indulgence upon the one side, and weak, trifling, senseless conceits of taste and partiality, on the other. It is this which, more perhaps than any other cause, has degraded the popular opinion into a thing of no estimation, and has thrown circumstances of ridicule around it, which have given an edge to satire, and furnished a plea of extenuation for the policy that holds it at nought. If it be grievous to observe the demand of the people about frivolities of no moment, it is still more grievous to behold the deference which is rendered thereto by the fearful worshippers at the shrine of popularity. It is a fund of infinite amusement to lookers on, when they see, in this interchange of little minds,

how small matters can become great, and each caprice of the popular fancy can be raised into a topic of gravest deliberation. It were surely better that Christian people reserved their zeal for essentials; and that Christian teachers, instead of pampering the popular *taste into* utter childishness, disciplined it, by a little wholesome resistance, into an appetite, at once manly, and rational, and commanding. Every thing that can disarm the popular voice of its energy will be lamented by those who think as we do, that it is a voice which, in the matters of Christianity, is mainly directed to what is practically and substantially good; and that it is just the despite which has been done to it that has so paralyzed the ministrations of our Establishment. And, therefore, do we hold it so desirable that the popular taste were chastened out of all those vagaries which have just had the effect of chasing away the homage that else would have been rendered to it. We know that it has its occasional weaknesses and extravagancies; but we believe that these are in *no* way essential to it, and that, by the control of the ministers of religion, acting wisely, and honestly, and independently, they could all be done away. Though these were lopped off from the affection, it would still subsist, with undiminished vigour, and it would then be seen what it nakedly and characteristically is—not that mere fantastic relish which it is often conceived to be, but the deep and strong aspiration of conscious humanity, feeling,

and most intelligently feeling, what the truths, and who the teachers are, that are most fitted to exalt and to moralise her.

In proof of this we may, with all safety, allege that let there be a teacher of religion, with a conscience alive to duty, and an understanding soundly and strongly convinced of the truths of the gospel; let him, with these as his only recommendations, go forth among a people, alive at every pore to offence from the paltry conceits and crotchets in which they have drivelled and been indulged for several generations; let them be prepared with all the senseless exactions which a dark and narrow bigotry would often bring upon a minister; and let him, disdainful of absurdity in all its forms, whilst zealous and determined in acquitting himself of every cardinal obligation, only labour amongst them in the spirit of devotedness: and it will soon be seen that the general good will of a neighbourhood is far more deeply and solidly founded, than on the basis of such petty compliances as have made popularity ridiculous in the eye of many a superficial observer. The truth is, that there is not one irrational prejudice among his hearers, which such a teacher would not be at liberty to thwart and to traverse, till he had dislodged it altogether. Grant him the pure doctrine of the Bible for his pulpit, with an overflowing charity in his heart for household ministrations—and the simple exhibition of such worth and such affection on the week, from one

who preaches the truths of Scripture on the Sabbath, will, without one ingredient of folly, gain for him, from the bosoms of all, just such a popularity as is ever awarded to moral worth and to moral wisdom. This, indeed, we believe to be the main staple of that popularity which is so much derided by the careless, and often so unfeelingly trampled upon by the holders of patronage. And thus it is fearful to think that, in the systematic opposition which has been raised upon this subject against the *vox populi*, government may, unknowing of the mischief, have been checking, all the while, the best aspiration that can arise from the bosom of a country—may have been combating, in its first elements, the growth of virtue in our land—and, in wanton variance with its own subjects about the principles of religion, may have been withering up all those graces of religion, which would else have blessed and beautified our population.

II. But this brings us to the second imputation that has been brought against the popular taste, in matters of Christianity—far graver than any that is uttered in the mere playfulness of contempt, and in virtue of which it has often been reckoned with, as a pernicious delusion that unsettles the morality of the people, as if, in its preference for doctrine, it loathed and neglected duty, and could only relish that ministration, which, instead of acting as a stimulus, acted as a soporific to human virtue. This we believe to be

a very prevailing conception among the enemies of popular Christianity; and hence there are not a few who may resist its inroads as conscientiously as they would the inroads of any moral pestilence, —regarding the character of the population as exposed to hazard from the currency of a favourite and high-sounding mysticism, that made no account of ordinary practice, and left the conduct of its disciples without restraint and without regulation. There is the imagination of a seducing Antinomianism, in the creed of the vulgar, that enters into all this hostility against their opinion and their will in matters of religion, and often gives the tone of serious indignant principle to a distinct class of antagonists from the former—who, more disposed to fasten on the alleged follies of the popular taste, regard it rather as a topic of light and airy ridicule, than as a topic of earnest, solemn, and emphatic denunciation.

Now what we affirm is, that the very peculiar economy of the gospel, devised as it has been for the recovery of a sinful race from a great aberration into which they have wandered, exposes its most honest and intelligent disciples to precisely these aspersions—and that, therefore, the misesteem in which the popular taste is held may be due to a misunderstanding of this economy. The gospel, in the first instance, proclaims so wide an amnesty for transgression, that the most gross and worthless offenders are included; and there is none so far sunk in the depths and atrocities of

moral turpitude, but that still the overtures of redeeming mercy may be brought down, even to his degraded level, and he be told of an open gate and a welcome admittance to heaven's sanctuary. That blood of atonement which cleanseth from all sin is proclaimed of virtue enough to cleanse him from his sin; and he, without any deduction whatever, on the score of his former iniquities, is not barely permitted, but entreated and urged to enter, through a great propitiation, upon the firm ground of acceptance with God.

Now, it is not merely that such encouragement, held forth in the gospel to the most profligate of our species, has suggested the idea of an impunity held forth by it to moral evil. But what serves still more, perhaps, to stir the imputation, that it makes no account of moral distinctions whatever, is, that it appears to reduce the purest and most profligate to the same level of worthlessness before God, and, in pointing to the avenue of reconciliation, addresses both of them in the same terms. It looks as if, under this new system, all the varieties of character were to be superseded; and it is, indeed, a very natural conclusion from the doctrine of the efficiency of faith without works, that works are henceforth to be in no demand and of no estimation. The man who is deemed by society to have no personal righteousness whatever, is told to link all his hopes of acceptance with the righteousness of Christ; and the man to whom society awards the homage of a

pure and virtuous character, is likewise told that it is a fatal error to ground his security on any righteousness of his own; but that he also must place all his reliance before God on the righteousness of Christ. This is very like, it has been said, to the entire dismissal of the personal virtues from religion, and the substitution of a mere intellectual dogma in their place. It is certainly a dogma, that glares upon us as the most prominent feature of the popular or evangelical system; and we ought not to wonder if, on a partial and hurried contemplation, it should be apprehended that, instead of amending the people, its direct tendency is to vitiate and demoralise them.

For the purpose of arriving at truth in this matter, it were well to reflect under what kind of moral impression it is, that a believer, who hopes for acceptance through the Mediator, renounces all trust in his own righteousness. They who would malign his system, affirm it to be, that it is because his moral sense is so far obliterated, that the distinction between right and wrong has become a nullity in his estimation; insomuch that he looks on a man of double criminality to be no further, on that account, than his neighbour, from the friendship of God. But might it not rather be, because his moral sense is so far quickened and enlightened, that the differences between the better and the worse among men are lost in the overwhelming impression that he has of the fearful deficiency of all? The man whose conceptions

have been enlarged upward to the high measurements of astronomy, may know that though one earthly object is nearer to the sun than another, yet the distance of both is so great as to give him the impression of a nearly equal remoteness with each of them. And the man whose conscience has been informed upon heaven's law, may know that though one of his fellows has, by an act of theft, receded further than himself, who never stole, yet that both are standing in their common ungodliness at an exceeding wide distance of alienation from the spirit and character of heaven. When one man's righteousness is placed by the side of another, it would argue a moral blindness, not to perceive the shade of difference that there is between them. When the better righteousness of the two is placed by the side of the Saviour's, it would argue a still more grievous defect both of moral sight and moral sensibility, not to perceive the contrast that there is between the sacred effulgency of the one, and the shaded earthly ambiguous character of the other. And if, in the New Testament, the alternative be actually placed within the reach of all, of either being tried according to their own righteousness, or of their being treated according to the righteousness of Christ—it may not be from a dull, but from a tender and enlightened sense of moral distinctions, when one renounces the former, and cleaves to the latter, as all his defence and all his dependence.

It seems to be on this principle that the publicans and the sinners, in the gospel, are stated to be before the Pharisees, in coming to the kingdom of heaven. The palpable delinquencies of the former seem to have forced more readily upon their apprehension the need of another righteousness than their own. The plausible accomplishments of the latter served to blind their consciences against this necessity. They were alive to the difference that obtained between themselves and others. But, they were not alive to the deficiency of their own character from the requirements of God. And it is thus, perhaps, that the doctrine of human worthlessness still finds its readiest acceptance among the lower orders of society. Their besetting sins are of easier demonstration than either the voluptuous or ungodly affections of the rich, blended as they often are with so much honour, and elegance, and sensibility. Still, it is not from the dulness, but from the delicacy of the moral sense, that it can penetrate its way, through all these disguises, to the actual character of him who is invested with them: and it is not because this power of the human mind is steeped in lethargy, but because it is of quick and vigorous discernment, that man renounces his own righteousness, and betakes himself to the righteousness of faith.

And what is true of the acceptance of this righteousness on the part of man, is also true of the proposal of it on the part of God. It is not because he under-rates morality, that he refuses the

morality of man as a plea of confidence before him—but, because sensitive of the slightest encroachment on a law, the authority of which he holds to be inviolable, he will not admit the approach of sinners, but in a way that recognizes the truth of the Lawgiver, and thoroughly reconciles it with the exercise of his mercy. Throughout the whole economy of the system of grace, there is not one expression which so thoroughly and so legibly pervades it, as the irreconcileable variance that there is between sin and the nature of the Godhead. It would almost look as if it were for the purpose of holding forth this expression, that the whole apparatus of redemption was instituted. Every circumstance that can give weight to such a solemn demonstration is made to accompany the overtures of forgiveness to man in the New Testament. It is not a simple assurance of pardon that is there exhibited, but of pardon linked with the atonement that has been rendered for iniquity. This, in truth, is the leading peculiarity of the gospel dispensation, that while mercy is addressed to all, it is addressed in such terms, and through such a line of conveyance, as to magnify all the other attributes of Deity. So that man cannot enter into peace but through the medium of such a contemplation as must obtrude upon his mind the entire and untainted purity of the divine nature. The avenue of reconciliation is inscribed on each side of it with the evil of sin, and with the sacred jealousy against it of a most high and holy God.

And, if it be God's intolerance of sin, and a high sense of the authority of his law, as inviolable—if it be these that modelled the gospel economy at the first—it were strange, indeed, should these principles fall out of sight, or be, in any way, traversed and given up, in the subsequent progress and application of the gospel among men. It were strange, indeed, if those principles which originated this system should be abandoned, or even so much as impaired in its forthgoings through the world—if the moral expression it bears so decisively, as it comes out of the hands of God, should be dissipated into nothing, when making its way through the hearts and the habitations of men—if that which so strongly marked, at its outset, God's abhorrence of sin, should, in any of its future developements, have the effect of encouraging sin—or, if a method of salvation so peculiarly devised, and that, for the express purpose of guarding and demonstrating the honours of virtue, should, after it is brought out to the notice, and has gained the concurrence of those for whom it was instituted, obliterate, in their minds, the distinction between right and wrong, or reduce virtue to a thing of no demand and no estimation.

The gospel, in the meantime, maintains a most entire consistency with itself. It unfolds that provision by which atonement has been made for the guilt of sin; but it never ceases announcing as its ulterior object, to exterminate the being of

sin from the heart and the practice of all its disciples. Its office is not merely to reconcile the world, but to regenerate the world; and there is not an honest believer, who rejoices in pardon, and does not, at the same time, aspire after all moral excellence; knowing, that to prosecute a strenuous departure from all iniquity is his expressly assigned vocation, and that he who, from Christ as a redeemer, has obtained deliverance from the punishment of sin, must, under him as a captain, hold an unsparing war with the power and the existence of it.

Here, then, would appear to lie the misconception which we are endeavouring to combat. The advocates of the evangelical system affirm the nullity of human righteousness, when regarded in the light of its founding any claim to reward from the great Moral Governor of our species. And this affirmation of theirs hangs upon the principle, that by admitting the validity of such a claim, the character of heaven's jurisprudence would be degraded beneath that standard of high, inflexible, and uncompromising purity, from which God will not consent that it shall be brought down, in accommodation to human frailty and human sinfulness. But the same August Being, who is thus prompted by the holy jealousies of his nature to lay an interdict on the claims of sinfulness, must, on the very same prompting, be equally bent on the utter extirpation of it from the character of all whom he takes into reconciliation.

If the presumption of sin be hateful in his sight, the existence of sin must be hateful to him also. He who, of purer eyes than to look upon sin, can have no tolerance for its claims, can have as little tolerance for its wilful continuance in the sinner's bosom. The entire nullity of human righteousness viewed as a plea for reward from a God of such surpassing holiness, so far from being at variance is altogether of a piece with the entire necessity of this righteousness, viewed as a personal accomplishment for the kindred society of One whose character is so lofty. There is no inconsistency whatever, but the directly opposite, in that the obedience of man should be inadmissible as his personal claim to heaven, and yet indispensable as his personal qualification for it. And thus it is that while, in the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the virtue of a human being is not admitted as an ingredient at all into that title-deed which conveys to him his right of entry into paradise, it is this virtue and nothing else, which making constant progress in time, and reaching its consummate perfection in eternity, that renders him fit for the blessedness, and the employments, and the whole companionship of paradise.

And perhaps the most plain and direct vindication of the evangelical system, as being altogether on the side of morality, is that morality forms the very atmosphere both of the happiness which it offers here, and of the heaven to which it points

hereafter. In the service of an earthly superior, the reward is distinct from the work that is done for it. In the service of God, the main reward lies in the very pleasure of the service itself. The work and the wages are the same. It is not *after* the keeping of the commandments, but *in* the keeping of the commandments, that there is a great reward.* Even from the little that is made known to us of the upper paradise, it is evident that its essential blessedness lies not in its splendour, and not in its melody, and not in the ravishment of any sensible delights or glories—but simply in the possession and play of a moral nature, in unison with all that is right, and in the rejoicing contemplation of that Being from whose countenance there beams and is imprest upon all the individuals of his surrounding family the moral excellence which belongs to him.† The gate of reconciliation, through the blood of Christ, is not merely the gate of escape from a region of wrath—it is the gate of introduction to a field of progressive and aspiring virtue; and it is the growth of this virtue upon earth which constitutes its full and its finished beatitude. The land to which every honest believer is bending his footsteps is a land of uprightness,‡ where the happiness simply consists in a well attempered soul rescued from the tyranny of evil, and restored to the proper balance of principles and affections

---

* Psalm xix. 11. † 1 John iii. 1, 2, 3. ‡ Psalm cxlvii. 9, 10.

which had gone into derangement. It is the happiness of a moral being doing what he ought, and living as he ought. It were a contradiction in terms, to aver of such a system that it is unfavourable to the interests of virtue. The doctrine of justification by faith is not the absorbent of all human activity, but the primary stimulant of that busy and prosperous career, in which the soul, emancipated alike from fear and earthly affection, rejoices in the acquirement of a kindred character to God, and finds the work of obedience to be its congenial and best loved employments. This is the real process of effort and mental discipline that is undergone by every honest believer, though hidden from the general eye under the guise of a phraseology that is derided and unknown by the world. He is diligent that he may be found without spot and blameless, on the great day of examination. It is the business of his whole life to perfect holiness in the fear of God.

And for effecting this moral transformation on the character of its disciples, does this system of truth provide the most abundant guarantees. It holds forth the most express announcement that, without such a transformation, there will be no admittance into the kingdom of God. And it reveals an influence for achieving it, which is ever in readiness to descend on the prayers of those who aspire after the habits and the affections of righteousness. And, along with the call of

faith, does it lift the contemporaneous call of repentance. And it marks out a path of obedience, by the urgency and the guidance of precepts innumerable. And, so far from lulling into inaction, by its free offer of forgiveness, does it only thereby release its disciples from the inactivity of paralysing terror, and furnish them with the most generous excitements to the service of God, in the love, and the gratitude, and the joy of their confident reconciliation. And, finally, as if to shut out all possibility of escape from the toils and the employments of virtue, does it make known a day of judgment, wherein man will be reckoned with, not for his dogmata, but for his doings; and when there will be no other estimate of his principles than the impulse which they gave to his practical history in the world—they who have done good being called forth to the resurrection of the just, and they who have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.

Now, all this truth has full recognition and occupancy among the articles of the evangelical creed; and the doctrine of justification by faith alone, so far from laying any arrest on the practical influence of it, is felt by every genuine believer to give all its spirit and all its scope to the new obedience of the gospel. Without this doctrine, in fact, there can be no agreement between God and man, but by a degrading compromise between the purity of the one and the imperfection of the other; and the point at which

this compromise should be struck is left undetermined, and at the discretion of each individual, who will, of course, accommodate the matter to the standard of his own performances; and thus, under all the varieties of moral turpitude, as well as of moral accomplishment, will there be a fatal tranquillity of conscience, in a world where each may live as he lists; and heaven's law, once brought down to suit the convenience of our fallen nature, may at length offer no disturbance to any degree either of ungodliness or unrighteousness in our species. But, with the doctrine of justification by faith there is no such compromise. The rewards of the divine government are still granted in consideration of a righteousness that is altogether worthy of them. The claims of the Godhead to the perfect reverence, as well as the perfect love, of his creatures, are kept unbroken; and when he proclaims his will to be our sanctification, the disciple, as he feels himself released from the vengeance of an unbending law, also feels himself to be placed in a career of exertion that is quite indefinite; where he will stop short at no degree of moral excellence—where he can be satisfied with no assignable fulfilment whatever—where his whole desire and delight, in fact, will lie in progress, and he will never cease aspiring and pressing forward, till he has reached his prize, and stands upon the summit of perfection.

It is only under the impulse of such principles as these, that the mighty host of a country's popu-

lation can be trained either to the virtues of society, or to the virtues of the sanctuary. The former may, to a certain extent, flourish of themselves, among the children of this world's prosperity. But, saving in conjunction with, and as emanating from the latter, they never can be upheld amid the workshops and the habitations of industry. It is a frequent delusion, that the evangelical system bears no regard to the social virtues, because, in the mind of an evangelical Christian, they are of no religious estimation whatever, but as they stand connected with the authority of God. But he cannot miss to observe that the sanctions of this authority are brought, in every page of the Bible, most directly and abundantly to bear upon them; and thus, in his eyes, do they instantly reappear, strengthened by all the obligations, and invested with a full character of deepest sacredness. The integrity of such a creed as he professes is the best guarantee for the integrity of his relative and social conduct. And it is only in proportion to the prevalence of this derided orthodoxy, that the honesties and sobrieties of life will spread in healthful diffusion over the face of the country. That system of doctrine which is stigmatized as methodism; and against which government are led to array the whole force of their overwhelming patronage; and on the approaches of which ecclesiastics are often seen to combine as they would against the inroads of some pestilential visitor; and which, when it does appear within

the well-smoothed garden of the Establishment, is viewed as a loathsome weed that should be cast out and left to luxuriate in its rankness, among the wilds and the commons of Sectarianism;—what a quantity of undesigned outrage must be inflicted every year on the best objects both of principle and patriotism, should this, indeed, be the alone system that has the truth of heaven impressed upon it, and the alone system that can transform and moralise the families of our land!

If, then, evangelical Christianity be popular Christianity—if its lessons are ever sure to have the most attractive influence upon the multitude—if, whatever the explanation of the fact may be, the fact itself is undeniable, that the doctrine of our first Reformers, consisting mainly of justification by faith, and sanctification through the Spirit of God, is the doctrine which draws the most crowded audiences around our pulpits, and this doctrine is, at the same time, the most powerful moralising agent that can be brought to bear upon them—then does it follow that the voice of the people indicates most clearly, in this matter, what is best for the virtue of the people—that the popular taste is the organ by which conscious humanity expresses what that is which is best fitted both to exalt and to console her—and that, by the neglect and the defiance which are so wantonly rendered to its intimations, are our statesmen withholding the best aliment of a people's worth, and therefore the best specific for a nation's welfare.

III. But we now proceed to the third great prejudice which requires to be combated. In the mind of many of our politicians there is a conceived alliance between the fervour of the popular demand for that religion which is most palateable, and the fervour of the popular demand for those rights which form the great topic of disaffection and complaint among the restless spirits of our community. It is quite enough to decide their impressions upon this subject, that the voice which they hear in favour of a certain style of Christianity, is the voice of a great assemblage, made up chiefly of the vulgar; and that when it reaches them, it is in the shape of a cry or a challenge from the multitude. This will instantly remind them of the vociferation and the menace that arise from the factious on a political arena, and they will feel inclined to deal with it accordingly. Let there be but the sympathy of the same impassioned feeling among a number of people, and, whatever be the topics of it, this is quite enough to conjure up to the apprehensions of many a distant observer the imagery of riot, and resistance, and the sturdiness of dissatisfied plebeianism. When Bishop Horsley said in Parliament, that the popular zeal which had gone so extensively abroad, in behalf of missionary objects, was but another expression of the revolutionary spirit, or a new direction which it had now taken, after the overthrow of its clubs and associations, we doubt not he said what he honestly believed to

be the truth. A bare inventory of names, however, had he actually taken it, might have convinced him that the missionary cause was altogether another enterprise, supported by another set of individuals, and animated, too, with a spirit which would not only have lent no re-inforcement to the turbulence that he dreaded, but if fostered through the country to the uttermost, would most effectually have neutralised it. To be blind on a matter like this, is to be in blindness, if not of the first, at least of among the most important elements of political wisdom. Nor can we conceive how a government may be misled more grievously, than when the character and views of a great and growing body of their own subjects are thus misapprehended.

But there are other causes for the delusion that we are now attempting to expose; and, perhaps, the most powerful of them is, that insignificance in which a spiritual and devoted adherent of the evangelical system will generally hold all the common objects of partizanship. He cannot, with a heart pre-occupied by eternal things, let himself down to a keen interest in the rivalry of this world's politics. Like a man intent on the prosecution of a journey, and with a mind absorbed by the objects of it, he cannot mingle any great earnestness or intensity of feeling with the disputes of his fellow travellers; and especially if they relate to matters connected with the mere comfort and accommodation of the few days in which they

are to keep together. He is otherwise taken up, and he finds no room in his bosom for the eager and busy emulations of a combatant upon an arena, where he is comparatively so little affected by all that is going on. The ruling party of the State can see no use for such an individual, and can place but a small reliance upon him; and what will confirm their whole sense of hopelessness about his services is, that, as indifferent to the rewards as he is to many of the aims and objects of political adherence, he appears to stand beyond the possibility of being purchased by them. As contrasted with the man whom they can at all times count upon, he will, indeed, be felt as of little or no estimation for any of their purposes. And thus it is fearful to contemplate, by how direct and natural a process the whole of the Church patronage that is vested in the hands of Government may be employed in rearing a careless and worldly priesthood all over the land—how the men who sit loose to time are the surest to be overlooked and neglected in the dispensation of benefices; and those who, by the very zeal and indiscriminateness of their party attachment, betray the earthliness of the element they breathe in, may, on that single account, be raised to those places of highest ascendency, from which the weightiest and most abundant influence could be made to descend on the character of the population.

And here we may remark how readily the want

of a very devoted regard to the special interests of a reigning and existing Administration may be confounded with the want of loyalty. They who honour not the king's immediate servants lie open to the imputation that they bear no great honour to the king himself. Thus it is that the man who simply feels himself in a state of unconcern about the stability of a present Administration, may come to be likened to those radically disloyal, who vent forth asperity and menace against all Administrations. It is surely possible to link the utmost reverence with the solid and abiding pillars of the Constitution, and, at the same time, to feel but small interest in the changes of that more shifting and moveable part of its apparatus which is termed the Cabinet. But neither is this enough for the full vindication of those who cannot embark their zeal in the affairs and the contests of partizanship. Now, this a man whose zeal is all pre-engaged on higher objects cannot do. And, accordingly, in this part of our kingdom, at least, there does exist a very general imagination, among the upper classes, that, with the more serious and spiritual clergy of our Establishment, there is a sort of hollowness of principle, in reference to the Government of the land —a certain suspicious cast of democracy about them; and altogether an ambiguity of political sentiment, on which no dependence could be laid, in the crisis of national danger—in the dark and turbid hour of a people's violence.

And the man who cannot bring himself to take a keen concern in the affairs of partizanship, will fare no better with the resisting than he does with the ruling party of the State. It is altogether of a piece with the general habitude of his feelings, that as he does not much care, on any ground of interest, at least, whether those who are in place shall retain it, so he does not much care whether those who are out of place shall succeed in acquiring it. In this apparent contest, indeed, between place and patriotism, he can see no more of the ravenous in the firm hold of the one party upon that which they have, than in the eager grasping of the other after that which they have not; and so, if in Parliament, he will sit and vote like a conscientious juryman on the specific merits of every question that comes before him. We believe that, acting on the guidance of such a principle as this, he will, under every successive change of the Cabinet, vote generally with Ministers, and occasionally against them. It is so much more the interest of every Administration to be right than wrong, that it were strange, indeed, if they blundered the matter so systematically as to be wrong in any thing like a majority of instances. And, hence, this man of simplicity, who sits loose to the profit, and is only alive to the principle, of our domestic politics, while, by his incidental deviations from Ministry, he forfeits all confidence as a stedfast and thorough-going adherent of theirs, will, by his more habitual dissent from the mea-

sures of Opposition, call down from the other party, a far severer weight of reprobation.

And, indeed, it may be seen of every such individual, that, while only perhaps slighted or the object of playfulness to the former party, he is often, to the latter, the object of a keen and impassioned virulence. The very circumstance of their exclusion from office holds them forth to the public eye as the martyrs of political integrity,—and it is beyond all endurance, when the voice of censure descends upon them from one who stands so evidently posted on a ground of independence still higher than their own. This they could bear from the servile adherents of Ministry; but when it comes down upon them from the eminence of accredited honesty and of worth unimpeachable, it is unsufferably galling. They know that the main ingredient of their popularity is the imagination of their disinterestedness; and it is not to be forgiven, that one who neither cares that he is out, nor wishes to be in, should, ever and anon, from the platform of a disinterestedness far more unquestionable than theirs, be blasting this imagination, and so neutralising the very charm in which their great strength lies. To stand in the ranks of Opposition is like standing in the ranks of a sturdy and self-denying patriotism; and when thwarted at every turn by one more pure and obviously more patriotic than them all, nothing can more cruelly disarm of all its force an exhibition so imposing, and so fitted to maintain a party

in public confidence and estimation. This may serve to explain the angry intolerance of the minority in Parliament against every man in it of true independence, and also why it is upon such that the anti-ministerial press is sure to lavish the whole strength and bitterness of its acrimony.

And here, for the purpose of marking still more specifically the men whom we are attempting to describe, let them be brought into comparison with another set of men, who, in some of their features, may be thought to resemble them. Among the political characters of our age, there are certain mal-contents who are altogether unappeasable; and who speak despairingly alike, and contemptuously alike, of both the great parties in the State; and who, if not yet seated within the territory of Radicalism, are at least standing on the very borders of it; and with whom the passions of the multitude are the favourite weapons which they employ, as instruments of annoyance against all the existing authorities of the land. They are like the others in this, that they cohere not either with the one side or the other of that great regular partizanship which obtains in our legislative bodies; and yet how diametrically opposite are they, in the whole spirit, and principles, and temper, of their public conduct. Loud, and inflammatory, and seizing, with most congenial eagerness, upon every topic of fermentation, the only element they can breathe in with comfort is that of uproar and discordancy; and whether they

meditate in earnest an overthrow of government or not, there is no spectacle which they more evidently enjoy, than when they see the fabric urged and played upon by the undulations of popular violence. Such a furious denouncer of both the parties in the State as one of these, stands contrasted, in almost all his lineaments, with him who is the hireling or the devotee of neither; but whose calm, reflecting, independence is altogether in the spirit of that wisdom which is pure, and peaceable, and gentle, and full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy. And if any thing be wanting to establish the total diversity of principle that there is between the two sorts of independence, we have only to observe the aspect which the champion of radicalism bears to the champion of Christian consistency in Parliament, and gather, from his invective and his scorn, its most satisfying illustration.

But after all, it may be asked, of what possible use are such men of simplicity and godly sincerity in Parliament?—men, of whom you are never sure on what side to find them, and whose whole line of proceeding is a constant mockery on the expectations of party. And, were there no higher principle in politics than those which characterise and mark off the distinctions of party, the question were altogether called for. But there are higher principles. The cause of order and general government is a higher cause than the cause of any Administration; and often, in periods of turbu-

lence and national distress this cause is endangered; and it is not the suspected testimony of the partizan, but the testimony of the patriot, that is of any power to still the commotion. It is not the man of thorough-paced devotion to his party, under all the fluctuation of its principles; but the man of stedfast devotion to principle, under all the fluctuations of party—it is he, and he alone, who can lift a voice of authority that will be listened to, amid that deafening noise which, at times, is heard to rise, in one appalling outcry of menace and discontent, from all quarters of the land. He sits loose to both parties, but, in such a crisis as this, he stands at the distance of the antipodes from him who reviles both parties; and while the one does what he may to thicken the disorder, does the other rally, at the simple lifting up of his voice, all the right-hearted men of the nation around the standard of loyalty. Were this his solitary service, it were enough to stamp upon him a character of far higher value than any unvarying adherent either of Ministry or Opposition can lay claim to. But the truth is, that his presence in the Legislature is of daily and perpetual benefit. He bears with him, at all times, an unseen force of control over the motions of Government; and each of the parties, though they may be ashamed to acknowledge it, are yielding him a constant homage, and rendering to his principles and views a constant accommodation. The man who is ever to be found on a higher walk of con-

sistency than the consistency of mere partizanship, cannot be disregarded with impunity. There is both a moral compulsion in the worth of his own character; and a still more palpable compulsion in the weight of his opinions, over the best and most wholesome part of the community. It is thus that he obtains an unknown ascendency in Parliament, not visible, in nearly its full extent, to the public eye; but most distinctly and powerfully felt in all those modifying processes under which every bill is shaped and prepared, ere it is brought ostensibly forward. If parties be indispensable to the business of a large deliberative assembly, if the machinery will not work without them, if there be no going on, unless a certain number of hands on each side of the vessel keep stedfastly by the tackling at which they are respectively stationed—let the many be enlisted into this needful service, if needful it really be; but let us never want the men of purer and loftier character, who bring thought, and conscience, and moral principle, into contact with each specific movement of this great national engine,—who make the freshness and simplicity of their own individual worth to bear on all its operations—and who, taking no part in the game of competition between the two parties, but often derided as anomalous by them both, are, nevertheless, of mighty influence in staying both the corrupt encroachments of the one, and the factious extravagance of the other.

It may now be perceived what a pure (which

we have already endeavoured to prove is mainly synonymous with a popular) exercise of Church patronage will do for the political well-being of a country. It would, generally speaking, fill the Establishment with clergy who, detached from the world, on that account sat loose to partizanship; but who, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Bible, on that account were the staunch and honest devotees of general patriotism. To them no one Administration could look for effective aid against their rivals in the contest of power. But on them every Administration would have reason to count for the most effective aid, in the contest of disaffection and disloyalty against the regular authorities of the land. The minister who had earned the confidence of his people, by urging the faithful exposition of all Scripture upon them, stands on a high and secure vantage ground, when, out of that indelible record, he bids them honour the king, and obey magistrates, and meddle not with those who are given to change, and lead a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. These accents would fall utterly powerless from the lips of one who, on an arena of partizanship, had manifested the heat or the worldliness of a mere political clergyman. But they would carry another influence along with them, when recognised as the effusions of the same honest principle which took the whole round of Scripture, and brought forth of its treasury all the truths and lessons that are to be found in it.

It may thus be seen, how possible it is, by one style of ecclesiastical patronage, to sacrifice the permanent tranquillity of the kingdom to the ephemeral views of an existing Administration; while, by another style of it, a secure and everlasting barrier may be raised against all the surges of insurrectionary violence. A church filled with the zealous friends and retainers of one leading political interest can have no authority over a population whom the very character of its priesthood has alienated from its services. A church teeming with zealous, and holy, and well-principled evangelists, that has drawn largely of its hearers from the multitude, and won largely on their veneration and regard—such a church, without one offering at the shrine of any party whatever, but mixing her lessons of loyalty with all the other lessons of the Christian law, will be found, in the fiercest day of a nation's trial, to be its best and surest palladium.

But the partizanship of clergymen is just as hurtful, on the one side of politics, as the other. The spirit of their office should raise them above this arena altogether, and lead them to refrain from taking any share in the contest at all. We believe that the fancied alliance between the party of Whiggism in the State, and the Evangelical party in the Church, has tended, in Scotland, to the discouragement and depression of the best of causes. It has helped to direct the whole power and patronage of government against the more accept-

able clergy of our land, and so multiplied the topics of heartburning and irritation between the people and their rulers. A few political clergy standing prominently forth, on either side of the church, will suffice to fasten a political imputation on the whole body that is represented by them—and it is ever to be regretted, either that Government should thus have been blinded into the indiscriminate opposition of all that would make most for the Christian worth and eventual loyalty of the population; or that the zealots of Ministry should have been betrayed into the imagination that they were fighting the battles of order, when, mistaking sound faith for tumultuous fanaticism, they were ever thwarting those ecclesiastical measures which were best fitted to harmonise as well as morally to elevate the lower orders of the country. A priesthood strictly devoted to their own professional objects, and keeping aloof from the contest of this world's politics, and neither servile in their loyalty, nor boisterous in their independence, and ardently prosecuting the literature of their order, or the labour of love in their parishes—the intent and engrossing aim of such a priesthood is to rear a generation for eternity. But still the blessings which they would scatter along the path of time are also incalculable. The promise of the life that now is, as well as of the life that is to come, is attendant upon all their exertions. And it is deeply, indeed, to be regretted, that the voice of party should have so marred and transformed

the whole of this contemplation, as to have alienated the Government of the land from the alone instrument that can be at all effectual in forming either a moral or a manageable population.

CHAP. VI.

ON CHURCH PATRONAGE, CONTINUED.

We are not aware that law has provided any limitation whatever to the right of patronage in the English Church, which, for ought we know, may be exercised in a way altogether absolute and uncontrolled, and without any power of counteraction or restraint vested in the people. So that, however obnoxious a presentee to a living may be, in the parish that has been assigned to him, he, by holding a deed of presentation, holds a title to the benefice which cannot be wrested from him by any earthly power. The concurrence of the Bishop of the diocese is, perhaps, indispensable to the completion of this right; and if he be not responsible to any power out of the Church for the principles upon which he either grants or refuses this concurrence, we can see that, however little it may have been exercised of late, there virtually lies a veto among ecclesiastics on every nomination to an ecclesiastical office. Still, however, should there be the same regardlessness of the popular taste among the dignitaries of the Church, that we fear there still is among the great majority of the holders of patronage, the practical security would appear as feeble as is the legal one, against the likings of the multitude on the subject

of Christianity being, in the greater number of instances, thwarted and overborne.

In these circumstances, the most direct method for restoring the Establishment to efficiency and acceptance among the people, is to conciliate the regard both of the patrons and of the dignitaries to the evangelical system, which is the only one that can attract the multitude, because the only one, the application of which to their condition, or their conscience, is at all felt by them. This, however, is not the work of a day; and whether we look to the High Church intolerance that so evidently scowls from the Episcopal bench, or to the jealousy of all popular interference with the right of Church nomination that has recently been evinced in the Legislature of these kingdoms, we must still reckon ourselves at a fearful distance from a right adjustment between patronage, on the one hand, and popularity, on the other. This distance, however, we conceive to be lessening. A more just estimation of popular Christianity is now making ground in the walks of property and political influence; and a more respectful deference to the popular voice will be sure to follow in its train. It ought now to be well understood among them, that the moral reprobacy of the lower orders, as well as their political restlessness and discontent, emanate from popular infidelity, and not from that which has been ignorantly and injuriously aspersed as popular fanaticism. When the whole truth becomes evident to them, it will

then be perceived, that by the latter of these two elements alone will the former ever be neutralised. It is not by a haughty defiance to the taste or the tendencies of the multitude; or by declamatory charges against sectarianism; or by a remote and lofty attitude of withdrawment, on the part of her superior ecclesiastics, from all those Christian institutions which are at once the ornament and the blessing of our country; or by the strict and jealous guardianship of bishops, in alarm for the importation of an enthusiastic spirit into their dioceses: it is not thus that the Church of England ever will acquire a religious and rightful ascendency over its population. Under such a process her arm will wither into powerlessness; and an instrument, else of greater might and efficacy than dissenterism, with the putting forth of all her energies, can ever hope to attain to—will lose its whole force of moral and salutary control over the character of the nation. The alienation of the people will widen every year from the bosom of the Establishment—and the Establishment, reft of all spiritual virtue, will at length be reduced to a splendid impotency of noble edifices, and high gifted endowments, and stately imposing ceremonial. We plead not for the overthrow of this magnificent framework; for, if animated with the breath of another spirit, as it stands, we conceive it fitted to wield a far more commanding influence on the side of Christianity than were likely to come from the ashes of its conflagration. But ne-

ver will it recover this influence, till the spirit of the olden time be recalled—never, till what is now dreaded by the majority of that Church as fanaticism come again to be recognized and cherished as the sound faith of the gospel—never, till what they now nauseate as methodism be felt as the alone instrument that can either moralise the people in time, or make them meet for eternity.

Our reason for affirming a jealousy of the popular voice in the appointment of clergy, on the part of the British Legislature, is founded on an examination of their recent Act for building, and promoting the building, of additional churches, in populous parishes. Though the Parliamentary grant for this object is so small that, for a great national effort, it must be extensively aided by the voluntary subscriptions of the people, yet the will of the people is admitted to no authority in the nomination of the minister. Their contributions are looked for, without any such equivalent, either in whole or in part, being provided to encourage them. When the erection is a chapel for an ecclesiastical district, the patronage is vested either in the incumbent of the parish, or the chapel is to be patronised in such a way as may be agreed upon by the patrons of the parish where it is situated, in conjunction with the commissioners for carrying the act into execution. When the erection is a new parish church, then its patronage is vested in the patron of the original parish from which it is detached. In other words, patronage is to have as

great an ascendency, and the popular will to be of as little legal force in counteracting it, with the new churches, as with the present ones; and so sensitive is the aversion to any limitation upon the former element, by the encroachment of the latter, that when a clause was proposed in the House of Commons, for vesting the patronage of new churches or chapels in the twelve highest subscribers, where the edifices were raised wholly by subscription, this clause, though supported by the whole evangelical interest in Parliament, and advocated by the chiefs of Administration, called forth a prompt and overbearing majority, who instantly put it down.

Now this is certainly not the way to promote the building of new churches; neither is it the way to secure an attendance upon them, after they are built. And the only hopeful circumstance in the whole of this national provision is, that the stipend of the minister is paid out of the pew-rents which are raised from the hearers. This will compel an accommodation to the popular taste at least in the first instance. But we cannot fail to remark how utterly helpless every speculation of our Legislature is, about the revival and the growth of public virtue in our land, when thus impeded by their own groundless alarms; and by their utter misconception of what that instrument is, by which people can be drawn to an attendance on the lessons of Christianity, or of what that Christianity is which emanated pure from the mouth of revelation, and which,

by its adaptation to human want and human consciousness, is sure to meet with a responding movement from the multitude, whenever it is addressed to them.

There is one evil that has ensued upon this movement of the Legislature. It has tended to fill and to satisfy the public imagination, and thus laid an arrest upon the zeal of private adventurers, who are friendly alike to the cause of the Establishment and to the cause of Christian education. Previous to the passing of this Act, Mr. Gladstone of Liverpool erected two new churches in that town, after having negotiated for himself, not the permanent right of patronage, for this could not be obtained, but the three first nominations of a minister to each of them. There was, in this instance, every security for a popular exercise of the right of patronage. The zeal which prompted the undertaking was, in itself, a guarantee for the appointment of acceptable and effective clergymen. And, besides, as the seat-rents were to form the revenue both for the stipend of the minister, and for the repair and upholding of the fabrics, there was all the power of a veto conceded, by the arrangement itself, to the popular voice. It is gratifying to know that this patriotic and enlightened gentleman, after having so materially strengthened the interests of the Establishment, and added to it two flourishing congregations, in that great commercial town, where his philanthropy and public spirit have so

much distinguished him, has just been indemnified for the expenses of his most benevolent speculation, by its actual returns. This is a most important fact, in as far as it indicates a safe and likely career for the multiplication of religious edifices in our most populous and unprovided cities. And would magistrates or patrons, on the one hand, concede a liberal allowance of patronage to subscribers, we doubt not that wealthy individuals, on the other, both ready to hazard and even willing to lose in a good cause, would, in imitation of this fine example, come forth in sufficient strength, to second the designs and greatly to outrun the power of Government, in forwarding an enterprise so closely allied with the very highest objects after which either statesman or philanthropist can aspire.

And here it occurs to us to say, that had Mr. Gladstone obtained the perpetual patronage of his two churches, in return for having erected and endowed them, the right would have descended, by inheritance, to his family, and, like any other property, been transferable by sale. The right would have originated most legitimately, and been transmitted most legitimately; and long, perhaps, after the purely Christian object which it subserved at first had passed out of remembrance, would it be assimilated, in its character and in its exercise, to any other private right of church patronage in the country. We know not in how far the actual patronage in our land has taken its origin

and its descent from the liberality of pious and benevolent founders; or been rendered to great proprietors, as an equivalent for the burden of church expenses which was laid upon them. But when we think for what essential purposes this right may be acquired, and how fairly it may be appropriated and handed down in families, from one generation to another, we are led to look to its guidance and not to its overthrow, for any great Christian reformation of the churches in our land. The holders of this important right will, at length, participate in the growing spirit and illumination of the age; and while others regard patronage as the great instrument of the corruption and decline of Christianity, we trust that, under the impulse of better principles, it will, at length, become the instrument of its revival.

It is not to any violent demolition in the existing framework of society, that we look for the impulse which is to regenerate our nation. The actual constitution, whether of Church or State, is a piece of goodly and effective mechanism, were the living agents who work it animated with the right zeal and the right principle. And sorry should we be, in particular, were a rashly innovating hand laid upon the venerable Hierarchy of England. Even the affluence of its higher dignitaries, so obnoxious to the taste of some, could be made subservient to the best of causes; and through it, the principle of deference to station, which, in spite of all his assumed sturdiness, eve-

ry man feels to be insuperable within him, may be enlisted on the side of Christianity. We envy not that dissenter his feelings, who would not bless God and rejoice, in the progress of an apostolical Bishop through his diocese. But it is not from this quarter, at present, that the glance of disapprobation and disdain is made to fall upon him. It is from his own brethren, we fear, on the episcopal bench, who if, instead of lifting upon him the frown of a hostile countenance, were to go and do likewise, would throne their Establishment in the affections of the whole population, and, by the resistless moral force which lies in the union of humble worth and exalted condition, would cause both the radicalism and infidelity of our land to hide their faces, as ashamed. Wherever the good Bishop of Gloucester assumes, for a day, the office of humble pastor, in one of the humblest of his parishes, he leaves an unction of blessedness behind him; and the amount of precious fruit that springs from such an itinerancy of love and evangelical labour is beyond all computation. Such a mingling with the people as this would not confound ranks, but most firmly harmonise them. It would sanctify and strengthen all the bonds of society. And it is wretched to think not merely of sound principle being thrown aside, but of sound policy being so glaringly traversed by the derision and the discouragement which are laid on all the activities of religious zeal—or, that they who preside over the destinies of the English Church, as

well as they who patronise her, should have been misled into the imagination that her security lies in her stillness—and that, should the warmth of restless sectarianism be, in any semblance or measure, imported into her bosom, it will burn up and destroy her.

In Scotland, too, there is a law of patronage now firmly established, and now almost entirely acquiesced in; and there are few belonging to our Church, who ever think of disputing the right of the patron to the nomination. But there seems to be a great diversity of understanding about the line which separates his right from the right of the Church. He can nominate; but it would startle the great majority of our clergy, were they told, that the Church can, on any principle which seemeth to her good, arrest the nominee. The Church can, on any ground she chooses, lay a negative on any man whom the patron chooses to fix upon. It is her part, and in practice she has ever done so, to sit in judgment over every individual nomination. There are a thousand ways, in which a patron might, through the individual whom he nominates, throw corruption into the bosom of our Establishment; and we would give up our best securities, we would reduce our office as constitutional guardians of the Church, to a degrading mockery, were we to act as if there was nothing for it, but to look helplessly on, and to lament that there was no remedy. The remedy is most com-

pletely within ourselves. We can take a look at the presentee; and if there be any thing whatever, whether in his talents, or in his character, or in his other engagements, or in that moral barrier which the general dislike of a parish would raise against his usefulness, and so render him unfit, in our judgment, for labouring in that portion of the vineyard, we can set aside the nomination, and call on the patron to look out for another presentee. It is the patron who ushers the presentee into our notice; but the fitness of the person for the parish is a question which lies solely and supremely at the decision of the ecclesiastical courts.

For the purpose of limiting the Church in the exercise of this right, it has been contended that her judgment on the fitness of the presentee is restricted to the mere question of his moral and literary qualifications. But she has often taken a far wider range of cognizance than this, and there is nothing to prevent her from widening that range to any extent she will. Previous to the enactment of that law which, with all the formalities, has recently been established, and by which a Professor in a university is declared incapable of holding a country parish, there was the case of a Professor, who had received a presentation to such a parish, brought up for the decision of the General Assembly. It is true that, by a majority of five, he was found a competent person for the charge; but, had three of these five voted differently, the hold-

er of the presentation would have given it up as a lost cause; nor would it ever have entered into the conception of the patron that any thing remained for him but to issue a new presentation in behalf of some other individual. The incompetency of the presentee would thus have been declared, and on a ground altogether different from that of moral or literary qualification. The truth is, that the Church is not at all limited to particular grounds. She is at liberty to decide on any principle she may; and, instead of departing from her character, will, in fact, dignify and adorn it, by admitting every principle connected with the religious good of the people into her deliberations. She can set aside any presentee, and that generally on the principle that it is not for the cause of edification that his presentation should be sustained. More particularly she has often, in the course of her bygone history, judged it inexpedient to settle a presentee, in the face of violent dislike and opposition from the people; and, on this principle, alone, has laid her veto upon his presentation, without any reference to the moral or literary qualifications of the holder of it.

There is, with many, a confusion of principle upon this subject, that has been a good deal aggravated by a case which occurred twice in the history of the Church, in which, after that the General Assembly had set aside a presentee nominated by one claimant to the patronage, and authorised the settlement of one who was nominated by another,

the former was found entitled, by the civil court, to retain the fruits of the benefice. But this decision of the civil court, it must be remarked, was founded solely and exclusively on the legal right of the claimants to the patronage. The minister who was actually inducted was deprived of the stipend attached to his office, but just because his presentation was found to be invalid. It is no exception whatever to the principle which we have just affirmed, that a case can be quoted of a clergyman not having a right to the emoluments of his charge, who had the authority of the Church for his settlement, but had not, at the same time, a good presentation. The only case, in point, against it would be that of a clergyman having a good presentation, and, at the same time, not having the authority of the Church for his settlement, and enjoying, nevertheless, the fruits of the benefice. And if no such case can be alleged, saving, perhaps, in days of persecution and violence, it would appear that the authority of the Church, not responsible certainly for her decisions to any power existing without the limits of her ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is just as indispensable to the valid settlement of a minister, as is a deed of presentation.

The truth is, that there are two essential circumstances which must meet together, ere a preacher can be ordained to the charge of a parish. He must have a presentation from the legal holder of the patronage; and he must have the

concurrence of the Presbytery to which the parish belongs, or of its superior church judicatories. As the matter actually stands, the first circumstance is indispensable; nor can we proceed to ordain a preacher to the charge of a parish, till he come to us with a valid presentation; and few are the members of our Establishment who would hold it advisable to oppose the right of patronage. But what we contend for is, that the other circumstance is equally indispensable—that as the matter has ever stood, from the infancy of our being as a Church, and as the matter stands at this very hour, there must, previous to his ordination, be the concurrence of the Church; and if we know not a single instance, in our day, of a minister being suffered by law to officiate and to draw the emoluments of his living, in the face of the right of patronage exercised against him; so, neither do we know a single instance of a minister being forced upon a parish, we shall not say in the face of the people, but in the face of the ecclesiastical power; nor are we aware of any settlement where the preacher did not enter upon his charge with the sanction of our votes, and under the canopy of our majorities.

The right of a veto by the Presbytery on every presentation, when they judge there is a defect in the moral or literary qualifications of the presentee, is conceded on all hands. When they pass a veto on any other plea, however, their sentence, it would appear, must be borne upwards by appeal

to the General Assembly, and may be decided there, on any principle which shall seem good unto that venerable Court.* They may put their conclusive veto on any presentation, for any reason, or, if they choose, for no reason at all. Even though there should be manifest injustice in their decision, there exists not, without the limits of the Church, any one legal or constitutional provision against such a possibility. The only security, in fact, is that a Church so constituted as ours will not be unjust. At all events, the matter could not be mended, by carrying the question without the limits of the Church's jurisdiction, and so carrying the chance of, at least, as great error and injustice along with it, when the ecclesiastical reasons on which the General Assembly passed sentence were brought under the review of a civil judicatory. But in truth there is and can be no such transition. The power of a veto on every presentation, and without responsibility at any bar but that of public opinion, is by all law and practice vested in the supreme ecclesiastical court of this country. And in these circumstances, is it to be borne that, with a power so ample, we are tamely to surrender it to the single operation of another power not more firmly established,

* Appendix to Sir Harry Moncrieff's Life of Dr. Erskine, p. 424. The reader will find, in this Appendix, an able and luminous exposition of the whole question, done by the masterly hand of the Reverend Baronet, whose talents and force of character have shed a brightness over that Church, of which he is so distinguished a minister.

and not more uniformly indispensable than our own? Are we, whose business it is to watch over the interests of religion, and to provide for the good of edification, and who, if we would only make use of the rights with which we are invested, could, in fact, subordinate the whole machinery of the Establishment to our own independent views of expediency—are we, as if struck by paralysis, to sit helplessly down under the fancied omnipotence of a deed of patronage? So soon as the majority in our Church shall revert to the principle of its not being generally for the good of edification, that a presentee, when unsupported by the concurrence of the parish, shall be admitted to the charge of it, there is no one earthly barrier in the way of our nullifying his presentation, and making it as absolutely void and powerless as a sheet of blank paper. We are not now contending for the right and authority of a call from the people, but for the power of the Church to admit the will or taste of the people as an element into her deliberations on the question, Whether a given presentation shall be sustained or not? and of deciding this question just as she shall find cause. And therefore it is, that in the lengthened contest which has taken place between the rights of the patrons and of the people, the Church, by giving all to the former and taking all from the latter, and in such a way, too, as to establish a kind of practical and unquestioned supremacy to a mere deed of presentation, has, in fact, bartered

away her own privileges, and sunk into a state of dormancy the power with which she herself is essentially invested, to sit as the final and irreversible umpire on every such question that is submitted to her.

But the Church has given away nothing that she cannot recal. If there be, at this moment, an entire independence of patrons upon the people, this is a temporary grant, at the will and pleasure of an authority that can, at any time, rescind it. In the struggle between the right of patronage and a principle of deference to the popular taste, what was the theatre of the contest?—the General Assembly. Where was it that patronage won her victory?—in the supreme Court of our Establishment. To what do the holders of patronage owe the practical sovereignty which, for half a century, has been conceded to those rights by which they proudly think to overrule the deliberations of clergymen?—why, to the votes of clergymen. The vote of such an unrestricted supremacy to the right of patronage was not extorted from us by any legal necessity, but was the fruit of our own voluntary deliberations; and the good of the Church was or ought to have been the principle which influenced them. Other views of the good of the Church may again lead to other conclusions. And, in the exercise of her undoubted right to sustain or to refuse, upon ecclesiastical grounds, any presentation that is offered, we may again come to regard, as of old, the acceptable talents

of the presentee, and the number of signatures to his call, and the station or character of those who have thus testified their concurrence in his appointment, to be just as essential elements of the question before us, as either his moral or literary qualifications.

It is on these principles that there are not a few of the clergy who cleave to the Establishment, in spite of all the partial corruptions that Sectarianism has alleged against her. They see in the bosom of their own church an open avenue to every desirable reformation. They honestly believe that there is not a better range of Christian usefulness to be found, over the whole face of the country, than within her walls—and that a man of principle and zeal, when backed by the independence which she confers, and shielded about by the amplitude of her securities and her power, stands on the highest of all vantage ground, for the work of honest and faithful ministrations. They trust that she is the destined instrument for the preservation and the revival of Christianity in our land—and would tremble for her overthrow, as the severest blow that, in this quarter of the island, could be inflicted on the cause of the gospel. And when either patrons or people are in the wrong, let us never see the day when the cause shall be committed to any but to those whom the wisdom of the country has raised above the temptations of dependence; and who can clear their unfaultering way, alike unmoved by the smile of grandeur, or by the frown of a sometimes deluded population.

But we forget that, after all, it will not be primarily by any triumph gotten on the field of public controversy, that an accommodation will at length be brought about between the measures of the patrons and the wishes of the people. Ere the majority of our Church be desirous of such an accommodation, there must be a great revolution of sentiment among them, about the deference that is due to the popular understanding; and this will imply a similar revolution among men of power and intelligence, in the country at large. Should it come at length to be a general recognition with the clergy, that, bating a few excrescencies, popular Christianity is indeed the Christianity of the New Testament, and the only system of doctrine which can either regenerate the people for heaven- or reform them into the sober and patriotic virtues of the present world—this will also be a general recognition with the reading and reflecting classes of the community. And thus it will not be upon an arena of litigation that the *vox populi* will struggle its way to that ascendency which, in matters of religion, we conceive to be altogether due to it. It will arrive more surely and more pacifically at this result, by the silent progress of a common and harmonising sentiment among those various classes who wont to set themselves in battle array, and debate their conflicting pretensions, with all the keenness which opposite views and opposite interests could inspire. Patrons will come at length to see that the most acceptable offering at the shrine of popularity is also the best offer-

ing at the shrine of patriotism: and government will not fail, in time, to understand that the quick and sensitive tact of the people, in theology, to which so little indulgence has hitherto been given, so far from being, in any degree, allied to that appetite for disturbance which endangers a nation, is, in fact, the longing of man's diseased moral nature for that doctrine which brings, in its train, the righteousness that exalteth a nation.

With the great majority of dissenters, the appointment of ministers is by popular election. The right of suffrage is more or less extended, however, being sometimes vested in the sitters of a congregation; at other times, restricted to the members of it, or those who have been admitted to the ordinances; and, in no small number of instances, being exclusively in the hands of proprietors, or trustees, who own the chapel, and bind themselves to defray, from the proceeds of it, all the expenses of the concern.

We do not hold the last of these arrangements to be different, in point of effect, from either of the two former. It affords, no doubt, the example of a patronage shared among so many individuals, but still of a patronage controlled by the hearers, and in a state of dependence on the popular will. It is the obvious and direct interest of the electors to fix on the man who, by his talents and doctrine, shall secure a full attendance upon his ministrations; and so secure, at least, a sufficient rental for meeting all the engagements.

This state of things is tantamount to a right of patronage vested in the few, with the power of a veto on each nomination vested in the many—a power which will be exercised on each successive appointment, till that one individual is brought forward, in whom the patronage and the popularity come to an adjustment with each other. This, perhaps, is a simpler and better process for arriving at the result of an acceptable minister, than where the power of originating each his own candidate is spread over the whole multitude, and the proceedings may come at length to be marked with the turmoil and confusion that often attend the business of a large popular assembly. And we apprehend, that with a patronage under this kind of influence, the business of each appointment may not only be conducted in a style of greater smoothness and facility; but that as zealous, and able, and faithful ministers would be provided, as under a constitution of things where each individual sitter had a direct and personal share in the positive nomination.

And after all, it must often happen that, even under the most democratic economy of a congregation, the minister virtually obtains his office by the appointment of the few, and only with the acquiescence of the many. In every assemblage of human beings, this is the method by which all their proceedings are really carried forward. The ascendency of worth, or talent, or station, or some other natural influence, is ever sure to vest the power of originating in the few, and to leave no-

thing with the many but the power of a veto; nay, even, n many instances, to disarm them of that power. The work of choosing their minister, in a dissenting congregation, is, we doubt not, in the great majority of instances, most wisely and most peaceably conducted. But, on looking to principles as well as to forms, we have as little doubt that, in very many instances, the appointment is the result of a harmonized meeting beween what may be called a virtual deed of patronage, on the one hand, and the power of a negative, on the other. And, amid all the sturdy opposition there is to the Church, on the score of what has been felt, as the most corrupt and pernicious of her grievances, it is curious to observe how the method of proceeding, even under the most popular constitutions of a chapel, resolves itself effectually into a modified patronage.

And there are many ways in which the Establishment may be in circumstances of as great advantage as dissenterism, for having her Church patronage so modified, as that the popular voice shall have its right degree of ascendency, in the appointment of ministers. Whensoever the holders of patronage shall come to appreciate aright the character and tendencies of the evangelical system, this of itself will answer all the purposes of a modified patronage. And whensoever the Church shall resume the exercise of the authority which belongs to her, of giving effect to the expression of the popular will, on every individual nomination, this will re-instate that negative, in

all its force, which would restrain patronage, as far as we hold it to be desirable. And, in all cases where the revenue from seat-rents is of importance to the patron, as in great towns, this forms a strong security for the popular exercise of the right. And, as in the building of new churches, it is revenue derived from this source which furnishes the means for the endowment of them, we cannot extend the Establishment, without extending the cause of popular Christianity, by adding to the number of instances in which we shall have an accommodation between the choice of the patrons and the wishes of the people.

Upon this last circumstance, indeed, we hold ourselves entitled to found the following observation. Let the patronage of the existing Churches in our Establishment be as corrupt as it may, every additional Church that is built and endowed, on the produce of its seat-rents, has, by its very constitution, a security for the right and popular exercise of its patronage. However the right of nomination may be vested, there is a virtual control with the hearers, which will necessitate the patrons towards acceptable and evangelical clergymen. Whatever disadvantages may be alleged on the side of the Establishment, when brought into comparison with the Dissent, in respect of the state of its patronage, they vanish altogether, in reference to new erections; and, standing upon equal ground, in this one particular, the only remaining question is, Which of the two is most fitted to overtake the necessities of our unprovided

population? We have already endeavoured to point out the reason why, after that dissenterism has lavished all her resources on the task, for upwards of a century, the population have so grown and multiplied beyond her, that, in our large cities, one half, at least, of the labouring classes are, in respect of the ordinances of the gospel, in a state of practical heathenism; and why no expedient appears so likely to provide, for this sore destitution, as Established Churches, with local territories having a preference for seats assigned to them. And we do not feel restrained from urging this expedient by any alleged corruption respecting the patronage of the Establishment; for, in as far as the new erections are concerned, there will necessarily be a popular influence to over-rule the nomination. And for this, therefore, as well as for other reasons, do we look to the Establishment, in both countries, as the likeliest instrument for recalling a degenerate people to the faith and habits of a Christian land.*

---

* In addition to all the argument that we have alleged for the influence and utility of religious establishments, on the ground of locality, we shall subjoin a reason that comes with greater delicacy from the mouth of a dissenter. The following is a quotation from Baxter, who, if second to any, was only second to Dr. John Owen, among the English Non-conformists of the seventeenth century—a race of men who contributed so much to the glories of what may be termed the Augustan age of Christianity in our island:—

"If you love the common good of England, do your best to keep up sound and serious religion in the public Parish Churches; and be not guilty of any thing that shall bring the chief interest of religion into private assemblies of men merely tolerated, if you can avoid it.

"Indeed, in a time of plagues' epidemical infection, tolerated churches may be the best preservatives of religion, as it was in the first 300 years, and in the Arrian reign, and under Popery. But when sound and serious religion is owned by the magistrates, tolerated churches are but as hospitals for the sick, and must not be the receptacle of all the healthful. And, doubtless, if the Papists can but get the Protestant interest over into prohibited

Still, it is well for a country that dissenters do their uttermost. They are right to extend their interest and their ascendency as far as they can; and to make as deep an impression on the outcast and alienated mass of our population as possible. The very jealousy that they awaken among the fiery and alarmed bigots of our Establishment is, of itself, a salutary principle. And we doubt not that, to the good of their own direct exertions, they have added a most important contribution to the cause of Christianity, by the wholesome re-action to which, through them, the Church has been stimulated. It is our part to rejoice that Christ has been more preached in the Church, by their means, even though, in some instances, it may have been of contention. They have poured a fresh zeal into the bosom of our Establishment, and done something to guide and to purify the exercise of its patronage. It were well, if, in every portion of the land, they could supplement all that is corrupt or defective in our national churches. Could such an arm of intole-

---

or tolerated conventicles (as they will call them), they have more than half overcome it, and will not doubt to use it next as they do in France, and by one turn more to cast it out. The countenance of authority will go far with the vulgar against all the scruples that men of conscience stick at, and they will mostly go to the allowed churches, whoever is there. Let us, therefore, lose no possession that we can justly get, nor be guilty of disgracing the honest Conformists, but do all we can to keep up their reputation for the good of souls. They see not matters of difference through the same glass that we do. They think us unwarrantably scrupulous. We think the matter of their sins to be very great. But we know that before God the degree of guilt is much according to the degree of men's negligence or unwillingness to know the truth, or to obey it. And prejudice, education, and converse, maketh great difference on men's apprehensions. Charity must not reconcile us to sin, but there is no end of uncharitable censuring each other."

rance be lifted up, in any country, as to crush the energy of non-conformists, that would be the country where the purest Establishment on earth were sure to languish into indolence, or to gather upon it the mould of spiritual decay. And, therefore it is, that we hold the best ecclesiastical system for a kingdom, to be a publicly endowed Church, on the one hand, keeping pace, in its extent, with the growth of the population; and an altogether free, unshackled dissenterism, on the other, without one civil disability, or one stigma of degradation, however light and lenient it may be, affixed to the profession of it.

And, we have only one word more to our political rulers upon this subject. We are most thoroughly aware of the association that obtains in the minds of many of them between dissent and democracy; and that, under this feeling, they not only look with a hard and suspicious eye upon nonconformity, but would resist every assimilation to any of its features, on the part of the Establishment. The evidences are innumerable, that the association is, in the main, unfounded. Among others we appeal to the charges issued in November, 1819, by the Methodist body, against political disaffection, when Radicalism was at its height; and to the known fact, that individuals were excluded from the membership of their churches, for the single offence of attending the meetings of the seditious. But the most satisfactory proof of all, and one that comes immediately under the eye of our statesmen, is that, which may be ob-

tained from an investigation into the habit and condition of those who are apprehended for seditious practices. We understand that, about three years ago, when such apprehensions were numerous, there was not among them the case of one individual, who was a member of any of the great dissenting bodies in our kingdom. And it will be found, we venture to say, in every season of political alarm, when such apprehensions are called for, that, with a very few exceptions, indeed, neither the guilt of disaffection, nor even the suspicion of it, has brought down this kind of visitation at least on a regular member of any of the evangelical denominations of Christianity. The great majority, in fact, belong to those outcasts from the word and ordinances, who associate themselves with no body of worshippers at all; and the question comes to be, Why were they not to be met with in the empty churches of the Establishment? This matter suggests whole volumes of argument and reproof to statesmen. And it is right that they should know the real origin of those troubles which most embarrass them. It does not lie with dissenters, who are innocent of it all; but it lies with their own careless and corrupt patronage. Were the Church of England rightly extended and rightly patronised, there would be neither sedition nor plebeian infidelity in the land. And thus, in the eye of one who connects an ultimate effect with its real though unseen cause, the whole host of Radicalism may have been summoned into being by the very Go-

vernment that sent forth her forces to destroy it; and fierce ministerial clergymen, though they mean not so, may, each from his own parish, have contributed his quota to this mass of disaffection; and, ascending from the men of subaltern influence, that Bishop, whose measures have alienated from the Church the whole popular feeling of his diocese, instead of a captain of fifties, may virtually though unwittingly be a captain of thousands, in the camp of that very rebellion which would sweep, did it triumph, the existence of his order from the kingdom; and, to complete the picture of this sore and infatuating blindness, if there be one individual in the Cabinet, whose pernicious ascendency it is, that has diverted away the patronage of the Crown from the only men who can Christianise and conciliate the people, he, in all moral and substantial estimation, is the generalissimo in this treasonable warfare against the rights and the prerogatives of the monarchy.

But we believe that, in the majority of instances, they are the city rulers, who are the patrons of city churches; and the post they fill is, therefore, one of great responsibility for the well-being of the empire. It is under them that there exists the most fearful deficiency in the means of religious instruction; and it is, of course, throughout the mighty hosts over which they preside, that violence, and profligacy, and all the elements of moral and political mischief are ever sure to be most copiously engendered. They have the pow-

er, however, of counteraction in their own hands; and were their eyes once opened to the influence of locality, when combined with a reduction in the size of parishes, and a pure exercise of patronage, they could not fail to perceive that, under a steady and well-principled course of management, the neglected myriads of a city might come, at length, to change the ferocity of their aspect for the moral and pacific cast of a country population. There is the very same nature on which to operate with both; and there is not one district, however wild and outlandish at present, and though teeming with families in the coarsest style of dissipated and worthless plebeianism, that would not experience a speedy transformation, were certain practicable facilities opened for admitting them to the church of a laborious minister, on the Sabbath, and securing for them, through the week, the unwearied and ever-plying attentions of the same individual. When he once found his way to a residing eldership, he would find himself elevated to a tenfold ascendency over them; and without romantic effort (for if this were requisite, the whole were fruitless Utopianism) might he bring his densely peopled vineyard under all the blandness of a village economy. They are the principle of locality which has been so little adverted to, and the preference of the parishioners to the sittings of their own church which is still so provokingly disregarded by our administrators, and the moderate extent of parishes which may at length be attained by terms of liberal encouragement held

out to the subscribers for new churches, on the part of magistrates—these are the simple elements out of which a sufficient mechanism may be reared for regenerating even the most unwieldy metropolis; and, lastly, to animate this mechanism with a right spirit and principle of vitality, let our city patrons be no longer disdainful of conceding their favours to the expression of the popular will; and, on the side of religious honesty, as it in general is, will it almost always be sure to direct their regards to the most zealous and devoted labourers.

We have already said enough of locality and patronage, and the preference for seats to parishioners; but, on the topic of lessening the extent of parishes, by new erections, we would again recur to the example at Liverpool, as a proof how much may be done, without putting to hazard the funds of the corporation. If, for the encouragement of private adventurers, magistrates will not allow a perpetual right of patronage, they may, at least, allow that right for a certain term of years, or for a certain number of successive nominations. In this way, without expense to the town, may they obtain an immediate extension of churches, and an ultimate extension of their own patronage. It is not to be expected that subscribers will pay for the erection and endowment of a new church, if others are forthwith to patronise it. But should they be permitted to hold, for a time at least, in their own hands, a security for popular appointments, they would not only feel themselves prompted to this enterprise of benevo-

lence, by a hope of indemnification from the seat-rents, but also by the hope of a fulfilment to their own wishes, in the increase of useful and acceptable clergy. If one individual has done so much in Liverpool, what may not be expected from the efforts of a great Christian public, in the cause? And we are not aware of any expedient, by which so speedy and effectual an enlargement of church accommodation, in populous towns, can be arrived at.

And there is one circumstance which may dishearten this process, at the outset, and which it were, therefore, well to understand and be prepared for. The people of every new parish should have the preference for seats in their own church. But there will generally be a disappointment, if it be thought that this preference is to be extensively taken. The truth is, that the great object of extending the church accommodation in cities is, not to meet the demand that already exists, but to create a taste and a habit which have now fallen into desuetude. It is altogether a reclaiming process; and more for the inspiration of a right appetite that is not yet felt, than for the gratification of one which is already astir, and in quest of instruction. It is, therefore, very possible that, at the outset, there may be a very meagre demand for the sittings of the new fabric, in the appropriate district itself; in which case, after the preference has been held out for a sufficient length of time, the competition should be thrown open to the inhabitants of the town at large. And here lie the charm and the might of locality—that the

minister, by concentrating his attention upon the families that reside in it, will soon stir up a re-action among them towards the place of his Sabbath ministrations; and he will excite a growing demand for seats that will soon press hard upon the vacancies which occur; and, by the simple regulation of continuing the rule of preference to the parishioners for these vacancies, a parochial will come, in the course of years, to be substituted for a general congregation; and, triumph enough for one incumbency, will the people of a given geographical section of a town, at one time alienated from Christianity and all its ordinances, be translated into the general habit of church-going; and, trained to the recognitions and the regularities of a country parish, will it be found that they are capable of exemplifying all its virtues, and of exhibiting the same aspect of kindliness and sobriety, which many think can only be kept inviolate in the more retired provinces of our empire.

With plain fabrics, and moderately endowed, a most useful class of evangelical labourers may be had, and on such seat-rents as could be afforded by the great bulk of the people. Indeed, in all the new churches, the utmost economy should be observed, else the system will never be carried forward to a right or adequate degree of extension. If our city rulers shall ever propose, in good earnest, to have an ecclesiastical apparatus, at all commensurate to their population, they must bethink themselves of churches altogether secondary to the present ones, both in architectural

splendour and in the salaries of clergymen. It is right that a certain number of the livings should be upheld in such a degree of superiority, as to hold out an allurement to men of professional eminence, from all parts of the country. But should it be reckoned necessary, so to hold up all the livings, then this were an impracticable barrier in the way of multiplying the parishes. And, therefore, the best arrangement for a town that has only ten churches, and would need thirty, is, in supplementing the deficiency, to descend from spires to belfries, and, besides observing the utmost simplicity in the buildings, to assign such an income to the clergyman, as that the whole expenses, both of the erection and endowment, may, as nearly as possible, be met by the proceeds of the attendance. This would give confidence, and call forth a much more productive effort, in the way of private subscription for the cause, or even enable magistrates to take the cause into their own hands. But, in every possible way, it is a cause which ought to be carried forward: and those are the most patriotic and enlightened rulers, who, laying aside the prejudices which have hitherto kept popularity and patronage at so heartless a distance from each other, shall now give their promptitude to the great object of so multiplying churches, as to meet the necessities of the people, and of so appointing churches, as to draw them to a willing attendance on the ministrations of Christianity.

CHAP. VII.

ON CHURCH OFFICES.

By the constitution of the Church of Scotland, it is provided that, in each parish, there shall be, at least, one minister, whose office it is to preach and dispense the ordinances of Christianity, on the Sabbath, and to labour in holy things among the people, through the week; and elders, whose office it is to assist at the dispensation of sacraments, to be the bearers of religious advice and comfort among the families, and, in general, to act purely as ecclesiastical labourers for the good of human souls; and, lastly, deacons, to whom it belongs, not to preach the word, or administer the sacraments, but to take special care in administering to the necessities of the poor.*

In the course of time, the last of these three offices has fallen into very general desuetude. The duties of it have been transferred to the eldership, the members of which body have thus been vested with a plurality of cares; it being both their part to labour in matters connected with the religious good of the people, and to share in the administration of those funds which the law

---

* See the Form of Church Government, agreed upon in the Assembly of Westminster Divines, and ratified afterwards by an act of the General Assembly, in the year 1645.

or custom of the country has provided for meeting the demands of its pauperism.

The moral effect upon the people of such a conjunction as this seems very much to have escaped observation. And, indeed, it is only under certain rare and peculiar circumstances, where this effect is very broadly or very strikingly exemplified. The truth is, that, in the great majority of our Scottish parishes, the sum expended on pauperism is raised by voluntary collection, and still maintains the character of a ministration of kindness. It is, besides, so very small in amount, as not to have come very sensibly or extensively into contact with the lower orders of society, who, in those parts of the country where the method of legal assessments for the poor has not been established, still retain the veteran hardihood and independence of their forefathers, and among whom the condition of known and public dependence is still regarded in the light of a family misfortune, or a family degradation.

It is not, therefore, in such Scottish parishes as these where we can see to greatest advantage the effect of such a combination of duties as that which we have now adverted to. Neither are we sure that any very decisive exhibition of this effect is to be met with, in the whole of England. There, it is true, the funds for pauperism are enormous, and they are spread in distribution over a very large proportion of the labouring classes in that country. But we are ignorant whether the

work of distribution is at all vested in men who have the office, besides, of sharing in any religious superintendance over the people. We rather think that overseers, and others employed in the dispensation of the legal aliment, hold out an exclusively civil and secular aspect to the eye of the population; and that there is no such incongruity among them as the one in question; and in virtue of which the same individual is called upon, by one of his offices, to evince a concern, and exercise a care, over their eternal interests, and, by another of his offices, to enter the lists with them on the arena of clamorous assertion, and loudly proclaimed discontent, and stout or surly litigation.

But there are a good many parishes, in Scotland, now in progress towards the English system of pauperism, in as far as respects a compulsory provision by assessment; and where, too, in the amount of the sums expended, they are making rapid advances towards the habits and economy of our Southern neighbours. That which wont to be applied for, with shame and humility, and to be taken with gratitude, is now demanded in the tone of a rightful or peremptory challenge; and all the heart-burnings or jealousies of a legal contest are beginning to be infused into the ministrations of parochial charity. That which was before diffused among a very few of our families, and had to them the feeling of an element of kindliness, is now gathering a dark and malignant

tinge—and, what makes it still worse, is spreading itself over so many of our families as to threaten a bad impression on the general habit and character of our population. The people, at large, are becoming more closely associated with pauperism; and pauperism itself is fast transforming from its olden aspect of kind and gentle humanity, and putting on a countenance of grim attorneyship. Meanwhile, there has not been a sufficient corresponding change in the old bodies of administration; and thus both ministers and elders, whose joint office it is to woo the people to Christianity, have, in many of our larger towns, been implicated in a most unseemly warfare with them, on another ground altogether. It is in such transition parishes as these, from an old to a new system of things, that the phenomenon in question is in its best possible state for observation; and where we may catch such an evolution of our nature as shall not only serve to demonstrate a present evil, but as shall also bring out to view those general principles on which the charities of human intercourse ought to be conducted.

Conceive, then, an individual to be associated with a district in the joint capacity of elder and deacon, and that, at the same time, its pauperism has attained such a magnitude, and such an establishment, as to have addressed itself to the desires and the expectations of a large proportion of the families. The argument must suppose him to be

equally intent on the duties of each office, without which there is a defect of right and honest principle, on his part, and this of itself is a mischievous thing, though no exception whatever could be alleged against the combination of these two offices. It will, therefore, serve better to expose the evils of this combination, to figure to ourselves a man of zeal and conscientiousness, on whom the burden of both offices has been laid, and who is uprightly desirous of fulfilling the duties of both. There are many who are but elders in name, while deacons alone and deacons altogether in practice and performance; and this, of itself, by the extinction, as far as it goes, of the whole use and influence of the eldership among the people, is, of itself, a very sore calamity. But let us rather put the case of one who would like religious influence to descend from him, in the former capacity, and, at the same time, would like to acquit himself rightly among the people, in the latter capacity: and we hope to make it appear that a more ruinous plurality could not have been devised, by which to turn into poison each ingredient of which it is composed—and that it is indeed a work of extreme delicacy and difficulty for an individual, on whom duties of a character so heterogeneous have been devolved, to move through the district assigned to him, without scattering among its people the elements of moral deterioration.

He goes forth among them as an elder, when

he goes forth to pray with them, or to address them on the subject of Christianity, or to recommend their attention to its ordinances, or to take cognizance of the education of their children. There are, indeed, a thousand expedients by which he may attempt a religious influence among the people; and, in plying these expedients, he acts purely as an ecclesiastical labourer. And, did he act singly in this capacity, we might know what to make of the welcome which he obtains from the families. But they recognize him to be also a dispenser of temporalities; and they have an indefinite imagination of his powers, and of his patronage, and of his funds; and their sordid or mercenary expectations are set at work by the very sight of him; and thus some paltry or interested desire of their own may lurk under the whole of that apparent cordiality which marks the intercourse of the two parties. It were a great satisfaction, to disentangle one principle here from another; and this can only be done by separating the one office from the other. It were desirable to ascertain how much of liking there is for the Christian, and how much for the pecuniary ministration with which this philanthropist is charged. The union of these two throws an impenetrable obscurity over this question, and raises a barrier against the discernment of real character, amongst the people with whom we deal.

But this combination does more than disguise the principles of the people. It serves also to

deteriorate them. If there be any nascent affection among them towards that which is sacred, it is well to keep it single—to defend it from the touch of every polluting ingredient—to nourish and bring it forward on the strength of its own proper aliment—and most strenuously to beware of holding out encouragement to that most subtle of all hypocrisies, the hypocrisy of the heart; which is most surely and most effectually done, when the lessons of preparation for another world are mixed up with the bribery of certain advantages in this world, and made to descend upon a human subject in one compound administration. There is a wonderful discernment in our nature evinced by the Saviour and his Apostles, throughout their whole work of Christianising, in the stress that is laid by them on singleness of eye—and in the announcements they give of the impossibility of serving two masters, and of the way in which a divided state of the affections shuts and darkens the heart against the pure influence of truth. Simplicity of desire, or the want of it, makes the whole difference between being full of light and full of darkness. It is thus that Christ refuses to be a judge and a divider; and that the Apostles totally resign the office of ministering to the temporal wants of the poor; and that Paul, in particular, is at so much pains both to teach and to exemplify, among his disciples, the habit of independence on charity to the very uttermost—denouncing the hypocrisy of those who make a gain

of godliness, and even going so far as to affirm, that the man who had joined their society, with a view to his own personal relief, out of its funds, from the expense of maintaining his own household, was worse than an infidel. On the maxim that "my kingdom is not of this world," it will ever be a vain attempt to amalgamate Christianity with the desires of any earthly ambition; and this is just as applicable to the humble ambition of a poor man for a place in the lists of pauperism, as to that higher ambition which toils, and aspires, and multiplies its desires, and its doings, on the walks of a more dignified patronage. We are not pleading, at present, for the annihilation of pauperism, but for the transference of its duties to a separate class of office-bearers. We are for removing a taint and a temptation from the eldership, and for securing, in this way, the greatest possible efficacy to their Christian labours. We are for delivering the people from the play and the perplexity of two affections, which cannot work together, contemporaneously at least, in the same bosom. On the principle that there is a time for every thing, we should like a visit from an elder to be the time when Christianity shall have a separate and unrivalled place in the attention of those with whom, for the moment, he is holding intercourse; and that when the impression of things sacred might be growing and gathering strength from his conversation, there shall not be so ready and palpable an inlet as there is

at present, for the impression of things secular to stifle and overbear them.

There are two different ways in which an elder may acquit himself of his superinduced deaconship: either in the way of easy compliance with the demands of the population, or in the way of strict and conscientious inquiry, so as to act rightly by the fund which has been committed to him. Take the first way of it, and suppose him, at the same time, to have the Christianity of his district at heart, and what a bounty he carries around with him on the worst kind of dissimulation! Like a substance, where neither of the ingredients taken singly is poisonous, and which assumes all its virulence from the composition of them, what a power of insidious but most fatal corruption lies in the mere junction of these two offices! There is many a pluralist of this sort, who never can and never will verify this remark, by any experience of his own; because he has virtually resigned the better and the higher of his functions, or rather has not once from the beginning exercised them. But let him go forth upon his territory, in the discharge of both, and what a sickening duplicity of reception he is exposed to! What a mortifying indifference to the topic he has most at heart, under all the constrained appearance of attention which is rendered to it! With what dexterity can the language of sanctity be pressed into the service, when their purpose requires it; and yet how evident, how mortifyingly evident, often, is the total

absence of all feeling and desire upon the subject, from the hearts of these wily politicians! How often, under such an unfortunate arrangement as this, is Christianity prostituted into a vehicle for the most sordid and unworthy applications—all its lessons no further valued than for the mean and beggarly elements with which they are conjoined —and all its ordinances no further valued than as stepping-stones, perhaps, to a pair of shoes. It is this mingling together of incompatible desires— it is this bringing of a pure moral element into contiguity with other elements which vitiate and extinguish it—it is this compounding of what is fitted in itself to raise the character, with what is fitted, in itself, and still more by its hypocritical association with better things, to adulterate and debase it—it is this which sheds a kind of withering blight over all the ministrations of the pluralist, and must convince every enlightened observer, that, till he gets rid of the many elements of temptation which are in his hands, he will never expatiate, either with Christian comfort, or with Christian effect, among the population.

And here we may remark another argument against this plurality, which ought to address itself with great effect to all those who think that an increase of profligacy among the people is the sure attendant on an increase of pauperism. There may be no great harm done by putting this administration into the hands of an eldership, so long as the money is raised in the shape of a free-will

offering from the giver, and it is made to descend in the shape of unconstrained kindness upon the receiver; or so long as they have only to deal with moderate sums among moderate expectations. But, when the fund is raised in a legal and compulsory way by assessment, and when that which wont to be petitioned for, in the shape of charity, is demanded in the shape of justice, and when the people are thus armed with the force and impetus of an aggressive legality, upon the one side, and are not met in the firm and resolute spirit of a defensive legality, upon the other, there will, in time, be amongst us a far more rapid acceleration of pauperism than ever has been exemplified in England. That old apparatus which would have sufficed under the old system, will be a feeble defence against the weight and urgency of applications that are sure to be engendered by the new. A kirk-session may do for an organ of distribution, while the expression of good will may be held forth, on the one side, and the feeling of gratitude may be called back, on the other. But when, from an administration of charity, it is transformed into a warfare of rights, it becomes altogether an unseemly contest for such parties as these—and a contest, in which the cupidity, and the love of pleasure, or of indolence, that characterise our nature, will mightily prevail over that unpractised simplicity which we should ever like to characterise our eldership; whose proper business it is to officiate among sacraments, and to exert a Chris-

tian superintendence over the families that are assigned to them. The exemption of Scotland from an oppressive pauperism is not at all due to the ecclesiastical form of that machinery under which it is administered. It is to be ascribed simply to the absence of a compulsory provision; and it will be found that, after this is introduced, then, so soon as it is fully understood and acted on, all that is ecclesiastical, in our courts of administration, so far from being a safeguard to the independence of our people, will, in fact, smooth, and widen, and encourage, their transition to pauperism. Scotland has not yet had time to overtake England, in the amount of her expenditure. But it will be found that, in the great majority of those parishes where a compulsory provision for the poor has been established, she is moving onward, at a faster rate of acceleration. The pauperism of Manchester is still greater, in its present amount, than that of Glasgow. But the proportional increase in Glasgow, during the last twenty years, is very greatly beyond that in Manchester.*

---

* It grieves us to remark, here, that there have lately sprung up, in Scotland, some strenuous advocates for a legal and compulsory provision, and that, on the ground of a few isolated cases, where there has been no increase of expenditure consequent on the introduction of this method into some of our Scottish parishes. The habit of the people may certainly survive the pernicious influence of this system for perhaps half a generation. It is certainly not all at once that a national spirit, or a national habit, can be overthrown. But it will at length give way to the force of new institutions; and it must for ever be regretted, if the wholesale experience of England, together with

Let us now conceive a pluralist to be aware of this mischief, and, by way of guarding against it, to put himself forth in an attitude more characteristic of deaconship—firm in resistance to every claim that is capable of being reduced, and most strict and resolute in all his investigations. In this case the only fit and effectual attitude of eldership must be given up. He may as well try to look two opposite ways, at the same moment, as think of combining the one with the other, and of keeping the people at bay by his resistance to them, on the ground of his lower, and, at the same time, drawing their regard, on the ground of his better and higher ministrations. He will find it utterly impossible to find access for the lessons of Christianity, into hearts soured against himself, and, perhaps, thwarted in their feelings of justice, by the disappointments they have gotten at his hand. It is thus that, by a strange fatality, the man who has been vested with a religious superintendence over the people, has become the most unlikely for gaining a religious influence over them—and all his wonted powers of usefulness, now worse than neutralised, have, by the positive dislike that has been turned against him, been sunk far beneath the level of any private or ordinary individual. There

---

that of the *vast majority* of those Scottish parishes where the English practice has been admitted, shall not countervail the argumentations of certain able men, on a subject in which their powers of logic have certainly far outstripped their powers of observation.

cannot, surely, be a more complete travesty on all that is wise and desirable in human institutions, than to saddle that man, whose primitive office it is to woo the people to that which is spiritually good, with another office, where he has to war against the people, on the subject of their temporalities. There may, at one time, have been a compatibility between these two functions, under the cheap economy of the old Scottish pauperism; but it is all put to flight by the shock which takes place between the rapacity of the one party and the resistance of the other, under a system of English pauperism. The people will listen with disdain, or with shrewd and significant contempt, to the Christian conversation of that elder who stands confronted against them, on the ground of his deaconship: and they will expect an easy unresisting compliance with all their demands from that deacon who has plied them with the affectionate counsels of Christianity, on the ground of his eldership. They will dexterously work the desirousness that he must feel, in the one of these capacities, against the duties that he would like to fulfil, in the other of them. They will tell him that they have no time and no heart for religion, while under the pressure of alleged difficulties that he will do nothing to relieve. He, in the meantime, will perceive that, unless he complies with the demand, he can find no acceptance; and that, though he should comply, acceptance gained through the medium of bribery will lead to no pure or desir-

able influence on the character of the population. In this unfortunate contest, each will, in all likelihood, believe the other to be a hypocrite; the one incurring this suspicion because of the way in which the legal hardihood of the deacon stands in awkward and unseemly conjunction upon the same individual, with the apparent zeal and sincerity of the elder; and the other incurring this suspicion, because of the way in which a sordid desire after things secular is mingled, in the same exhibition, with a seeming deference to things sacred. It is thus that the pluralist feels himself paralysed into utter helplessness: and never was public functionary more cruelly hampered than by this association of duties, which are altogether so discordant. There is no place for the still small voice of Christian friendship, in such an atmosphere of recrimination, and heart-burning, and mutual jealousy, as now encompasses the ministration of charity, in our great towns. To import the English principle of pauperism among the kirk-sessions of Scotland is like putting new wine into old bottles. It so mangles and lacerates an eldership, as to dissipate all the moral ascendency they once had over our population. It is ever to be regretted that such a ministration as this should have been inserted between the two parties. No subtle or Satanic adversary of religion could have devised a more skilful barrier against all the usefulness and effect of these lay associates of the clergy: and, as the fruit of this melancholy transformation, a class

of men, who have contributed so much to build up and sustain our national character, will be as good as swept away from the land.

And the clergy themselves have received a vitiating taint from this pernicious innovation. They too have been implicated among the stout legalities of a business, now turned from an affair of the heart to an affair of points and precedents, where every question must be determined with rigour, and every determination be persisted in, with uncomplying hardihood. The minister feels himself translated into a new and strange relationship with his people, and is in inextricable difficulties about the character he should assume; for whether he moves in the style of an affectionate pastor, or puts on the stern countenance amongst them of a litigant with their claims, corruption will be sure to attend upon his footsteps; and he will either call forth the fawning hypocrisy of expectants, on the one hand, or be met, in soreness and sullenness of spirit, by the disappointed candidates for parochial aliment, on the other.

In the late ferments of the popular mind which took place at Glasgow, one of the earliest movements was a combined application to each of the kirk-sessions, for an extension of the system of parochial aid. Whether the refusal of this was the pretext, or the principle, of the disturbances that followed, it ought at least to be quite palpable that our ecclesiastical courts ought never to be involved in the whirl of any such political agi-

tations; and we have reason to believe that, from the Church having been implicated to such a degree, in what was once a charitable, but is now regarded as a legal ministration, there has a ran-corous infidelity been spreading among the people —a contempt for religion itself mingling with all the odium and irritation that have been incurred by its ministers.

There are two ways of decomposing this mischief. There may be a reversion to the old system of Scottish pauperism, so that its expenses shall be wholly defrayed, as before, by voluntary collections, and it shall regain the character of a purely ecclesiastical ministration. We believe this to be practicable, and that too with a speed and a facility of which no adequate impression can be given by argument. This is a subject in which the result of experience, upon actual trial, will far outstrip the anticipations even of the most sanguine economist. If the existing cases of pauperism are suffered to die out, on the legal fund raised by assessment, and the new applications are met by the gratuitous fund gathered at the church doors—the former fund would, in a few years, be left unburdened, and be no longer called for; and the latter fund be found, in every way, as adequate to the then existing demand for relief, as the whole of the present revenue, both legal and gratuitous, is to the present demand. It were interfering with a future part of our argument, were we to enter now into the

question, why it is that a happier state of things, and a more diffused comfort and sufficiency among our people will follow upon the reduction, or even the total abolition of public charity, for the relief of indigence, than can ever be brought about, either by its most skilful or its most abundant ministrations? But, in the meantime, let the thing be tried, instead of argued; let separate parishes just throw themselves fearlessly on an experiment which, to many an eye, looks so hazardous; let the excess of their actual pauperism over their present collections be taken off, and provided for out of the sum raised by assessments; and let all future cases be attempted, at least, upon the produce of future collections:—and ere one year has rolled over this new system of things, there are many of our public and practical men, who have resisted to the uttermost all theoretical conviction upon the subject, that will, if they simply engage in the matter with their own hands, be sure to work their way to a most firm experimental conviction about it. Should this plan be entered upon, we would feel less earnest about the separation of our eldership from the work of public charity. There would still, it is true, after the abridgment had taken place, in the extent of its operation, be a remainder of the mischief that we have attempted to expose; but far more innocent, in point of effect, just because far more insignificant than before, in point of magnitude. Perhaps, however, a deaconship might be of tem-

porary use, in helping to conduct the pauperism back again to its original state. It would, in the meantime, relieve the eldership of all apprehension of personal fatigue and difficulty to themselves, while the experiment was going forward. It would extend that most desirable of all operations—a frequent intercourse between the lower and higher orders of the community. By this widening of the public agency, too, there would, at least, be a widening of the amount of practical observation, on a matter that is grossly misunderstood by many reasoners and declaimers, and that requires only the light of a close and familiar experience to be thrown upon it. We may, afterwards, attempt to bring forward the reasons, why a deaconship, however good as a temporary expedient, need not be insisted on as a part of the permanent or essential machinery of any parish; however important their services may be, throughout the whole period of transition, from the present corrupt and modernised system of pauperism, in our large towns, back again to the old and healthful economy of our Scottish parishes.

But should this plan not be adopted, it were greatly better that the Church should be altogether dissevered from the ministrations of public charity. We shall never cease to regret the introduction of a legal spirit into the work of human benevolence; and to regard the establishment of a compulsory provision for the poor as one of the worst invasions ever made on the olden habit of our

country, and as one of the deadliest obstacles to its moral regeneration. But if this curse is to be perpetuated upon our land, let elders and deacons and all who hold any ecclesiastical character amongst us, cease, from this moment, to be implicated in a business so mischievous. It is quite enough that, in their strict official employment, of sustaining the principle and character of the country, they have the whole adverse influence of this vitiating dispensation to contend with. But, in the name of all Christian and all political wisdom, let not such a dispensation be put into their hands; nor let these labourers in the cause of Scotland's piety and Scotland's worth be charged with any distribution of a quality so poisonous, and, at the same time, so alluring, that they can neither withhold it, without alienating many hearts from them, nor spread it freely around, without insinuating corruption into these hearts, and scattering the seeds of a great and pernicious distemper over the land.

It is our confident expectation, however, that our towns will take the better way of it, and reduce their separate parishes to the economy from which they have departed. In this case, there will be a gradual diminution of the evil to which our eldership is, at present, so much exposed. Or if, to aid the process, an order of deacons shall be instituted, then the members of the former body, relieved altogether from the public charge of the poor, may be left free to expatiate

among the people purely as their Christian friends, and with the single object of promoting the spirit and the observations of the gospel among their families.

When the work of an elder is thus disembarassed from the elements by which it was before vitiated, he will feel a sad burden of perplexity and discomfort cleared away. He may, at times, be received with distaste, by families that would have welcomed him, on the ground of his secular ministrations. But surely it is better that there be a distinctly visible line of demarcation between these families, and those which still receive him with cordiality on a higher ground, and about the principle of whose cordiality, therefore, there can be no mistake and no misinterpretation. He who has felt the delight of genuine Christian intercourse with the poor, will feel all the charm of a deliverance, when the sordid and the sacred are thus separated the one from the other; and he, freed from the suspicions which, at one time, harassed and distressed him, can now expatiate, at least over a certain portion of the territory, with the animating thought that so many doors and so many hearts are open to him; and that, on the single score of such religious or such respectful attentions as he may be disposed to render to the population. He will feel himself as if elevated into a more etherial region, when borne in pleasantness along on the pure play of such feelings and such friendships as are called forth by simple

goodness, on the one side, and that simple gratitude, on the other, which is ever sure to be attracted by goodness, even when it has no gift to bestow. In truth, the very purity of such a ministration adds prodigiously both to the pleasure and to the power of it: and, whereas no cheering inference could be drawn from the extended acceptance of an elder among the people, so long as he stood charged with the elements of a beggarly dispensation—should that charge be given up, we shall then, from every additional house, where he is hailed as the acquaintance and the respectable friend of the inmates, be able to infer the authentic progress of a right and peaceful influence among our families.

There is a delusive fear to which inexperience is liable upon this subject, as if there was a very general rapacity among the families of the poor, which, if not appeased out of the capabilities of a public fund, would render it altogether unsafe for any private individual, in the upper walks of society, to move at large among their habitations. It is not considered how much it is that this rapacity is whetted by the imagination of a great collective treasure, at the disposal of this individual. An elder who is implicated with pauperism, or the agent of a charitable society who is known to be such, will most certainly light up a thousand mercenary expectations, and be met by a thousand mercenary demands, in the course of his frequent visitations among the people. But

let him stand out to the general eye as dissociated with all the concerns of an artificial charity; and let it be his sole ostensible aim to excite the religious spirit of the district, or to promote its education—and he may, every day of his life, walk over the whole length and breadth of his territory, without meeting with any demand that is at all unmanageable, or that needs to alarm him. The truth is, that there is a far greater sufficiency among the lower classes of society than is generally imagined; and our first impressions of their want and wretchedness are generally by much too aggravated; nor do we know a more effectual method of reducing these impressions than to cultivate a closer acquaintance with their resources, and their habits, and their whole domestic economy. It is certainly in the power of artificial expedients to create artificial desires, and to call out a host of applications, that would never have otherwise been made. And we know of nothing that leads more directly and more surely to this state of things, than a great regular provision for indigence, obtruded, with all the characters of legality, and certainty, and abundance, upon the notice of the people. But wherever the securities which nature hath established for the relief and mitigation of extreme distress are not so tampered with, where the economy of individuals, and the sympathy of neighbours, and a sense of the relative duties among kinsfolk, are left, without disturbance, to their own silent and simple

operation;—it will be found that there is nothing so formidable in the work of traversing a whole mass of congregated human beings, and of encountering all the clamours, whether of real or of fictitious necessity, that may be raised by our appearance amongst them. So soon as it is understood that all which is given by such an adventurous philanthropist is given by himself; and so soon as acquaintanceship is formed between him and the families; and so soon as the conviction of his good will has been settled in their hearts, by the repeated observation they have made of his kindness and personal trouble, for their sakes;—then the sordid appetite which would have been maintained, in full vigour, so long as there was the imagination of a fund, of which he was merely an agent of conveyance, will be shamed, and that nearly into extinction, the moment that this imagination is dissolved. Such an individual will meet with a limit to his sacrifices, in the very delicacy of the poor themselves; and it will be possible for him to expatiate among hundreds of his fellows, and to give a Christian reception to every proposal he meets with; and yet, after all, with the humble fraction of a humble revenue, to earn the credit of liberality amongst them. We know not, indeed, how one can be made more effectually to see, with his own eyes, the superfluousness of all public and legalised charity, than just to assume a district, and become the familiar friend of the people who live in it, and to do for them

the thousand nameless offices of Christian regard, and to encourage, in every judicious and inoffensive way, their dependence upon themselves, and their fellow-feeling one for another. Such a process of daily observation as this will do more than all political theory can do, to convince him with what safety the subsistence of a people may be left to their own capabilities; and how the modern pauperism of our days is a superstructure altogether raised on the basis of imposture and worthlessness—a basis which the very weight of the superstructure is fitted to consolidate and to extend.

It is fully admitted, that an elder, to be at all useful to the people, must approve the genuineness of his Christianity amongst them; and this he cannot do if he carry to their observation the hard and forbidding aspect of one that has no feeling for the poor. It is the necessity of maintaining such a defensive aspect among the numerous applications which are gendered by an artificial system of charity, that renders it so desirable to rescue all ecclesiastical men from the work of its distributions. But should charity cease to be artificial, and the cause come, at length, to be confided to the operation of sympathy, and a sense of duty, among individuals, then, let an elder associate himself with the families of any city district, and it is certainly his part, as one of these individuals, to exemplify, in his person, all the virtues of that gospel, for the interest of which he professes to

be a labourer. But he will soon ascertain the difference, in respect of pressure and urgency of application for those alms which are dispensed by public and associated charity, and those alms which are done in secret. What is still better, there will be a charm of gratitude and of moral influence in the one ministration, which he never felt in the other: and, when the year has rolled over his head, and he computes all the expenses of that season of kindness and of enjoyment which is past, he will find in this, as in every other department of Christian experience, that the yoke of the Saviour is, indeed, easy, and his burden is light.

But it is not the *materiel* of benevolence, given to those few of his families who may require it,—it is not this that will bind to him the population he has assumed. This may be necessary to indicate the honesty of his principles. But it is the *morale* of benevolence,—it is the unbounded and universal spirit of kindness felt by him for all the families, and expressing itself in numberless other ways, besides the giving of alms,—it is this which will raise him to his chief and useful ascendency over them. It is seldom adverted to, how much a simple affection, if it be but authentically manifested in any one way, is fitted to call forth affection back again. It is little known how open even the rudest and wildest of a city population are to the magic of this sweetening influence. There is here one precious department of our na-

ture which seems not to have been so overspread as the rest of it, by the ruins of the fall. Perhaps, vanity and selfishness may enter as elements into the effect; but, certain it is, that if one human being see, in the heart of another, a good will towards himself, he is not able, and far less is he willing, to stifle or to withhold the reciprocal good will that he feels to arise in his own bosom. This is a phenomenon of our nature which the hardy administrators of a poor's house have little conception of; and they may be heard to predict, that if you disjoin an elder from all the patronage which he shares with them, you take away from him the only instrument by which he can ever hope to conciliate his families. The truth is, that it is in virtue of being associated with them, that there is so wide a distance, and so many heart-burnings, between him and his families. And he never will be able to make ground amongst them, till that which letteth is taken out of the way. The hostility of the people, or the hypocrisy of the people, may be abundantly nourished out of the elements of the present system; but it is by the play of finer elements altogether, that the hearts of the people are to be won. We are quite aware of the incredulity of practical men upon this subject; but it is just because they are not practical enough, that they are blind to the truth, and cannot perceive it. This is a subject on which the faithful delineations of experience are, at the same time, so very

beautiful, that they impress an indiscriminating mind with the suspicion of a fancy picture, on which the glare, and the tinsel, and the warm colouring, of an artist have been abundantly employed. We are quite confident, however, that, in the progress of the system of locality, there will be a speedy and a satisfying multiplication of facts, more than enough to verify that what has been affirmed upon this topic are, indeed, the words of truth and soberness.

It has never been enough adverted to, that a process for Christianising the people is sure to be tainted and enfeebled, when there is allied with it a process for alimenting the people—that there lies a moral impossibility in the way of accomplishing these two objects, by the working of one and the same machinery—and that if a combined operation has been set up, in behalf of the former, then its individual agents do wrong, by joining their counsels and their energies together, in behalf of the latter; for the duties connected with which they should simply resolve themselves into private Christians, each acting separately, and in secret, within his own sphere, and each eventually finding how much more remarkable that sphere becomes, when charity is again restored to its natural aspect, and all artifice, and all publicity, are done away from it.

Still, however, there is the impression among many, of a flowery and unsubstantial romance, in all that has been said about the charm of private

kindness, when unassociated with such gifts as can only be supplied out of the treasures of public liberality. They regard it as a dream of poetry, which is never realised, even in a country parish —a scene more favourable, it is thought, to all sorts of sentimentalism—and which, therefore, lies at a still more hopeless distance away from us, among the rude and rugged materials of a city population. So that it still remains the obstinate conviction of by far the greater number of our municipal rulers, that, without a copious distribution of the material of benevolence, there is no making way among the crowded families of a town; and that the simple affection of benevolence, however intense in its feeling, and however obvious and sincere in all its indications, will not suffice for the acceptance of a mere Christian philanthropist, in the humble walks of society.

This is a question, too, which it were better to try than to argue. And yet it ought to be a palpable thing, even with our most every-day observers, that humanity is so constituted as to derive a sensation of pleasure from another's love, as well as from the fruit of another's liberality. When humanity, indeed, is brought up to its perfection, it will be the former, and not the latter, that will minister the highest gratification. There is to be treasure, we are told, in heaven; and yet there will neither be silver nor gold there, which the apostle Peter ranks among corruptible

things; for, according to the report of our Saviour, there is nothing in that place of blessedness which either moth or rust can corrupt, or which thieves can steal. And there will also be benevolence in heaven—a communication from one to another, of such treasure as belongs to it—a mutual transference of enjoyment, which will heighten the enjoyment of each of the parties—a fulness of gratification arising not merely from the tide of kind and pleasurable emotion which passes and repasses between God upon his throne, and the holy and happy family around him, but arising also from the reciprocal conveyance of reverence and regard, and all that is righteous, and affectionate, and true, between the various members of that family. So that, even in a state of things where poverty is altogether excluded—where silver and gold cannot enter, as they do now, into that expression of good will, which is often rendered here by one human being to another—where, though materialism do exist, it is not such a corrupt and deranged materialism as that by which we are surrounded, and in virtue of which, the claims of want, and sickness, and suffering, are incessantly calling forth a supply of this world's wealth, from those who have it to those who have it not—in a state of things where those miseries which draw upon the ordinary beneficence of our species are unknown, and where almsgiving is impossible;—will there still, in some way or other, be a rich and blessed dispensation of good

falling from those who have neither gold nor silver to give, and yet who, by giving such things as they have, will so elevate the raptures and the felicities of heaven, as to cause its joy to be felt.

In this world the poor shall be with us always; and, under the imperative duty of giving such things as we have, all who do have the silver and gold are under the obligation of being willing to distribute, and ready to communicate. And yet this is a world where the principles of heaven ripen into perfection. This is a world where the affections of heaven take their birth, and rise into maturity, and operate, in the midst of much to thwart and to discourage them, and find in the peopled scenes of humanity the objects of constant and manifold indulgences. This is a world too which gross and sensual as the general nature of its inhabitants may be, and keenly directed as their appetites are towards silver and gold, or such materials of enjoyment as these can produce, it is still a world, where, through all its generations the charm even of simple kindness is not unfelt, even when it has nothing to bestow; it is a world where Christian love, even though it do not possess the elements of liberality, is no sooner recognised in our bosom, than it causes another bosom to respond and to rejoice along with it; it is a world where the cordiality of man to his fellow, in its passage from one heart and from one habitation to another, is ever sure to carry along with it the truest and

most touching of all gratifications; it is a world where we affirm, that good will, though unaccompanied with wealth, can spread a higher and more permanent felicity, even among its poorest vicinities, than ever wealth can, in all its profusion, unaccompanied with good will. So that though a time be coming, when the world shall be burned up, and all its silver and gold, and other materials for the grosser desires of our body, are, like the dross of some worthless residuum, to be utterly consumed and cast away; yet, if the pure and prompting benevolence of the soul, with all its ardours upon the one side, and all its honest gratitude upon the other, shall survive this process of destruction, and be transplanted into heaven, there will be enough to regale, and that for ever, its immortal society; enough, out of the mere interchange of its moralities and its feelings, to sustain all its fondest delights, and all its highest and most abiding ecstacies.

Now, though these moralities are here imperfect, yet are they not even now, in their present measure, and according to their present degree, convertible to the purpose of diffusing upon earth a certain proportion of the blessedness of heaven? When unaccompanied with the possession of gold and silver, they will of course give to their instruments of benevolence, the aim and the direction of benevolence. But they are not always thus accompanied. The poor in this world's goods are often rich in faith, and heirs of the

everlasting kingdom. They may possess the elements of the character of heaven, though they do not possess the earthly means of earthly gratification. With this character, and its emanating influences, they will shed a lustre and a blessedness around the mansions of the city which hath foundations. And though the earthly be unlike to the heavenly nature, in its active principles, yet it is not so unlike, in its experience of passive enjoyment, but that with this character a poor man may shed a degree of the same lustre and the same blessedness around his present dwelling-place. It holds true, even of the most profligate of our kind, that attentions can soothe them, and the expression of civility can reconcile them, and the courteousness which is due from one human being to another can soften and draw them out to a return of courteousness back again; and the friendship which has positively nothing to offer, but its moral and affectionate regards, can waken in their minds a sensation of enjoyment; and good will, with those minuter services, which, of no moment in respect of their material benefit, go only to indicate the principle from which they spring, can, on the strength of its own bare and unassociated existence, subdue them into a reciprocal tenderness—and that all these, when obviously emerging out of a Christian heart, from a deep and a sacred fountain struck out there, and forming a well of water which springeth up into life everlasting, can give such an unequivocal charac-

ter of religiousness to all that its possessor either doeth or saith to his neighbours who are around him, as, though he has neither silver nor gold to give away, may, in fact, render him their most important benefactor. In that crowded obscurity of human beings where God hath fixed his habitation, he may be a light, and send forth a moral sunshine into the surrounding darkness; he may be a leaven, and by the fermenting operation of his example and advice may leaven the whole of his little neighbourhood; he may be a salt, nor will it be known, perhaps, till the disclosures of another day, how far the influence of his presence went to preserve from utter dissolution the putrid mass of wickedness around him; or how much the recurring melody of his evening psalms served to mitigate the uproar of its noisy and turbulent dissipation. But the fact which now calls our attention is, that even the most depraved of nature's children own the power and the graciousness of those simple ministrations which form the all that a humble Christian can bestow—that his professions of kindness, and his pleadings of earnestness, and his advices of piety, to themselves and to their families, and his little surrenders of time and of trouble, have an impression upon them—and that, even in spite of their own unregenerate hearts, it is, upon the whole, an impression of kindliness—that, giving only such things as he has, and without either gold or silver to give, he has wrought a benefit for them,

and for himself a gratitude, and a cordial remembrance, surpassing all that takes place in the more common dispensations of charity: insomuch that, whether we compute the good that has been rendered, on the one hand, as made up of moral influence, and friendly admonition, and the nameless offices of a humble but honest regard; and the return it calls out, on the other, as made up of a heart-felt graciousness which even the sternest of our kind cannot withhold from the man who unites, in his person, the worth of Christianity with the gentleness of Christianity;—we will positively find, in this simple play of the pure and abstract feelings of benevolence, unassociated as it is with what may be called the materialism of benevolence, more of the ethereal character of a higher and holier region, than in the mere intercourse of such a generosity as evinces itself only by a gift, and of such a gratitude as evinces itself only by the pleasure of receiving it.

It is surely a position, the truth of which may be demonstrated to human experience, that the simple existence of kind affection, on the one hand, and the simple recognition of it, with its influence in calling forth a corresponding return, upon the other, are enough, of themselves, to augment, and that too in a most substantial and satisfying degree, the happiness of each of the parties; and that, therefore, the man who has nothing to give but the expression of his friendly regard may, in fact, be dealing out among his fel-

lows the materials of real enjoyment. It will not be difficult to convince of this truth the members of an affectionate family, in the transference of whose kindly feelings from one to another they intimately know that there is a sensation far more precious to the heart, than can be wrought there by the transference of gold or silver. Neither will it be difficult to convince the man of ever-flowing cordiality, in the walks of social intercourse, who, whether at the festive board, or even in his hurried passage through the bustle and throng of a street teeming with acquaintances, is most thoroughly conscious of the pleasure that is both given and received by the smile, and the rapid enquiry, and even the most slight and momentary token of deference and good will. Neither will it be difficult to make the truth of this lesson be recognised by him who has had frequent experience and fellowship among the abodes of poverty, and who can attest how pure and how delicious that incense is which arises from the simple acknowledgments of those who, save their regard and the expression of their honest attachment, have positively nothing to bestow. And neither will it be difficult to make this whole matter plain to the reflection of the poor themselves, upon whose humble vicinities the wealthy have seldom or never entered, and who know well that, within the narrow compass of their own intercourse, a bright and a gladdening influence may be conveyed from one humble tenement to another;

and that if the next door neighbour bear an affection to them, it throws a light into their bosoms which would not be there, if he bore against them a grudge or a displeasure; and that the difference, in point of feeling, between an atmosphere of kind agreement and an atmosphere of fierce and fiery contention is just as distinct as will be the difference between heaven and hell: insomuch that, after all, it is not so much the occasional liberality of him who makes the transient visit, and leaves behind him some token of his abundance,—it is not this which so cheers and alleviates the lot of poverty, as that more stedfast and habitual blessedness which, by the kindness of immediate neighbours, may be made to shine and to settle around its habitation. All this is abundantly obvious among the various conditions of society, in the bosom of a family, or among the rich, in all that regards their intercourse with each other; or among the rich, as to the sweetness which they have themselves experienced, in a simple offering of affection from the poor; or among the poor, in all that they know and feel of the relationship in which they stand with the members of their own neighbourhood. And the only difficulty, in completing this proof, which we have to contend with, is when we attempt to convince the rich that, while it is their duty to give of their gold and silver to those who stand in need of them, it is their kindness which, if actually perceived to be genuine, is more valued

and more enjoyed by the poor than even the fruit of their kindness—it is the principle which prompted the offering that, after all, affords a truer relish to their feelings than the offering itself—it is the community of hearts which raises and delights them more than even the community of goods. If the one be established between the various classes of society, it will no doubt bring the best and fittest proportion of the other along with it. But the thing of importance to be remarked just now is, that nature, even when sunk in abject poverty, and, therefore, relieved in her more pressing wants by an act of alms-giving, is still more soothed and conciliated by an exhibition of good will, on the part of the giver, than by the whole material product of the beneficence that he has rendered—that it is a gross, and, in every way, an injurious misconception of the poor to think them beyond the reach of those finer influences which reciprocate between pure sympathy, on the one hand, and a simple sense and observation of that sympathy, on the other. In other words, that the rich are not aware of what that is which gains the most effective influence over the hearts of the poor, if they think that fortune has given them a power which belongs only to the principle of generosity that is within, and not to the mere fruit of generosity that is without; or if they think that money descending, by the law of the land, in the shape of an unwilling or extorted ministration, has any portion in it of

that higher control which only belongs to the law of love written in the heart, and evincing its operation in unwearied attentions, and engaging affabilities, and willing services.

Conceive, then, an individual who has been in the habit, for years, of going round among an assigned population as the agent and the distributor of relief, out of a public treasury. Should he transfer his office to another, and simply go round among them, in the new capacity of a friend and a Christian adviser, he may still have a certain proportion of silver and gold to dispose of, out of those private means which he, in common with all other men, should lay out on charitable uses, as God hath given him the ability. The gold and the silver may not, therefore, be totally withdrawn from his ministrations; but, in virtue of such an arrangement, the gold and the silver would, at least, be very much reduced, and he would be left without any thing to substitute in their places, but the attentions of kindness and the attentions of Christianity. We are not supposing this old office to be abolished, but only to be laid on another; and the question is a very plain one, Will the attentions which we have just now specified be, in themselves, enough to maintain him in the place which he formerly held over that neighbourhood of human beings, where he wont to expatiate? The practical solution of this question would lead us to determine whether the account, which we have now given, of our

nature be of an experimental or of a visionary character. If there be other tokens of affection than the one act of giving money, and these tokens be exhibited; if there be other marks of good will than the distribution of a gold and a silver which he no longer has to bestow, and these marks be authentically seen and read of all men, upon his person; if, without the means of his former liberality, his present love be only verified in its naked existence, or if it announce its reality by such signs as nature has annexed to the feeling, and as every partaker of that nature knows well how to interpret; if, by the perseverance of months, he has schooled away every suspicion of hypocrisy, and, in the toils and the services of an unwearied assiduity, he has, at length, earned the conviction that all their hopes and all their anxieties are his own; if, when he knocks at their doors, it should only be on the simple errand of a cordial enquiry, or an imploring advice, either to themselves or to their children;—the man may positively have nothing but his heart to give, but, in giving that, he has touched the very principle of our nature which brings all its hidden machinery under his power. This ascendency of the moral over the material part of our constitution is no romance and no fabrication of poetry. It is exemplified every day, in the living and the ordinary walk of human experience. There is not, on the face of our world, one neighbourhood of contiguous families, either

so poor or so profligate as to withstand these repeated demonstrations; and that sullenness of character which no bribery could reduce, and which gathers a deeper and more determined gloom, when the hand of authority is applied to it, has been rendered tractable as childhood, under the mighty and the magical spell of a meek, and endearing, and undissembled charity.

The law of reciprocal attraction between one heart and another is a law of nature as well as of Christianity; insomuch, that no sooner does the regard of a philanthropist for the people of his district come to be recognised, than their regard for him, and that, too, both from the converted and unconverted, will attest of what kind of material humanity is formed. The effect is so beautiful that one cannot expatiate upon it, without meeting the imputation of romance from those hackneyed, and secular, and incredulous men, whose eyes have never once been directed to this field of observation; but the effect is, at the same time, so certain as to stamp on what we say all the soundness of an experimental affirmation. Christianity, indeed, is the alone agent by which the elevating power of a sentiment so pure and so celestial, as to have the effect of poetry upon the imagination, will ever be realised on the familiar and homebred scenes of ordinary life. But it is a most inviting circumstance, in the great enterprise of spreading the light and influence of Christianity around a population, where one sees

that the very humblest of its zealous votaries can thus work his secure and certain way to the universal acceptance of his fellows. Let suspicion be but once dissipated, and the enmity of nature be disarmed, by the true and touching demonstrations of a real principle of kindness, and ridicule have ceased from its uproar, and contempt have discharged all its vociferations, and the man's worth and benevolence become manifest as day; then, though the ministration of gold and silver be that which fortune hath altogether denied him, it is both very striking and very encouraging to behold, how, in spite of themselves, he steals the hearts of the people away from them; how, as if by the operation of some mystic spell, the most restless and profligate of them all feel the softening influence of his presence and of his doings; and how, in the cheap and humble services of tending their children, and visiting their sick, and ministering in sacred exercises at the couch of the dying, and filling up his opportunities of intercourse with the utterance of holy advice, and the exhibition of holy example, there is, in these simple and unaccompanied attentions, a charm felt and welcomed, even in the most polluted atmosphere that ever settled around the most corrupt and crowded of human habitations.

This is not credited by many of our citizens; and men who deliver themselves in a tone of grave, and respectable, and imposing experience, may be heard to affirm, that, unless an elder be

vested with a power of administration over the public money, he will be an unwelcome visitor with the general run of our families—that he will meet with few to bid him God-speed, on the single and abstract errand of Christianity—and that, while the old system of payments without prayers was acceptable enough, the new system of prayers without payments will banish the whole host of eldership in our city from the acceptance and good will of its inhabitants. Surely this is a matter of proof and not of probability—a thing that may be committed to the decision of experience, instead of being left to the contentions of reason or of sophistry. Let an elder count it his duty to hold a habitual intercourse of kindness with the people of his district, and, for this purpose, devote but a few hours in the week to their highest interest; out of the fulness of a heart animated with good will to men, and, in particular, with that good will which points to the good of their eternity, let him make use of every practical expedient for spreading amongst them the light and influence of the gospel; let it be his constant aim to warn the unruly, to comfort the afflicted, to stimulate the education of children, to press the duty of attending ordinances, to make use of all his persuasion in private, and of all his influence to promote such public and parochial measures as may forward the simple design of making our people good, and pious, and holy;—then, though he should go forth among

them stript of power, and patronage, and pecuniary administrations; though his honest and Christian good will be all he has to recommend him; though the various secularities, by which the offices of our Church have been polluted and degraded, shall be conclusively done away, and the whole armory of our influence among the people be reduced to the simple element of good will, and friendship, and personal labour, and unwearied earnestness in the prosecution of their spiritual welfare:—yet, with these, and these alone, will any of our elders, at length, find a welcome in every heart, and a home in every habitation. Others may then take up the ministration which he has put away. But it will be his presence which will awaken the finest glow of kindly and reverential feeling among our population. Though, out of any public treasury, he neither has gold nor silver to give, yet, let him just do with his means and his opportunities as every Christian should do, and feel as every Christian should feel, and he will rarely meet with a family so poor as to undervalue his attentions, or a family so profligate as to persist in despising them.

All the dispensations of Providence, and all the great events in the train of human history, are on the side of the Christian philanthropist. He has only to watch his opportunity, and there is not a family so hardened in the ways of impiety, where he may not, in time, establish himself. The stoutest-hearted sinner he may have to deal

with must, in a few little years, meet with something to soften and to bring him down. Death may make its inroads upon his household, and disease may come, with its symptoms of threatening import, upon his own person; and, in that bed of sickness which he dreads to be his last, may the terrors and reproaches of conscience be preparing a welcome for the elder of his district; and he who wont to laugh the ministrations of his Christian friend away from him will, at length, send an imploring message and supplicate his prayers. Such is the omnipotence of Christian charity. At the very outset of its enterprise, it will find a great and an effectual door opened to it: and, in the course of months, its own perseverance will work for it; and Providence will work for it; and the mournful changes which take place in every family will work for it; and all the frailties of misfortune and mortality to which our nature is liable will work for it: and thus may one single individual, acting in the capacity of a Christian friend, and ever on the alert with all the aid of Christian counsel, and all the offices of Christian sympathy, in behalf of his assigned population, be the honoured instrument of reviving another spirit, and setting up another style of practice and observation, in the midst of them. Thus may he obtain a secure hold of ascendency over the affections of hundreds; and, like unto a leaven for good, in the neighbourhood which has been entrusted to his care, may he, by

the blessing of God, infuse into that mass of human immortality with which he is associated the fermentation of such holy desires, and penitential feelings, and earnest aspirations, and close inquiries after the truth, as may, at length, issue in the solid result of many being called out of darkness into light, of many being turned unto righteousness.

The Christian elder who has resigned the temporalities of his office should not think that, on that account, he has little in his power. His presence has a power. His advice has a power. His friendship has a power. The moral energy of his kind attentions and Christian arguments has a power. His prayers at the bed of sickness, and at the funeral of a departed parishioner, have a power. The books that he recommends to his people, and the minister whom he prevails on them to hear, and the habit of regular attendance upon the ordinances to which he introduces them, have a power. His supplications to God for them, in secret, have a power. Dependence upon him, and upon his blessing, for the success of his own feeble endeavours, has a power. And when all these are brought to bear on the rising generation; when the children have learned both to know and to love him; when they come to feel the force of his approbation, and, on every recurring visit, receive a fresh impulse from him to diligence at school, and dutiful behaviour out of it; when the capabilities of his simple Christian rela-

tionship with the people thus come to be estimated:—it is not saying too much, to say that, with such as him, there lies the precious interest of the growth and transmission of Christianity, in the age that is now passing over us; and that, in respect of his own selected neighbourhood, he is the depositary of the moral and spiritual destinies of the future age.

We shall conclude this department of the subject with three distinct observations relative to the office and duties of the eldership.

First. We are well aware how widely the practice of our generation has diverged from the practice of our ancestors: how the temporal, which form their superinduced duties, have taken place of the spiritual, which form the primitive and essential duties of the eldership; how, within the limits of our Establishment, the lay office-bearers of the Church are fast renouncing the whole work of ministering from house to house, in prayer, and in exhortation, and in the dispensation of spiritual comfort and advice, among the sick, or the disconsolate, or the dying. We are aware that a reformation, in this department, can only be brought about by an influence of a more gentle, and moral, and withal more effectual kind than that of authority. But we almost know nothing of greater importance than to have a connection of this kind established between the elders and the population of those districts which are respectively assigned to them. We know of nothing

which will tell more effectually, in the way of humanizing our families, than if so pure an intercourse was going on, as an intercourse of piety, between our men of respectable station, on the one hand, and our men of labour and of poverty, on the other. We know of nothing which would serve more powerfully to link and to harmonize into one fine system of social order, the various classes of our community. We know not a finer exhibition, on the one hand, than the man of wealth acting the man of piety, and throwing the goodly adornment of Christian benevolence over the splendour of those civil distinctions, which give a weight and a lustre to his name in society. And we know not a more wholesome influence, on the other hand, than that which such a man must carry around with him, when he enters the habitations of our operatives, and dignifies, by his visits, the people who occupy them; and talks with them, as the heirs of one hope and of one immortality; and cheers, by the united power of religion and of sympathy, the very humblest of misfortune's generation; and convinces them of a real and a longing affection after their best interests; and leaves them with the impression that here, at least, is one man who is our friend; that here, at least, is one proof that we are not altogether destitute of consideration amongst our fellows; that here, at least, is one quarter on which our confidence may rest; aye, and amidst all the insignificance in which we lie buried from the observa-

tion of society, we are sure, at least, of one who, in the most exalted sense of the term, is now ready to befriend us, and to look after us, and to care for us.

Secondly. Those who have entered on the important and honourable office of the eldership, should have a full impression of its sacredness. We are fully aware that there is not a professing Christian who does not forfeit all title to the name and character of a Christian, if he do not honestly, and with all the energies of his soul, aspire at being not merely almost, but altogether a disciple of the Lord Jesus. It is the duty of the obscurest individual in a congregation, to be as heavenly in his desires, and as peculiar in the whole style of his behaviour, and as upright in his transactions, and as circumspect in his walk, and as devoted, in heart and in service, to the God of his redemption, as the minister who labours amongst them in word and in doctrine, or as the elders that assist him in the administration of ordinances, or as the most conspicuous among the office-bearers of the church with which he is connected. But they should remember that the very circumstance of being conspicuous forms a double call upon their attention to certain prescribed duties of the New Testament. It is this which gives so peculiar an importance to their example. It is this which, by making their light shine before men, renders it a more powerful instrument for glorifying God. And it is this, too, which stamps

a tenfold malignity upon their misconduct. And under the impression of this, should they be careful lest their good be evil spoken of—to be, in all things, an example to the flock over which God hath appointed them the overseers—to remember that their conduct has a more decided bearing upon others than it had formerly—and that, as it is their duty to look, not to their own things, but to the things of others also, so it is their most solemn and imperious obligation, to take heed, and give no just offence, in any thing, that the religion of which they are the declared and the visible functionaries, be not blamed. We know not how a greater outrage can be practised on Christianity, we know not how a deadlier wound can be given to its interest and its reputation in the world, we know not how a sorer infliction can be devised on a part of greater tenderness, than for a man to usurp a place of authority and of lofty standing, in the church of our Redeemer, and then to exhibit such a life, and to maintain such a lukewarm indifference, and to hold out such a conformity to the world, as to all the levities, and all the secularities which abound in it; and above all, so to deform the path of his own personal history, by what is profane, and profligate, and unseemly, that the report of his misdoings shall spread itself over the neighbourhood, and, into whatever company it may enter, it shall scandalise the friends of Jesus, and become matter of triumph and of bitter derision to his enemies.

Thirdly. The gentlemen who have been invested with this office should make a conscience of their attendance upon the needs and the demands of their respective population; not to slur and superficialise the matter, but to give to it strength, and earnestness, and persevering attention; not to enter upon their offices, as if they were so many sinecures, but to feel that certain duties are annexed to them, and that, for the right and attentive performance of these duties, a weight of responsibility is lying upon them. In each parish there is an ample field for the exercise of such duties; a field so extensive that, if left to the solitary management of one individual, must be left in a great measure neglected; a field greatly beyond the time and the strength of the minister; a field which he is not able to cultivate to the full, by his own personal exertions, and to do justice to which he must avail himself of the assistance of his elders. And sure we are that, with a manageable extent of walk assigned to each of them, they would, at length, come to feel that to be an enjoyment which they may, perhaps, for some time, feel to be an oppression: and, though delicacy and inexperience should, at first, operate as restraints to their acting in the capacity of spiritual labourers, yet habitual and intimate intercourse with their people will soon reconcile them to their new employment, and render it a smooth, a pleasant, and an interesting concern.

It might be expected that, ere bringing this to-

pic to a close, we should deliver a few rules for the right discharge and exercise of deaconship. We do not plead for this as a permanent institution of the church, believing as we do, that it were vastly better for the people, if all public charity, for the relief of indigence, were, as soon as possible, done away. Still, however, such an order of men might be of important service, in conducting society back again to its natural state, as it respects pauperism. And we are thoroughly persuaded that, by acting conformably to the spirit of the few hints which follow, they will arrive at the conviction, that all public and ostensible charity might very safely be dispensed with.

First. The poor will feel themselves greatly soothed and conciliated, by their ready attention, by their friendly counsels, by their acts of advice and assistance as to the conduct of their little affairs; by the mere civility and courteousness which marks their transactions with them; and that these will positively go farther to gladden their hearts, and to endear their persons to them, than all the money which they may find it necessary to award for the support of their indigent families.

Secondly. It will be said that, by this unrestrained facility of manner, they will lay themselves open to the inroads of the worthless and the undeserving. In answer to this, we ask if there be not room enough, in a man's character, for the

wisdom of the serpent along with the gentleness of the dove? That we may ward off the undeserving poor, is it necessary to put on a stern and repulsive front against all the poor who offer themselves to our observation? The way, we apprehend, is to put forth patience, and attention, and to be in the ready attitude of prepared and immediate service for all applications, in the first instance; to conduct every examination with temper and kindness: and surely it is possible to do this, and, at the same time, to conduct it with vigilance. Exercise will soon sharpen their discrimination in these matters, and when they have got a thoroughly ascertained state of the claim which has been advanced, and they find that it is not a valid one, then let them put forth their firmness, then let them make a display of calm and settled determination, then let them show their people that they have judgment as well as feeling, and that they know how to combine the habit of justice to the public, by not squandering their money on unsuitable objects, with the habit of sympathy for genuine distress, and of ready attention to the merits of every application.

On the strength of this principle, it will be in the power of a deacon to check, on the one hand, all unreasonable applications; and, on the other, still to preserve all that homage of attachment, which his kindness to real sufferers, and his candour and courteousness to all, are fitted to secure for him. His people will not like him the worse

that they see him acting in a sound, judicious, and experimental way with them. They know how to appreciate good sense, as well as we; and they admire it, and they have an actual liking for it. They are scandalised when they see kindness lavished upon the unworthy. Though they like attention and sympathy, they have a greater esteem for them, when they see them combined with the exercise of judgment and a good understanding: and in proportion therefore as a deacon evinces himself to have the faculty of rejecting those claims which are groundless, in that very proportion will a real sufferer esteem that act of preference, by which he has had the discernment to single out his claim, and the benevolence most soothingly and most sympathisingly, and most amply, to provide for it.

But, lastly, we know not a more interesting case that can be submitted to a deacon, than when an applicant proposes, for the first time, to draw relief from a public charity. This he is often compelled to do, from some temporary distress, that hangs over his family: and if the emergency could be got over without a public and degrading exposure of him who labours under it, there would both be a most substantial saving of the public fund, and a most soothing act of kindness rendered to the person who is applying for it. If by the influence of the deacon, or that of his friends, work could be provided for a man in such circumstances, or some private and delicate

mode of relief be devised for him, then we know not in what other way he could more effectually establish himself as the most valuable servant of the public, and as the best and kindest friend of his own immediate population. All will depend upon the earnestness and the sense of duty which he brings to his offices along with him; and we should be much disappointed if it be not the result of his practice and observation, in this walk of philanthropy, that, after all, the cause of human indigence may be fully confided to the sympathy of individuals, and that even the demise of his own order is an essential step towards the conclusive establishment of that state of things where nature and Christianity will render their most effectual contributions, for alleviating the wants and the miseries of the species.

We may afterwards enlarge on the reasons why we regard a deaconship in the light of a temporary expedient, for the purpose of reducing that pauperism which has been accumulated upon us, under a former system of administration, rather than as an institution that is at all essential to the permanent well-being of a parish. So long as any method of public relief for indigence is perpetuated amongst us, whether by assessment or voluntary collection, we hold it greatly better that its whole conduct and management be devolved upon deacons than upon elders. But we are, at the same time, persuaded that it is not only a most practicable thing for an order of deacons so to manage,

as, in a few years, to transfer the whole expenses of the parochial poor from a compulsory to a gratuitous fund—we are further persuaded, that as the result of their experience, these very men will come to see with what perfect safety, and even improvement, to the comfort of the lower orders, the latter fund may also be dispensed with; and thus their labours may come to be dispensed with, after having reached this most satisfactory of all consummations, that of having led the people to repose on their own capabilities: For, by giving them to understand that individual sympathy, and their own foreseeing prudence, are all they have to look for, against the day of poverty, they will, at length, re-open those mighty sources which an artificial charity had sealed, and out of which nature, when not tortured and tampered with, as she has been, by the intermeddling spirit of legislation, provides far more abundantly for the wants of all her children.

CHAP. VIII.

ON SABBATH SCHOOLS.

It is well, that in the various religious establishments of Europe, provision should have been made for the learning as well as for the subsistence of a regular clergy. It is well, when a teacher of the gospel, in addition to the strict literature of his own profession, is further accomplished in the general literature of the times. We do not hold it indispensable that all should be so accomplished. But that is a good course of education for the church, which will not only secure the possibility that every minister may be learned in theology, but also a chance, bordering upon certainty, that some of them shall attain an eminence of authority and respect, in the other sciences. Christianity should be provided with friends and defenders, in every quarter of human society; and there should be among them such a distribution of weapons, as may be adapted to all the varieties of that extended combat, which is ever going on between the church and the world. And there is a special reason why the prejudices of philosophy against the gospel should, if possible, be met and mastered by men capable of standing on the very same arena, and plying the very same tactics, with the most powerful of its votaries;—and that, not so much because of the individual

benefit which may thereby be rendered to these philosophers, as because of their ascendant influence over the general mind of society; and because of the mischief that would ensue to myriads beside themselves, could an exhibition so degrading be held forth to the world, as that of Christianity which laid claim to the light of revelation, retiring abashed from the light of cultivated nature, and not daring the encounter, when men, rich in academic lore, or lofty in general authorship, came forth in hostility against her.

It is mainly to the learning of the priesthood that Christianity has kept her ground on the higher platform of cultured and well educated humanity, and that she enters so largely, as a bright and much esteemed ingredient, into the body of our national literature. It is true that, in this way, she may compel an homage from many whom she cannot subdue unto the obedience of the faith; and save herself from contempt, in a thousand instances, where she has utterly failed in her attempts at conversion. But it is well, whenever this degree of respect and acknowledgment can be obtained for her, among the upper classes of life; and more especially in every free and enlightened nation, like our own, where the reigning authority is so much under the guidance of the higher reason of the country, it is of unspeakable benefit that Christianity has been so nobly upheld by the talent and erudition of her advocates. The fostering hand of the Legisla-

ture would soon have been withheld from all our Christian institutions, had the Christiam system not been palpably recommended by those numerous pleadings wherewith a schooled and accomplished clergy have so enriched the theological literature of our island. Nor do we believe that, in the face of public opinion, any political deference could have long been rendered to Christianity, had she been overborne, in her numerous conflicts with the pride and sophistry of able unbelievers. It is thus that we stand indebted to the learning of Christian ministers for the security of that great national apparatus of religious instruction, the utility of which we have already endeavoured to demonstrate: and hence, though learning does not, of itself, convert and Christianise a human soul, it may be instrumental in spreading and strengthening that canopy of protection, which is thrown, by our Establishment, over those humbler but more effective labourers, by whose Parish ministrations it is, that the general mass of our population becomes leavened with the doctrines of the gospel, and Christianity is carried, with light, and comfort, and power, into the bosom of cottages.

But, though learning must be enlisted on the side of Christianity, for the purpose of upholding her in credit and acceptance, among influential men; yet it is not indispensable for the purpose of conveying her moral and spiritual lessons into

the heart of a disciple. The truth is, that many of the topics about which ecclesiastical learning is conversant, are exterior to the direct substance of that Bible which professes to be a written communication from God to man: such as the historic testimonies that may be quoted in favour of religion, and those church antiquities, to acquire the knowledge of which we must travel through many a volume of ponderous erudition, and at least the history, if not the matter, of the various controversies by which the Christian world has been agitated. We are aware that much of this controversy relates to the contents of the record, as well as to the credentials of the record. Yet, however its plainer passages may have been darkened by heretical sophistry, on the one hand, and its obscure passages may have divided the opinion of critics and translators, on the other; this does not hinder, that, from the Bible, and the English Bible, there may be made to emanate a flood of light, on the general mass of an English peasantry—that, to evolve this light, a high and artificial scholarship is neither necessary nor available—that, on the understanding of a man, unlettered in all that proceeds from halls or colleges, the Word of God may have made its sound, and wholesome, and sufficient impression: and that from him the impression may be reflected back again, on the understandings of many others, as unlettered as himself—that thus all, in the book of God's testimony which mainly goes so to en-

lighten a man, as to turn him into a Christian, may be made to pass from one humble convert to his acquaintances and neighbours; and, without the learning which serves to acquire for Christianity the dignified though vague and general homage of the upper classes, he may, at least, be a fit agent for transmitting essential Christianity throughout the plebeianism that is around him.

To deny this, indeed, were to resist the affirmations of that very record in which all that may be known of Christianity is found. We are there told, and from the direct mouth of the Saviour, that things essential to salvation may be revealed unto babes, which lie hid from the wise and the prudent. The poor to whom the gospel is preached have a full share of this revelation. The Spirit of God, we are told, acts as a revealer; and yet it is not his office to make known any truths additional to those which are already engrossed in Scripture. The light that cometh from him is a light which shineth on the page of inspiration, and causes us to discern only what is graven thereupon. The doctrine of the Bible is made known to us by this process, and nothing else. Under the tuition of God's Spirit, we only learn what has already been fully expressed by the letter of the Bible, but which, without his influence, can never be fully apprehended in its meaning, or felt in its power. It is thus that he communicates nothing at variance with the written testimony, and nothing which has not been already

declared by the written testimony; though his interference be necessary, in order that the testimony be received. The operation may be illustrated by the way in which an impression is given to any substance, through the means of a stamping instrument. The substance may be so hard and impracticable as to resist the impression, when a weak arm is put forth to urge forward the instrument; but it may be made to take in a full and a fair impression, when a strong arm is employed. And thus may it be with the impression of Bible doctrine, on moral, and thinking, and intelligent man. The Bible may be brought into contact with the mind of the reader, and learning, and talent, and all the forces that mere humanity can muster, may be made to aid the impression of it, and be wholly ineffectual. The Spirit of God may then undertake the office of an enlightener; and, in so doing, he may keep by the Bible as his alone instrument; and not one truth may pass in conveyance from him to the spirit of that man, on whom he is operating, but simply and solely the truths which are taken off from the written Word of God; and all the Christianity that he teaches, and that he leaves graven on the hearts of his subjects, may just be a correct transcript of the Christianity that exists in the New Testament. And thus it is that a workman of humble scholarship may be transformed, not into an erratic and fanciful enthusiast, but into a sound Scriptural Christian, without one other re-

ligious tenet in his understanding than what is strictly and accurately defined by the literalities of the written record, and without one other religious feeling in his heart than what is most pertinently called forth by the moral influence of the truths which have thus been made known to him.

If there be truth in this representation, it will appear that the Bible can be no more dispensed with, for the purpose of putting the impress of Christianity on a human soul, than the stamping instrument can be dispensed with, for the purpose of fixing the device which it bears on the piece of matter that is submitted to it. The disciple's mind must be brought into contact with Scripture, and it is so, when he is employed, either in hearing, or reading, or pondering, what is written thereon. And it will further appear that the Spirit, in his work of making good an impress of Christianity on man, no more varies in one feature, or one lineament, from the Christianity that is already engraven on the indelible Word of God, than that hand, which simply bears upon a seal, either alters or effaces the inscription which is fastened by it on the substance to which it is applied. It is thus that all the pretences of enthusiasm may be refuted and exposed; and that, while the teaching of the Spirit is held to be indispensable, the soundness and proficiency of the taught still remain to be tried, and may be taken cognizance of, at the bar of the law and of the testimony. There is no license given by

this statement to the vagaries of a credulous and overheated imagination: being subject, as they all are, to the touchstone of a word that is immutable, and cannot pass away. We know it to be the fear of many, lest the doctrine of a special and spiritual illumination, taking place in every instance of conversion, should throw open the Christian world to an influx of fancies and fluctuations, that would be utterly interminable. But the written record is the great barrier of defence against all such irregularities. There might be room for this apprehension, were it still the office of the Spirit to originate new and unheard of truths, in the minds that he enlightens. But this work has ceased long ago, and the Book in which the truths thus originated were treasured up has, for many centuries, had the seal of completeness set upon it; and the office of the Holy Ghost now is not to inform any one mind of novelties that are yet unrevealed, bnt simply to transcribe on the tablet of its understanding what has already been inscribed on the tablet of the written revelation. And thus it is both true that it is through a distinct and personal work of the Holy Spirit that each believer is called out of darkness unto marvellous light—and that, in respect of the essentials of Christianity, there has been one stable and permanent belief among them all. It is like the telescope pointed to a distant landscape, which reveals the same objects to all the numerous and successive spectators; and so

it is mainly one and the same doctrine that is held by the genuine disciples of all countries, and which has come unchangingly down, from generation to generation.

If it be thought that this statement serves very much to reduce the importance of human learning, let it be observed, on the other hand, that still to human learning there belongs an important function, in the matter of Christianity. One does not need to be the subject of a material impress upon his own person, in order to judge of the accordancy between the device that is submitted to his notice, and the seal that is said to have conveyed it. Both may be foreign to himself: and yet he, by looking to the one and to the other, can see whether they are accurate counterparts. And, in like manner, a man of sagacity and of natural acquirement may never have received, upon his own heart, that impression of the Bible which the Holy Spirit alone has strength to effectuate; but still, if such an impression be offered to his notice, in the person of another, he may be able both to detect the spurious, and, in some measure, to recognize the genuine marks of correspondence between the contents of Scripture, on the one hand, and the creed, or character, of its professing disciple, on the other. It is well, when such a man looks, in the first instance, to the written Word; and, by aid of the grammar and lexicon, and all the resources of philology, evinces the literal doctrine

that is graven thereupon. It is also well, when he looks, in the second instance, to the human subject, and by aid, either of natural shrewdness, or of a keen metaphysical inspection into the *arcana* of character, drags forth to light that moral and intellectual picture which the doctrine of the Bible is said to have left upon the soul. If there be a single alleged convert upon earth, who cannot stand such a trial, when fairly conducted, he is a pretender, and wears only a counterfeit and not the genuine stamp of Christianity. And thus it is, that he who has no part whatever in the teaching that cometh from God, who is still a natural man, and has not received the things of the Spirit, may, to a certain extent, judge the pretensions of him who conceives that the Holy Ghost has taken of the things of Christ, and shown them to his soul. He can institute a sound process of comparison between those testimonies of Scripture which a natural criticism has made palpable to him, and those traces upon the soul which a natural sagacity of observation has made palpable to him: and, without sharing himself in an unction from the Holy One, or being sealed by the Spirit of God into a personal meetness for the inheritance of the saints, still may he both be able to rectify and restrain the excesses of fanaticism, and also to recall the departures that heresy is making from the law and from the testimony.

The work of Bishop Horsley against Unitarian-

ism is a work which erudition and natural talent are quite competent to the production of. It is the fruit of a learned and laborious research into ecclesiastical antiquities, and a vigorous argumentative application of the materials that he had gathered, to that controversy, on the field of which he obtained so proud and pre-eminent a conquest. We would not even so much as hazard a conjecture on the personal Christianity of this able and highly gifted individual. We simply affirm, that for the execution of the important service which he, at that time, rendered to the cause, his own personal religion was not indispensable; and, whether or not by the means of a spiritual discernment, he was enabled to take off, from the inscribed Christianity of the record, an effectual impression of it upon his own soul, it was well, that, by the natural expedients of profound sense and profound scholarship, he cleared away that cloud in which his antagonist, Dr. Priestley, might have shrouded the face of the record, both from the natural and spiritual discernment of other men. It is possible, both to know what the doctrine of the Bible is, and most skilfully and irresistibly to argument it, without having caught the impress of the doctrine upon one's own soul. It is possible for a man not to have come himself into effective personal contact with the seal of Holy Writ, and yet to demonstrate the characters of the seal, and to purge away its obscurity, and make it stand legibly out, which it must do, ere

it can stand impressively out, to the view of others. There are many who look with an evil eye to the endowments of the English Church, and to the indolence of her dignitaries. But to that Church the theological literature of our nation stands indebted, for her best acquisitions; and we hold it a refreshing spectacle, at any time that meagre Socinianism pours forth a new supply of flippancies and errors, when we behold, as we have often done, an armed champion come forth, in full equipment, from some high and lettered retreat of that noble hierarchy; nor can we grudge her the wealth of all her endowments, when we think how well, under her venerable auspices, the battles of orthodoxy have been fought,—that, in this holy warfare, they are her sons and her scholars who are ever foremost in the field,—ready, at all times, to face the threatening mischief, and, by the might of their ponderous erudition, to overbear it.

But, if human talent be available to the purpose of demonstrating the characters of the seal, it is also, in so far, available to the purpose of judging on the accuracy of the impression. The work, perhaps, which best exemplifies this, is that of President Edwards, on the conversions of New England, and in which he proposes to estimate their genuineness, by comparing the marks that had been left on the person of the disciple, with the marks that are inscribed on the Book of the law and of the testimony. He was certainly

much aided, in his processes of discrimination upon this subject, by the circumstance of being a genuine convert himself, and, so, of being furnished with materials for the judgment, in his own heart, and that stood immediately submitted to the eye of his own consciousness. But yet no one could, without the metaphysical faculty wherewith nature had endowed him, have conducted so subtle, and at the same time, so sound and just an analysis, as he has done; and no one, without his power of insight among the mysteries of our nature,—a power which belonged to his mind, according to its original conformation,—could have so separated the authentic operation of the Word upon the character, from the errors and the impulses of human fancy. It is true that none but a spiritual man could have taken so minute a survey of that impression which the Holy Ghost was affirmed to have made, through the preaching of the Word, upon many, in a season of general awakening. But few, also, are the spiritual men, who could have taken so masterly a survey; and that, just because they wanted the faculties which could accomplish their possessor for a shrewd and metaphysical discernment among the *penetralia* of the human constitution. It is thus that, by the light of nature, one may trace the characters which stand out upon the seal; and, by the light of nature, one may be helped, at least, to trace the characters that are left upon the human subject, in consequence of this super-

nal application. Fanaticism is kept in check by human reason, and the soberness of the faith is vindicated. The extravagance of all pretenders to a spiritual revelation is detected, and made manifest; and the true disciple stands the test he is submitted to, even at the bar of the natural understanding.

We cannot take leave of Edwards, without testifying the whole extent of the reverence that we bear him. On the *arena* of metaphysics, he stood the highest of all his cotemporaries, and that, too, at a time, when Hume was aiming his deadliest thrusts at the foundations of morality, and had thrown over the infidel cause the whole *eclat* of his reputation. The American divine affords, perhaps, the most wondrous example, in modern times, of one who stood richly gifted both in natural and in spiritual discernment: and we know not what most to admire in him, whether the deep philosophy that issued from his pen, or the humble and child-like piety that issued from his pulpit; whether, when, as an author, he deals forth upon his readers the subtleties of profoundest argument, or when, as a Christian minister, he deals forth upon his hearers the simplicities of the gospel; whether it is, when we witness the impression that he made, by his writings, on the schools and high seats of literature, or the impression that he made, by his unlaboured addresses, on the plain consciences of a plain congregation. In the former capacity, he could estimate

the genuineness of the Christianity that had before been fashioned on the person of a disciple; but it was in the latter capacity, and speaking of him as an instrument, that he fashioned it, as it were, with his own hands. In the former capacity, he sat in judgment, as a critic, on the resemblance that there was between the seal of God's Word, and the impression that had been made on the fleshly tablet of a human heart; in the latter capacity, he himself took up the seal, and gave the imprinting touch, by which the heart is conformed unto the obedience of the faith. The former was a speculative capacity, under which he acted as a connoisseur, who pronounced on the accordancy that obtained between the doctrine of the Bible, and the character that had been submitted to its influence; the latter was an executive capacity, under which he acted as a practitioner, who brought about this accordancy, and so handled the doctrines of the Bible, as to mould and subordinate thereunto the character of the people with whom he had to deal. In the one, he was an overseer, who inspected and gave his deliverance on the quality of another's work; in the other, he was the workman himself: and while, as the philosopher, he could discern, and discern truly, between the sterling and the counterfeit, in Christianity, still it was as the humble and devoted pastor that Christianity was made, or Christianity was multiplied, in his hands.

Now, conceive these two faculties, which were

exemplified in such rare and happy combination, on the person of Edwards, to be separated, the one from the other, and given respectively to two individuals. One of these would then be so gifted, as that he could apply the discriminating tests, by which to judge of Christianity; and the other of them would be so gifted as that, instrumentally speaking, he could make Christians. One of them could do what Edwards did, from the pulpit; another of them could do what Edwards did, from the press. Without such judges and overseers as the former, the faith of the Christian world might be occasionally disfigured by the excesses of fanaticism; but without such agents as the latter, faith might cease to be formed, and the abuses be got rid of only by getting rid of the whole stock upon which such abuses are occasionally grafted. It is here that churches, under the domination of a worldly and unsanctified priesthood, are apt to go astray. They confide the cause wherewith they are entrusted to the merely intellectual class of labourers, and they have overlooked, or rather have violently and impetuously resisted, the operative class of labourers. They conceive that all is to be done by regulation, and that nothing, but what is mischievous, is to be done by impulse. Their measures are generally all of a sedative, and few or none of them of a stimulating tendency. Their chief concern is to repress the pruriencies of religious zeal, and not to excite or foster the zeal

itself, By this process they may deliver their establishment of all extravagancies, so as that we shall no longer behold, within its limits, any laughable or offensive caricature of Christianity. But who does not see that, by this process, they may also deliver the Establishment of Christianity altogether; and that all our exhibitions of genuine godliness may be made to disappear, under the same withering influence which deadens the excrescencies that occasionally spring from it. It is quite a possible thing for the same church to have a proud complacency in the lore, and argument, and professional science, of certain of its ministers; and, along with this, to have a proud contempt for the pious earnestness, and pious activity, of certain other of its ministers. In other words, it may applaud the talent by which Christianity is estimated, but discourage the talent by which Christianity is made. And thus while it continues to be graced by the literature and accomplishment of its members, may it come to be reduced into a kind of barren and useless inefficiency as to the great practical purposes for which it was ordained.

To judge of an impression requires one species of talent, to make an impression requires another. They both may exist, in very high perfection, with the same individual, as in the case already quoted. But they may also exist apart; and often, in particular, may the latter of the two be found, in great efficiency and vigour, when the former

of the two may be utterly awanting. The right way for a church is to encourage both these talents to the uttermost; and not to prevent the evils of a bad currency, by laying such an arrest on the exercise of the latter talent, as that we we shall have no currency at all. It must be produced, ere it can be assayed; and it is possible so to chill and to discourage the productive faculties in our Church, as that its assaying faculty shall have no samples on which to sit in judgment. This will universally be the result in every church where a high-toned contempt for what it holds to be fanaticism is the alone principle by which it is actuated; and where a freezing negative is sure to come forth on all those activities which serve to disturb the attitude of quiescence, into which it has sunk and settled. The leading measures of such a church are all founded on the imagination that the religious tendencies of our nature are so exuberant, as that they need to be kept in check, instead of being, in fact, so dormant as that they need work, and watchfulness, and all that is strenuous, and pains-taking, in the office of an evangelist, for the purpose of being kept alive. The true Christian policy of a church is to avail itself of all the zeal, and all the energy, which are to be found both among its ecclesiastics and its laymen, for the production of a positive effect among our population; and then, should folly or fanaticism come forward along with it, fearlessly to confide the chastening of all

this exuberance to the sense, and the scholarship, and the sound intellectual Christianity, for the diffusion of which over the face of our Establishment, the Establishment itself has made such ample provision. Such is our impression of nature's lethargy, and deadness, and unconcern, that we are glad when any thing comes forward,—that we are pleased to behold any symptom of spiritual life or vegetation at all,—and so far from being alarmed by the rumour of a stir, and a sensation, and an enthusiasm, in any quarter of the land, we are ready to hail it as we would the promise of some coming regeneration. A policy the direct opposite of this is often the reigning policy of a church; and, under its blasting operation, spurious and genuine Christianity are alike obliterated; and the work of pulling up the tares is carried on so furiously, that the wheat is pulled up along with it,—the vineyard is rifled of its goodliest blossoms, as well as of its noxious and pestilential weeds; and thus the upshot of the process for extirpating fanaticism may be to turn the fruitful field into a wilderness, and to spread desolation and apathy over all its borders.

A church so actuated does nothing but check the excrescencies of spiritual growth, and may do it so effectually as to reduce to a naked trunk what else might have sent forth its clustering branches, and yielded, in goodly abundance, the fruits of piety and righteousness. There is no positive strength put forth by it, on the side of

vegetation, but all on the side of repressing its hated overgrowth. It makes use of only one instrument, and that is the pruning-hook; as if, by its operation alone, all the purposes of husbandry could be served. Its treatment of humanity proceeds on such an excessive fertility of religion in the human heart, that all the toil and strenuousness of ecclesiastics must be given to the object of keeping it down, and so confining it within the limits of moderation; instead of such a natural barrenness that this toil and this strenuousness should rather be given to the various and ever-plying activities of an evangelist, who is instant in season and out of season. It is thus that the outfield of sectarianism may exhibit a totally different aspect from the inclosed and well kept garden of an Establishment. In the former, there may be a positive and desireable crop, along with the weeds and ranknesses which have been suffered to grow up unchastened; in the latter, there may be nothing that offendeth, save the one deadly offence of a vineyard so cleaned, and purified, and thwarted in all its vegetative tendencies, as to offer, from one end to the other of it, an unvaried expanse of earthliness.

We, therefore, do wrong, in laying such a weight of discouragement on the labourers who produce, and throwing the mantle of our protection and kindness only over the labourers who prune. And what, it may be asked, are the ingredients of mightiest effect, in the character and

talent of a productive labourer? They are not his scholarship, and not his critical sagacity of discernment into the obscurities of Scripture, and not his searching or satirical insight among the mysteries of the human constitution. With these he may be helped to estimate the Christianity that has been formed, and to lop off its unseemly excrescencies; but with these alone we never shall positively rear, on the foundation of nature, the edifice itself. This requires another set of qualifications which may or may not exist along with that artificial learning to which, we trust, an adequate homage has been already rendered by us, and qualifications which, whether they are found among endowed or unendowed men, ought to be enlisted on the side of Christianity. They may exist apart from science, and they may most usefully and productively be exerted apart from science. The possessors of them are abundantly to be found in the private or humble walks of society, and may be the powerful instruments of propagating their own moral and spiritual likeness among their respective vicinities. We are aware of the jealousy and disdain in which they are regarded by many a churchman,—that, held to be empirics, who invade the province of the regular faculty, there is, it is thought, the same mischief done by them, in theology, which is done by quacks in medicine—that the diseases of the soul are liable to the same sort of injurious mismanagement, in the hands of the one, as the

diseases of the body are in the hands of the other; and this is very much the feeling of the great majority of our ecclesiastics, whether they look to the efforts of unlettered Methodism, in England, or to the Sabbath teaching, and the lay itineracies, and the gratuitous zeal of the unofficial and the unordained of our own country.

Now, this parallel between physic and theology does not hold; nor is the power of working a given effect on the corporeal system arrived at by the same steps, with the power of working a given effect on the moral or spiritual system. To be a healing operator upon the body one must be acquainted with the manifold variety of effects which the agents and applications innumerable of matter have upon the maladies equally innumerable, to which the body is exposed. To be a healing operator upon the soul, there is one great application revealed to us in Scripture, which, in every instance where it does take effect, acts as an unfailing specific for all its moral disorders. In the former profession, every addition of knowledge is an addition of power; and the best guarantees for an effectual exercise of the art medical are the science, and study, and experience, of a finished education. In the latter profession, these are useful too, for estimating the effect that has been made upon the character, but not indispensable for working that effect. That mighty truth, the belief of which is the power of God, and the wisdom of God, un-

to salvation, may be deposited, by one man, in the heart of another, without the aid of any scholastic art, or scholastic preparation. It is too simple to be illustrated by human talent, and the mode of its conveyance from one bosom to another depends on certain influences which are as much beyond the reach of a philosopher as of a peasant, and as much within the reach of a peasant as of a philosopher. Grant that the one has just as much of personal Christianity, and as much of devotedness, in the cause of human souls, and as much of the spirit of believing intercession with God, in behalf of those among whom he is labouring,—and then is he in possession of just as powerful instruments as the other, for bringing them under the dominion of the truth, as it is in Jesus. So that it is not with bodily as it is with spiritual innoculation. To work the one aright there must be the contact of a right matter with the material subject to which it is applied; and one must study the properties of that which is without them, ere they are qualified to make the application. To work the other aright, there must be the contact of a right mind with the moral subject to which it is applied; and the possessor of such a mind has simply to put its desires and its tendencies into movement, that the wished for effect may follow; has to act on the impulse of its affections for others; and to pour forth its Christian regards for their welfare; and to gain them over by the exhibition of its worth,

and kindness, and piety; and to hold out that Word of life, in which there is nothing dark, but to those who love darkness; and to vent itself in prayer for the saving illumination of those whom it never ceases, so long as hope and prudence warrant the exertion, to ply, with its most unwearied activities. To work a moral effect, such as love, on the heart of another, one cannot fail to perceive that mere science, even though it should be the science of our own nature, were utterly unavailing; and that the man who bears this affection in his own heart would do more to call out a return of it, from the heart of his neighbour, than he who, without love himself, has, at the same time, a most intelligent discernment into the law of its operation. And it is the same with a Christian effect. He who can best work it on another's mind is a Christian himself. It is the sympathy of his kindred feelings—it is the observation of his actual faith, and of its bright and beautiful influences upon his own character—it is the winning representation of a doctrine that may be read a thousand times over, without effect, in the written epistles of the New Testament, but which is armed with a new power to engage and soften the heart of an inquirer, when he sees it exemplified in the person of that believer who is a living epistle of Christ Jesus—it is the melting tenderness by which he presses home the overtures of the gospel on his fellow sinners, and, above all, the efficacy of his prayers for grace

to turn and grace to enlighten them; these are what may accomplish a man who is unlettered in all but his Bible, to be a far more efficient Christianiser than the most profound or elaborate theologian; these are what essentially constitute that leaven by which, either with or without philosophy, a fermenting process for the growth and the diffusion of Christianity is made to spread far and wide among our population.

This is the reason why, though ecclesiastics should be accomplished in the whole lore and scholarship of their profession, they should not discourage the effort and activity of lay operatives, in the cause. They may inspect their work, but they should not put a stop to it. When they discover a union of intelligence and piety in an individual, even of humble life, they should patronize his attempts to spread around him the moral and spiritual resemblance of himself. They else may freeze into utter dormancy the best capabilities that are within their reach of Christian usefulness: and thus it is possible for a clergyman, by the weight of his authority, to lay an interdict on a whole host of Christian agency, whom he should have summoned into action, and of whom it is possible that each may be far beneath him in the literature of Christianity, and yet each far before him in the instrumental power of making Christians.

Were the families of a city lane wholly overrun with the foul spirit of radicalism, it would not

be on the services of him who could best dissert on the ethics of patriotism and good citizenship that I should most build my hopes of reclaiming them. I should look for a far more important and practical reformation from the simple presence and contiguity among them, of one their equal, perhaps, in station, and who himself was a sound and a leal-hearted patriot. There would be a weight of influence in the mere exhibition of his wholesome and well-conditioned mind, which no argument however skilful, and no penetration however subtle into the casuistry of public and political virtue, could have power to carry along with them. The living exemplification of a sober, and judicious, and regulated spirit, maintaining its loyalty in the midst of surrounding fury and fermentation, would go farther to calm the tempest than the most ingenious political sermon that was ever framed: and more especially if the individual who so held forth among his neighbours was one in whose friendship they had long trusted, and to whose consistency and good conduct they could all testify. There is no series of lectures delivered in any hall of public resort that would have half the force which lay in the mere personal communications of such a man with his next-door associates; and what could not have been done by the didactic efforts of any political reasoner, will be far more readily done by the present example and the untaught effusions of him who simply realised, in his own character,

the worth and the practical wisdom of a good citizen.

Or, in some other cluster of families, did jealousy and dislike alienate the heart of each individual from all his fellows, it would not be to him who best understood the mysteries of our moral nature, that I would look, as the likeliest instrument for restoring peace and confidence among them. Through his insight into the *arcana* of the human constitution, he may be able both to perceive and to proclaim, that when there is good will to others in the bosom of one, this calls forth a reciprocal good will to him back again. It is not by sermonizing on the operation of this principle, that the wished for effect is carried: it is by actually having the principle, and operating therewith. Or, in other words, the simple presence of a man, humble it may be, in rank, but richly endowed either with Christian or with constitutional benevolence,—it is this, unaccompanied with all metaphysical discernment, or the power of metaphysical explanation, that will do more to expel the spirit of rancour from a neighbourhood, and to substitute the spirit of charity in its place, than any theoretical exposition of principles or processes can possibly accomplish. It is not the man who best lectures on the operation of the moving force, but the man who is possessed of the moving force, and actually wields it —it is he who works the practical consequence on the temper and mind of the neighbourhood

over which he expatiates. And thus it is that the man of Christian love operates more powerfully as a leaven, in his vicinity, than the man of Christian learning: and it is altogether a mistake, that a long and laborious routine of scholarship must be described, ere the exertions of a religious teacher shall, with efficacy, tell on the moral and spiritual habit of the disciples who repair to him.

For, it is just in Christianity as in the cases we have now quoted. All the essential truths of it can be easily apprehended; insomuch, that on the ground of mere intelligence with respect to its most vital and important doctrines, the peasant and the philosopher are upon a level. But to apprehend the truth with the natural understanding is one thing, and it is another so to realise and so to appropriate it, as that it shall bear, with power and with personal influence, upon the character. Now, we shall meet with instances of the latter as readily in the humble as in the lofty walks of society; and there we shall as soon find an individual who can hold forth a living picture of Christianity, and bring the whole moving force of its affections and its virtues to bear on the vicinity around him. It were bad philosophy, to confine the work of propagating a Christian influence throughout a population to the adepts of a university; and just as strong a transgression against the true philosophy of our nature, to confine it to the regularly bred and ordained clergy, whether

of our city or our country parishes. And, however offensive it may be to the official pride and the official intolerance of churchmen, it is not, on that account, the less true, that, among the very humblest of the flock, individuals may be found, who, with no pretensions to the science of Christianity, yet, from the attractive sympathy that there is in its virtues and in its graces, will form into a more powerful as well as a purer leaven than is the minister himself: insomuch, that the very best service which he is capable of rendering to the cause may be, to give freedom and encouragement to the working of this leaven, in every part of the mass, where it is known to exist. Perhaps, the deadliest obstacle to the Christianity of his parish is the rancour that he feels towards the zeal and the activity of lay operatives,—the contemptuous resistance, not less unphilosophical than it is unscriptural, with which he is ever bearing down the nascent piety of his neighbourhood, and stifling, in embryo, all those various expedients of Sabbath schools, and fellowship meetings, and assemblages for prayer and religious conversation, wherewith the Christianity of the few might diffuse and multiply its own image over the whole of that parochial territory which is assigned to him.

In every church let securities be provided for the highest attainments of Christian literature, so as that many ecclesiastics shall be found in it, rich in all the deep and varied erudition of theo-

logy. We know not a nobler intellectual eminence than that which may be gained on the neglected walks of sound and scriptural philosophy, by one who, with a mind stored both in the criticism and antiquities of his profession, further knows how to impregnate his acquisitions with the liberal and experimental spirit of our age; and who, without commuting the orthodoxy of God's imperishable record, could so far modernize the science, of which he was, at the same time, both the champion and the ornament, as to envolve upon the world, not its new truths, but its new applications. Christianity never changes, but the complexion and habits of the species are always changing: and thus may there be an exhaustless novelty both of remark and illustration, in our intellectual treatment of a science which touches at almost every point in the nature of man, and bears, with decisive effect, on the whole frame and economics of civil society. In such a tract of literature as this, study, and speculation, and scholarship, may be carried to the uttermost extent: and he who has done so may well take his place with all that is dignified and great, whether in moral or political philosophy. But it were giving the last finish to the character of his mind, if, amid the pride and the prowess of its rare accomplishments, he could appretiate aright the piety and the practical labours of an unlettered Christian: and it would confer upon him that very thing which is so touching, in the

simplicity of Newton, or in the missionary zeal and devotedness of Boyle, if, while surrounded by the trophies of his own successful authorship, he could be made to see, that, however profound in the didactics of Christianity, yet, in the actual work of giving a personal spread to Christianity, there is many a humble man of privacy and of prayer who is far before him.

According to our *beau ideal* of a well going and a well constituted church, there should be among its ecclesiastics the very highest literature of their profession, and among its laymen the most zealous and active concurrence of their personal labours in the cause. The only check upon the occasional eccentricities of the latter should be the enlightened judgment of the former: and this, in every land of freedom and perfect toleration, will be found enough for the protection of a community against the inroads of a degrading fanaticism. It is utterly wrong, that because zeal breaks forth, at times, into excesses and deviations, there should, therefore, be no zeal; or, because spiritual vegetation has its weeds as well as its blossoms, all vegetation should, therefore, be repressed. The wisest thing, we apprehend, for adding to the produce of the Christian vineyard is to put into action all the productive tendencies that may be found in it. The excrescencies which may come forth will wither and disappear, under the eye of an enlightened clergy: so that while, in the first instance, the utmost space and

enlargement should be permitted, for the manifold activities of Christian love, upon the one hand, there should be no other defence ever thought of, against the occasional pruriencies that may arise out of this operation, than the mild and pacific, but altogether efficacious corrective of Christian learning, upon the other.

There are two sets of clergy, in every establishment; and it were curious to observe how each of them stands affected to the two questions, whether the ministers of the gospel shall be more richly furnished with Christian literature, and, whether the laymen who are under them shall be permitted to supplement the duties of the clerical office, with Christian labour. There is one class of our ecclesiastics, both in England and Scotland, who have a taste for popular agency, and lay enterprises, and the whole apparatus of religious schools and religious societies, which are so multiplying around us, in this busy age of philanthropic activity and adventure. Now, what we would ask of such ecclesiastics is, whether they would feel a relish or repugnance towards those measures, the effect of which is to exalt the clergy of the church to a higher pre-eminence than they even now occupy, for all the accomplishments of sacred literature? Will they come forward and say that they are afraid of literature?—that a clergy too enlightened would not suit them?—that, loving to breathe in the muddy atmosphere of popular ignorance and popular folly, they want

no science and no scholarship, whose hateful beams might disperse the congenial vapours wherewith the effervescence of plebeianism has filled and overspread the whole scene of their ignoble labours? Do they tremble, lest the light of philosophy should penetrate into the dark unknown of their own inglorious sculking places? And are they really conscious, after all, that what they have headed and patronised is a low paltry drivelling fanaticism, which would shrink before the full gaze of a lettered and intellectual church, where every minister were a luminary of science as well as a luminary of the gospel? These are the degrading imputations they will bring upon themselves, by any resistance they shall make to the learning of the clergy: and such a resistance, if offered, is the very thing that will propagate the timely alarm to another quarter, and will cause, we trust, the friends of learning to rally, and to form into strength elsewhere. Those ministers who, whether under the name of the high church, or of the moderate, or of the rational party, feel a strong disrelish towards the active interference of laymen in the work of religious instruction, will know how to act should they perceive, in the party of their antagonists, an equally strong disrelish towards any measure that goes to augment the professional literature of all our future ecclesiastics. They cannot be blind to the fact, that, at this moment, there is a fermentation, and a brooding activity,

and an unexampled restlessness, and a busy movement of schemes and of operations, before unknown in the walks of popular Christianity; and if, additional to all this, they should further see a dread, on the part of zealous champions and overseers, lest the lamp of Christian literature should be lighted up into greater brilliancy than before, we trust that this will be felt and understood by those who nauseate what they term the missionary and methodistical spirit of our age, as the intimation of what they ought to do. It is not by putting forth the arm of intolerance, that they will reach it its exterminating blow. It is not by fulminating edicts that they will smother it. It is not by raising and strengthening all the mounds of exclusion, that they will be able to guard our Establishment against what they deem, and honestly deem, to be the inroads of a pestilence. These are not the legitimate defences of our Church against hateful fanaticism: and they who have set themselves in array against this hydra, whether she be indeed a reality or only a bugbear of their own imagination, can do nothing better than to rear a literary and enlightened priesthood, under the eye of whose vigilance all that is truly noxious and evil will be most effectually disarmed also.

But should the friends of this so called fanaticism among the clergy be also the friends, and not the enemies, of scientific and theological accomplish-

ment in their own order; should they dare their antagonists to the open arena of light and of liberty; should their demand be that the torch of learning shall be blown into a clearer and intenser flame, and be brought to shine upon all their opinions and all their ways; should the cry which they send forth be for more of erudition, and more of philosophy, and that not one single labourer shall be admitted to the ministerial field, till our universities, those established luminaries of our land, have shed upon his understanding a larger supply of that pure, and chaste, and academic light, the property of which is to guide, and not to bewilder, to clarify the eye of the mind, and not to dazzle it to the overpowering of all its faculties;—if this be the beseeching voice of fanaticism, and it be left to pass unregarded away, then shall the enemies of fanaticism have become the enemies of knowledge; and our Church, instead of exhibiting the aspect of zeal tempered by wisdom, and of a warm, active, busy spirit of Christian philanthropy, under the control and guardianship of accomplished and well educated clergymen, may, at length, desolated of all its pieties, be turned into a heartless scene of secularity, and coarseness, and contempt for vital religion, where the sacredness of Christianity has fled, and left not behind it one redeeming quality in the science of Christianity among its officiating ministers; and, alike abandoned by the light of the Divine Spirit, and the light of human philosophy, it

will offer the spectacle of a dreary and extended waste, without one spot of loveliness or verdure which the eye can delight to rest upon.*

But, it is now time to enter on the more familiar objections which have been alleged against Sabbath schools: and there is none which floats so currently, or is received with greater welcome and indulgence, than that they bear with adverse and malignant influence, on family religion,—that they detach our young from the natural guardianship of their own family; and come in place of that far better and more beautiful system which, at one time, obtained over the whole Lowlands of Scotland,—when almost every father was, at the same time, the Sabbath teacher of his own

---

* We have been insensibly led to some of the above remarks, by the circumstance of a measure being now in progress, for augmenting the academic preparations of our students, ere they shall be admissible to the ministerial office in Scotland. There can be no doubt as to the fact of a very wide diversity of sentiment between two bodies of clergy, about the expediency of enlisting, as subsidiary teachers, laymen who have not had the advantage of a university education. We think, on the one hand, that, without such education, there is many a private Christian, who might thus be most usefully and most effectively employed; but, on the other hand, we would have this education rendered far more complete, and perfect among the regular teachers of the Establishment. And we therefore conceive that the measure in question should have friends and zealous supporters from both sides of the Church. They who see ground for fear, lest, in the novel institutions of Sabbath teaching, and lay agency, the Church shall be trodden under foot by a sort of fanatical usurpation, should wish for a more accomplished clergy, as the most effectual barrier against this mischief. And it is for the credit of those again who patronise such institutions, to manifest their utter fearlessness of light and learning; but rather to court its approaches, and prove, by their doing so, that they regarded their own practice as accordant with the doctrines of revelation, and the sound philosophy of our nature.

offspring; when the simple voice of psalms was heard to ascend from our streets and our cotages, and the evening of God's hallowed day was consecrated, in many a mansion of domestic piety, to those holy exercises which assembled the children of each household around their venerable sires, and transmitted the Christian worth and wisdom of the former to its succeeding generation. It is some such picture as this which kindles the indignation of many a sentimentalist against the institutions that we are pleading for; and they have to combat not merely the uncon-cern and enmity which obtain with the many, towards all schemes of Christian philanthropy whatever, but also the generous emotions, and even the pious recollections, of a few men, who are disposed, at least, to give the question a respectful entertainment.

Now, it ought to be remembered, that to come in place of a better system is one thing, and to displace that system is another. Is it possible for any man, at all acquainted with the chronology of Sabbath schools, to affirm that they are the instruments of having overthrown the family religion of Scotland? Have they operated as so many ruthless invaders, on what, at the time of their entrance, was a beauteous moral domain, and swept away from it all that was affecting or graceful in the observations of our forefathers? Whether did they desolate the territory, or have they only made their lodgement on what was already a scene of desola-

tion? The truth is, that for many years previous to the extension of this system, a wofiul degeneracy was going on in the religious habit and character of our country;—that, from the wanton outrages inflicted by unrelenting patronage on the taste and demand of parishes, the religious spirit, once so characteristic of our nation, has long been rapidly subsiding—that, more particularly in our great towns, the population have so outgrown the old ecclesiastical system, as to have accumulated there into so many masses of practical heathenism:—and now the state of the alternative is not, whether the rising generation shall be trained to Christianity in schools, or trained to it under the roof of their fathers; but whether they shall be trained to it in schools, or not trained to it at all. It is whether a process of deterioration, which originated more than half a century ago, and has been rapid and resistless in its various tendencies ever since—whether it shall be suffered to carry our people still more downward in the scale of moral blindness and depravity; or whether the only remaining expedient for arresting it shall be put into operation. Were it as easy a task to prevail on an irreligious parent to set up the worship and the instruction of religion, in his family, as to get his consent, and prevail upon his children, to attend the ministrations of a Sabbath school, there might then be some appearance of room for all the obloquy that has been cast upon these institutions. But as the matter stands, in many a city

and in many a parish, the Christian philanthropist is shut up to an effort upon the young, as his last chance for the moral regeneration of our country. In despair (and it is a despair warranted by all experience) of operating, with extensive effect, on the confirmed habit and obstinacy of manhood, he arrests the human plant, at an earlier and more susceptible stage, and puts forth the only hand that ever would have offered for the culture and the training of this young immortal. In the great majority of instances, he does not withdraw his pupils, for a single moment, from any Christian influence that would have descended upon them in another quarter, but showers upon their heads and their hearts the only Christian influence they ever are exposed to. He is, in fact, building up again that very system, with the destruction of which he has been charged, and rearing many young, who, but for him, would have been the still more corrupt descendants of a corrupt parentage, to be the religious guides and examples of a future generation.

It is not true that family religion is superseded by these schools, so as to make Christianity less the topic of mutual exercise and conversation between parents and children, than before the period of their institution. Instead of banishing this topic from families, they have been known, in very many instances, to have first introduced it into dwelling-places where before it was utterly unknown. The most careless of parents are found to give

their ready and delighted consent to the proposal which comes to them from the Sabbath teacher, for the attendance of their children. And the children, instead of carrying off from their own houses an ingredient of worth which truly had no place in them, do, in fact, impart that very ingredient from the seminaries which have been branded as the great absorbents of all the family religion in the land. Parents, in spite of themselves, feel an interest in that which interests and occupies their children; and through the medium of natural affection have their thoughts been caught to the subject of Christianity; and the very tasks and exercises of their children have brought a theme to their evening circle, upon which, aforetimes, not a syllable of utterance was ever heard; and still more, when a small and select library is attached to the institution, has it been the mean of circulating, through many a household privacy, such wisdom and such piety as were indeed new visitants upon a scene, till now untouched by any print or footstep of sacredness.

We have one prophecy in the Bible, that many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. It was thus at the outset of Christianity, when apostles itinerated from one country to another; it is thus still with missionaries who go abroad; and it is also thus, though in a greatly more limited degree, with Sabbath teachers, who go forth on the errand of Christianising, each stepping beyond his own threshold, and travell-

ing his benevolent round among other families. In the natural progress of things, the loco-motive operation will gradually contract itself within narrower boundaries. Christianity, by a more extended set of movements, will first be established, in a general way, throughout all lands. Then, by a busy internal process among towns and parishes, will there be a filling up of each larger territory. The local system of Sabbath schools may be regarded as a step, in this transition, from a wore widely diffusive to a more intense and contracted style of operation. So far from superseding the household system of education, its direct consequence is to establish that system in places where it was before unknown, or to restore it in places, where, through the decay of Christianity, for one or more generations, it had, for some time, been suspended. We shall not affirm, at present, whether it is destined to continue a wholesome institution, to the end of time; or, whether, like the general enterprise of missionaries, it too may come to be dispensed with, having served its own important but temporary purpose of conducting the world onward to that state, for the arrival of which we have another prophecy of the Bible, when " they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, 'know the Lord;' for all shall know him, from the least to the greatest."

Meanwhile, we not only see that the Sabbath school system tends directly to the establishment

of the household system of education, but that, even in those families where the latter is in full operation, the former does not interfere with it. There are many who concede the advantage of Sabbath schools, in those cases where the parents are neither able nor willing to teach their children, but who regard them as a bane and a nuisance, when they come into contact with our religious and well ordered families. In this state of opinion, it is impossible to conduct a Sabbath school, without a feeling of very awkward embarrassment, on the part both of the teacher and of the people among whom he expatiates. No children can be admitted, without a severe reflection against their parents being implied by it; and if such be the prevalent style of sentiment respecting these institutions, no parent will consent to send his children, without feeling, that by this step, he brings down upon his own character and respectability the heaviest of all imputations. For our own parts, we feel ourselves to be clear of this embarrassment altogether. We would make no distinction in the invitation that we offered to families for their attendance on our schools, between religious and irreligious parents. In large towns, where the church accommodation is still in such wretched scantiness, we know that, with respect to the great majority of children, such a school affords the only opportunity they have, through the day, for meeting in a place of public worship or instruction,—and that attendance upon

it would no more interfere with household exercises, than does attendance upon the ministrations of a regular clergyman, in a well provided country parish. This argument for the sufficiency and the superiority of family instruction would apply, with as great force, against the attendance of children on a church, as against their attendance on a Sabbath school, in all those cases where there is no church open to receive them. The truth is, that these schools afford the only supplement we can at present command, in a large town, for the defects of its ecclesiastical system. They come in place of the churches yet to be provided, and the existing number of which we have already demonstrated to be so fearfully short of the needs of the population. Nor does the time in which a Sabbath school keeps its children detached and at a distance from their natural guides and protectors, exceed the time at which, under a better economy, these same children would be sitting, from under the parental roof, in a chapel, or meeting-house.

But, even granting the case of parents altogether religious, and granting them to be fully observant of all the ordinances, and that, in particular, their well-filled family pew holds out, Sabbath after Sabbath, the pleasing aspect of a well-conditioned and a well disciplined household; still we do not hold a Sabbath school for the children of such parents to be at all hurtful, or even superfluous. There is time both for the house-

hold and the school exercises, during the currency of a Sabbath evening, consisting, at the very least, of four hours; and it is, on many accounts, better that this time should be so partitioned, than that it should all be spent by the children, in what they are apt to feel the weary imprisonment of their own dwelling places. It is well that there should be such a variety to keep up and enliven their attention, among religious topics. It is well that the parent should guide their preparations for the teacher; and that a judicious teacher should lead on the parent to a right track of exercise and examination, for the children. There is time, under such a system, both for the lessons and the prayers of the family; and it is further right that there should be time for the heads of the family to have their own hours of deeper sacredness, not to be interrupted even by the religious care of those who have sprung from them. The seminaries we plead for, instead of having any effect to mar, do, in fact, harmonise, at all points, with the spiritual complexion of our most decent and devoted families. Nor can we conceive any degree of piety, or Christian wisdom, on the part of parents, that should lead them to regard a well conducted Sabbath school in any other light than as a blessing and an acquisition to their children.

And here it may be remarked of a local school, that it possesses a peculiar advantage over a general school, in the attraction which it holds out

to all sorts of families. It lies either within its own little district, or in its own immediate vicinity; and, separated only by a few houses from each dwelling-place, the whole line of distance which is described by each of the scholars from his home, can, both in going and returning, be easily followed or overseen by his parents. Thus will there be no corruption to meet him on his path, and no possibility, between the parent and the teacher, to evade the attendance of a single evening, on any excursion of vice or idleness. The shield and the security of domestic guardianship are thus thrown over the system; and even the children of the religious and irreligious mingle together only under the eye of their teacher, and may be separated instantaneously at the breaking up of the juvenile congregation. They mix only at the season when the example and proficiency of the good have a predominating influence over the depraved and the careless; and passing, in a single moment, from the eye of the teacher to the eye of the parent, there is no time for the influence of the depraved to assume its natural ascendency. Through a Sabbath school, as through a conduit, the spirit and character of the better families may send a moralising influence upon the others; while, in their passage to and from the schools, all the guards of parental jealousy might be put forth, to intercept the stream that else might flow in an opposite direction. It is thus that the presence and the exer-

tions of a Sabbath teacher may bring about just such a composition of the families as to give scope for the assimilating power of every good ingredient, and, at the same time, to check the assimilating power of every bad one. He may hasten inconceivably the fermentation of that leaven, by the working of which it is that we are taught to expect, at length, the spread of Christianity throughout the whole population. Nor are we aware of a single office, within the regular limits of any ecclesiastical constitution, from the pious and faithful discharge of whose duties so signal a blessing may be anticipated, both for the present and for future generations.

We are glad, however, that so much has been said, in Scotland, about the invasion of the Sabbath school system on family religion. It will have a salutary re-action both on teacher and parents, and make all who are religiously disposed be careful, lest so interesting a vestige of the Christianity of other days should be any further defaced or trampled upon, by an institution the design of which is to restore our population to all that was pious, and venerable, and affecting, in the style and habit of the olden time. And there is one thing that may be said to those who urge this objection most vehemently. In so doing they give up the principle of the former objection. By admitting the competency of parents to teach Christianity to their children, they admit, that part of this work, at least, may be confided

to other hands than those of regular and ordained clergy. They admit that a father, in humble life, may be the instrument of transmitting Christian wisdom and Christian worth to his own children, —and that though it were quackery for each parent to undertake the cure of family diseases, it is not quackery for each to undertake the work of family instruction. Thus the comparison between the efforts of the unlicenced in theology and medicine is, by them at least, practically given up. We hold this to be a signal testimony, and from the mouths of adversaries too, to the power of unlettered Christianity, in propagating its own likeness, throughout the young of our rising generation,—a power which most assuredly would not all go into dissipation, though, for a short time every Sabbath evening, it were transported from its place in the family to a new place in such a seminary of religious instruction as we have attempted to advocate.

And there is one point of superiority which a Sabbath teacher, humble in circumstances, has over one who is much and visibly raised above the level of the families among whom he labours. It is true that the latter has an advantage, in the mere ascendency of rank, and in that peculiar homage which the very exhibition of piety, when conjoined with affluence, is ever sure to draw from the multitude. But the former has his compensation in the more unmixed influence of his ministrations. His presence awakens no sor-

did or mercenary expectation among the poor. The welcome he gets from them is altogether disinterested: and, as we have already attempted to evince, in the proportion that the acceptance of a religious visit is untainted, in respect of its character, is the visit itself unimpaired in respect of its practical efficacy. To us the purity of the ministration appears indispensable to the power of it: and it is to him who is the bearer of Christianity and nothing else, among the habitations of the common people, that we would look for the most ready and rapid diffusion of its principles. This is a circumstance which goes far to counteract any loss that may be conceived to arise from the defect of a more regular or refined scholarship. Let there be sincere piety united with plain but good intelligence, and we would have no scruple, but the contrary, in employing, as Sabbath teachers, men from the very humblest classes of life. The weight of an exalted character will ever carry it over the want of an exalted condition: and it is, indeed, a striking testimony to the worth and importance of the poor, that among them the best capabilities are to be found for transforming a corrupt into a pure and virtuous community.

This holds out a very brilliant moral perspective to the eye of a philanthropist. In a few years, many of the scholars at our present seminaries will be convertible into the teachers of a future generation. There will be indefinite addi-

tions made to our religious agency. Instead of having to assail, as now, the general bulk of the population, by a Christian influence from without, the mass itself will be penetrated, and, through the means of residing and most effective teachers, there will be kept up a busy process of internal circulation. It is thus that he who can patiently work at small things, and be content to wait for great things, lends by far the best contribution to the mighty achievement of regenerating our land. Extremes meet; and the sanguine philanthropist, who is goaded on by his impatience to try all things, and look for some great and immediate result, will soon be plunged into the despair of ever being able to do any thing at all. The man who can calmly set himself down to the work of a district school, and there be satisfied to live and to labour without a name, may germinate a moral influence that will, at length, overspread the whole city of his habitation. It is rash to affirm of the local system that it is totally impracticable in London; while most natural, at the same time, that it should appear so to those who think nothing worthy of an attempt, unless it can be done *per saltum*,—unless it at once fills the eye with the glare of magnificence, and it can be invested, at the very outset, with all the pomp and patronage of extensive committeeship. A single lane, or court, in London, is surely not more impracticable than in other towns of this empire. There is one man

to be found there, who can assume it as his locality, and acquit himself thoroughly and well of the duties which it lays upon him. There is another who can pitch beside him, on a contiguous settlement, and, without feeling bound to speculate for the whole metropolis, can pervade, and do much to purify his assumed portion of it. There is a third who will find that a walk so unnoticed and obscure is the best suited to his modesty; and a fourth, who will be eager to reap, on the same field, that reward of kind and simple gratitude, in which his heart is most fitted to rejoice. We are sure that this piece-meal operation will not stop for want of labourers,—though it may be arrested, for a while, through the eye of labourers being seduced by the meteoric glare of other enterprises, alike impotent and imposing. So long as each man of mediocrity conceives himself to be a man of might, and sighs after some scene of enlargement, that may be adequate to his fancied powers, little or nothing will be done; but so soon as the sweeping and sublime imagination is dissipated, and he can stoop to the drudgery of his small allotment in the field of usefulness, then will it be found, how it is by the summation of many humble mediocrities, that a mighty result is at length arrived at. It was by successive strokes of the pickaxe and the chisel that the pyramids of Egypt were reared: and great must be the company of workmen, and limited the task which each must occupy, ere there will be made

to ascend the edifice of a nation's worth, or of a nation's true greatness.

In this laborious process of nursing an empire to Christianity, we know not, at present, a readier or more available apparatus of means than that which has been raised by Methodism. In every large town of England, it owns a number of disciples, and, through a skilful mechanism that has been long in operation, there is a minute acquaintance, on the part of their leaders, with the talents and character of each of them. Why should not they avail themselves of their existing facilities for the adoption of this system, and so, thoroughly pervade that population by their Sabbath schools, which they only, as yet, have partially drawn to their pulpits? It would be doing more, in the long run, to renovate and multiply the chapels of Methodism, than all that has yet been devised by them: and thus might they both extend religious education among the young, and a church-going habit throughout the general population. We doubt not that, with this new style of tactics, they would mightily alarm the Establishment. But so much the better. This is just the salutary application which the Establishment stands in need of. And, from all that we have learned of the catholic and liberal spirit of this class of dissenters, we guess that, though they did no more than simply stimulate the Church of England to do the whole work, and to do it aright, they would bless God and rejoice.

Such is the good will we bear to sectarians, that we should rejoice in nothing more than to behold their instantaneous adoption of an expedient which, we honestly believe, would add tenfold to their resources and their influence. Let them operate in large towns, on the principle of locality. Let them enter on the territorial possession of this peopled wilderness. Let them erect as many district schools and district chapels as they find that they have room for; and if the Establishment will not be roused by this manifold activity, out of its lethargies, then sectarianism will, at length, earn, and most rightfully earn, all the honours and all the ascendency of an Establishment. It is, indeed, a most likely thing that the Church would be put into motion; and this, of itself, were an important good rendered to the country, by the industry and zeal of dissenters. But when we look to the fearful deficiency of our ecclesiastical system, there is no fear lest all the galley-boats of sectarianism, with the slow and ponderous Establishment in tow, will too soon overtake the mighty extent of our yet unprovided population. Nor do we know of any common enterprise that would promise fairer, at length, for embodying the Church and the dissenters together, by some such act of comprehensive union, as has lately reflected so much honour on the two most numerous classes of dissenters in our country.

NOTE.

SINCE the publication of the chapters on Church Patronage, the Author has been kindly honoured by a specific communication from Mr. Gladstone, respecting the returns of the churches that were endowed by him.

One of them is in the town of Liverpool, and there is attached to it a school for the education, at present gratuitous, of 280 children. The cost and annual expense of this establishment form a heavy deduction from the surplus of seat rents that would otherwise have accrued out of the capabilities of the church alone; and, accordingly, the return is only between three and four per cent. per annum, on the whole cost.

The other church is at Seaforth, a small distance from Liverpool, where there is likewise a school attached to the church. In both cases there are also school-houses. It is obvious that the circumstance of the church at Seaforth being smaller than the other, is unfavourable to the amount of surplus return upon the capital; and, accordingly, though the schools there be only endowed partially, whereas it is still a wholly endowed school in Liverpool, the return upon the whole cost is about two and a half per cent.

The Author thinks it necessary to supplement, by these details, the information of the text; and he does so, not at the desire of Mr. Gladstone, who kindly left him to his own discretion, in this respect, but to prove how small the hazard of such a speculation is, in populous cities, and with large churches, provided only, however, that the subscribers restrict themselves to the single object of a church, and not, as has been most benevolently done in the instances at Liverpool, extend the charity of their enterprise to additional objects.

END OF VOL. I.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. IX.

On the Relation that subsists between the Christian and the Civic Economy of Large Towns, ... 1

CHAP. X.

On the Bearing which a Right Christian Economy has upon Pauperism, ... 49

CHAP. XI.

On the Bearing which a Right Civic Economy has upon Pauperism, ... 89

CHAP. XII.

On the Present State and Future Prospects of Pauperism in Glasgow, ... 137

CHAP. XIII.

On the Difficulties and Evils which adhere even to the best condition of Scottish Pauperism, ... 185

CHAP. XIV.

On the Likeliest Means for the Abolition of Pauperism in England, ... 225

CHAP. XV.

On the Likeliest Parliamentary Means for the Abolition of Pauperism in England, ... 300

CHAP. XVI.

On the Likeliest Parochial Means for the Abolition of Pauperism in England, ... 332

THE

CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY

OF

LARGE TOWNS.

CHAP. IX.

ON THE RELATION THAT SUBSISTS BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN AND THE CIVIC ECONOMY OF LARGE TOWNS.

BEFORE proceeding farther, it may be useful to offer a short summary of the principles which have already been expounded about a right ecclesiastical system for great towns; and then to elucidate the bearing which a good Christian, has upon a good civic, economy: discriminating, at the same time, between the peculiarities which appertain to each of them.

There is a sure experimental alliance between the defect of Christianity among a people, and the defect of certain human arrangements that conduce to its growth and preservation;—and one most palpable defect of the latter sort is, that the population of cities have been permitted so far to outgrow the means of their religious instruction. There are many towns in our empire, where

the Establishment has not provided room in churches for one tenth of the inhabitants; and the inhabitants, when thus left to seek out Christianity for themselves, have shown how feeble the native demand of the human mind for it is, by their not supplementing, with chapels and meeting-houses, beyond another tenth, this enormous deficiency of the Establishment. It is clear, in these circumstances, that the vast majority must be left to wander without the pale of Christian ministrations, and Christian ordinances, altogether—where they have settled down into a mass of heathenism, which, to the eye of common experience, looks completely irrecoverable. There is a very general feeling of helplessness and despair upon this subject, as if the profligacy and ungodliness of cities were elements in every way as unconquerable as is physical necessity itself: and thus it is, that any serious or sustained attempt to make head against this sore mischief, is ranked, by many an incredulous observer, with the Quixotism that goeth forth, on some region of wild adventure, to reclaim a hydra, that scarcely admits of being softened, and will certainly never be subdued.

To make the recovery in question still more hopeless, there is no denying of the fact, that were churches to be built at this moment, up to the full accommodation of all our city families, it would have almost no perceptible influence on the habit into which they have degenerated. It is not at the sound of a bell, that they will consent

to relinquish the sordid or profane gratifications wherewith they fill up that day of rest, which they have turned into a day of rioting and lawless indulgence. New churches might be built, and, if well appointed, new churches might be filled, but rather by a transference of sitters from the old churches, than by any large or extensive drafts on a still unmoved population. So that this one expedient which has been so much talked of, and to which even the eye of national wisdom has lately been directed, may, in itself, be utterly powerless, as to the object of making any sensible advances on the heathenism of our people,—all serving to confirm the general hopelessness that there is upon the subject, and to afford a plausible warrant for the contempt wherewith schemes of philanthropy are so apt to be regarded by the more secular and sober minded of our citizens, who feel satisfied with things as they are, nor want their quiescence to be at all disturbed by any suggestion or demonstration, whatever, of things as they should be.

This sluggishness of the population, in respect to Christianity, has led us to advert to the difference, in point of effect, between their being left to seek it for themselves, and their being aggressively plied with the offer of its ministrations and its lessons. It is a difference which we conceive to be well exemplified by the advantages which a local, has over a general Sabbath school. The teacher of a general Sabbath school draws to him

those pupils, chiefly, whose parents have a predisposition for the instructions of the gospel; and so, may he be instrumental in perpetuating Christianity where it is, but not in reviving it where it is not. The teacher of a local Sabbath school, on the other hand, feels himself charged with all the families that are to be found on the face of his assigned territory; and, by the mere force of moral suasion, does he find himself able to compel nearly all the children to come in: and thus, instead of a mere process of attraction, which ever operates only on minds already possessed of some kindred quality to religion, does he set up an active process of emanation, whereby he operates on minds that are indifferent, or even hostile to the cause; and the cheering experience is, that under this local system, the attendance of the young is more than tripled beyond what it was under the general system,—thus pointing out the way in which a population might have been preserved from degeneracy, had it been adopted sooner; and the way in which, if adopted now, a population might still be recalled from it.

For, what is true of Sabbath schools for the young, is also true of churches for the whole population. Let a church draw its sitters from the city at large, and it is by the feeble process of attraction, and by this alone, that it secures their attendance. A minister cannot charge himself with so wide a field of superintendence as the whole city. He cannot take cognizance of all its

families, or pay such week-day attentions to them as might induce their Sabbath-day attendance upon himself. Meanwhile, the population increases, and outgrows the room that there is in churches for their accommodation; and many are the families that fall without the reach of all ministerial cognizance whatever, and who without the habit of church-going, are also without the taste for it: and thus, it is not only true that the number of places of worship is greatly beneath the necessities of the people, but the demand of the people themselves, for new places, is also greatly beneath these necessities;—so, that if by a sudden movement of patriotism, many new churches were speedily made to arise to the view of the citizens, the mortifying result were, that the citizens, still unmoved out of their long acquired and firm habits of non-attendance, would leave the churches to stand unoccupied, and so stamp the charge of temerity and impotence on the whole speculation.

It is on this account that we hold it indispensable, for the restoration of a Christian habit in our cities, to give to churches the benefit of the same principle of locality, that has been found so signally efficacious in bringing Sabbath schools into contact with the whole population. Every church in the Establishment should be as exclusively connected with its parish, as a local Sabbath school is with its assigned territory. The week-day attentions of the minister, instead of being generalised over the whole city, in which case they are sure

to be languid, and heartless, and ineffective, should be as much concentrated, and as frequently reiterated as possible, in the smaller and more manageable district, over which he has hitherto had little more than a bare nominal superintendence. Were he permitted to recruit his church from his parish, as far as his parish might be disposed to furnish him with hearers, this would soon translate him into a far more intimate and endearing relationship with its families, than by all his other attempts he could possibly attain. The circumstance of having a thousand hearers in his parish, instead of a hundred, would give him a weight and an ascendency convertible to the best Christian, and collaterally bringing along with it the best civil and economical purposes that ever were contemplated by the eye of patriotism. All the bland, and kindly, and civilising influences of a parochial system could thus be brought into play among the dark and crowded recesses of a city. And little is it known, how much the cruel disruption of the minister from his parish, by a system of seat-letting that ought instantly to be abandoned, has contributed to that degeneracy which looks at present so hopeless and irrecoverable.

But, there is a way of acting, upon this suggestion, which must be attended to. The substitution of a local, for a general congregation, should not be attempted by an instantaneous dismissal of all the extra-parochial sitters, and the offer of their vacant room to the inhabitants of the parish

where the church is situated. This, independently of its being an act of violence to individual feeling, were an act of impolicy, even for the purpose that is meant to be accomplished by it. The strong existing habit of alienation from all ordinances, on the part of those who have long lived in ease and comfort without them, must be adverted to: and, such in fact is the inveteracy of this habit, that, were a thousand sittings vacated in the church of one of our plebeian parishes, for the sake of extensively accommodating the parishioners, it is likely that not more than a hundred of these sittings might be inquired after. It is not enough that room be provided—the renovation of a new habit must be brought about: and, it were positively throwing away the accommodation that we have, if pews were emptied for the people, faster than the people came forward with their demand for the pews. This points to the conclusion, that a parochial, can only come in the place of a general attendance, not by an immediate, but by a gradual substitution of the one for the other. And there is no law of graduality that seems better adapted for the purpose, than simply to hold forth, to the preference of parishioners, all those vacancies which are created by the death or the removal of present occupiers. There is no offence given to any actual sitter by such an arrangement: and the vacancies which, in a congregation of fifteen hundred, will not take place at above the rate of a hundred in the year, will not exceed the rate

at which the demand for them may be stimulated, by the ordinary labours and attentions of any city minister, in the parish which has been assigned to him; and every new seat-letting extends his interest in his own local territory, by adding to the number of his Sabbath hearers who reside within its bounds; and thus the ties of reciprocity between him and his people, are every day becoming closer—till at length, but for the extent of his population, the relationship would be as affectionate on his part, and as cordial on theirs, as is that which obtains between the worthy minister, and the simple natives of a parish in the country. This is a consummation which never can be reached, under the present system of seat-letting; and it were vain to attempt the speeding of it forward by any sudden or desultory shift in the distribution of the sitters,—although we have no doubt that, by the method now recommended, (while nothing striking or visible could be produced in a single year), the whole effect would be surely and quietly realised in less than the space of a single generation.

The power which a local Sabbath school teacher has, in virtue of that peculiar arrangement under which he operates, to draw out a full attendance, of the juvenile population of his district, on that seminary over which he presides, is the very power that, under the same arrangement, might be exercised by the minister of a city parish. Not that he would suddenly call forth the attendance of

his whole population on the church where he preaches,—for he has the habits of manhood and of established life to contend against,—but that he would do it gradually and surely. Let his people be only aware of their right of preference for the vacant sittings of their own church—and he will find his progressive, but certain way to the desirable result of a Sabbath audience, the great bulk of whom are composed of the residenters upon his own territorial vineyard. He has it so much in his power, within the limited district of a parish, to make himself the object of recognition among its families. He can so easily, by his week-day attentions, obtrude himself and the business of his profession upon their notice. He can so naturally become the object of their Sunday preference, by becoming the object of their gratitude for his practicable labours among the young, and the sick, and the dying. He can withal, by the institution of a good Sabbath school system, so readily fill up the vacancies in his congregation out of its seminaries, by the very likely transition that would take place among the youth on the borders of manhood: when, after leaving the schools that he had provided, so many of them would most naturally find their way to the church in which he preached. It is thus, that, as the fruit of his concentrated attentions through the week, on a parish, the minister might recruit and sustain the attendance, with a facility which can never be experienced by him whose loose and general relationship to the whole

city leaves him no other chance for a congregation, than the unfostered demand of people who are in a great measure beyond his reach, and with whom he can never come into close and recurring contact in the way of household ministrations.

We are the more earnest upon this point, because we are aware of no other method by which a demand can be excited for additional churches, at all commensurate to the moral and religious necessities of our population. Under the present system, there may, by the mere increase of people, be such an increase of the demand, in our second rate towns, as shall ensure the addition of one or two churches in half a century, or in such a period of time as may have witnessed the accession of as many families as could fill a dozen of churches. And thus it is, that profligacy and profanation so rapidly outstride all the counteractions which have been raised against them; and which, however it may have escaped observation hitherto, have in truth lost their efficacy, by the utter neglect of the principle of locality, as applied to the churches and parishes of a city. It may only be by the countenance and good will of magistrates, that the indispensable article of churches, for the accommodation of the people, can be provided. But it is only by the assiduity of ministers, with all the advantages for local and parochial cultivation upon their side, that the no less indispensable article can be provided, of a demand, on the part of the people, for this accommodation. Give to such a

minister the power of meeting this demand with vacancies as they occur. Let him be able to satisfy the inquiries of his people, by the assurance of disposeable room for them, and for them only, at the next term of seat-letting. Save both him and them from the discouragement of beholding that room taken possession of, through the partiality of city administrators, by interlopers from without; and then, by very ordinary exertion indeed, under this amended system, could the demand of the people be so excited, as not merely to fill, but to press on the existing accommodation. In this way too, the demand would clearly announce itself—and, from the intenseness of the competition for places, could there be gathered the distinct and satisfying intimation, when it was that new erections might safely be adventured on—and, greatly beyond the power of accommodation in his own church, might each minister create occupiers for future churches, whose united voice would clearly indicate the time for old parishes being divided, and new ones formed out of shares and detachments from contiguous parishes.

We fear that without this expedient, the increase of churches will follow tardily and sluggishly in the rear of a far more rapidly increasing population; and, that thus, from one year to another, there will be a decay of proportional means for the arresting of vice and profligacy in our land. It is not, as we have often averred, with Christian instruction for the supply of our spiritual wants,

as it is with any given commodity for the supply of our bodily wants. In the latter case, there is no strenuousness required to call forth a demand: so, that upon the simple offer of the commodity, we may be sure, that it will be as much sought for, and as much used, as is good for the interest of our species. But the case is widely different with the lessons of Christianity. To raise a demand for them, is a work of as great or greater difficulty than it is to provide the supply of them. And, it is only by the clergy of the Establishment, each keeping up an intensely parochial operation within his own sphere, instead of dissipating his influence over the wide superficies of a whole city—it is only thus, we apprehend, that much more of Sabbath accommodation will come to be provided, because it is only thus that much more of it will come to be either called or cared for.

The mode of parochial seat-letting, as now laid down, we regard as by far the most important suggestion that can be offered to our city administrators, for the purpose of forwarding a right Christian economy in our great towns; and we shall deem their compliance with it to be the very best contribution which they could render to the cause. And yet, we speak the language both of apprehension and experience, when we profess ourselves to be not very sanguine, either of their speedy adoption of this mode, or of their faithful and persevering execution of it. It requires a force, of no ordinary momentum, to shift the rou-

tine of municipal business; and no where is there more devout homage rendered to the omnipotence of custom, than in the office of city clerks or city chamberlains; and there, as in a secure and impregnable fastness, will she continue to hold her imperial sway—alike regardless of promises that are not remembered, and of principles that are not understood. It is not, that in the required line of proceeding there is at all any difficulty: for nothing more patent, we should think, than simply, in the disposal of vacant places, to grant a preference to parochial, over extra-parochial applications. And were any thing like a striking or visible result to come *soon enough* out of this arrangement, we should not despair of a more ready compliance with it. Could the final benefit be so placed before the immediate eye of our civic practitioners, as to force itself upon their observation, it is likely enough that, on their part, there would be a more punctual adherence to this great law of parochial equity. But the operation of the law is so gradual—and, when bidden to look through the vista of half a generation, for the full and salutary effect, it then appears to be so much a matter of speculation, and so little a matter of sense, that any argument which can be addressed upon the subject has but a feeble influence, when it has the mighty power of old use and old authority to contend against. It is thus, we fear, that with all those advantages of the principle of locality, which an Establishment naturally possesses—it may be long

ere in towns, she shall come completely to realize them; and, meanwhile, that the unordained or dissenting teachers of religion may, by the assumption of what is tantamount to parishes for themselves, earn that superiority of usefulness which our regular clergy, while the existing methods are perpetuated, will vainly and hopelessly aspire after.

Should one hundred applications from the families of a poor city parish, for seats in their own parish church, come into competition with a hundred applications from families in the wealthier and more fashionable side of the town, we know not in what terms to brand or to depreciate the impolicy that would set aside the former, and give preference and acceptancy to the latter. Such a forthcoming for seats, on the part of our operative population, were just the commencement of a process, which, of all others, it were most desirable to help and to encourage forward: nor can we conceive an object on which either serious principle or enlightened patriotism ought to be more intently set, than that of opening and multiplying all possible facilities for this best of all popular movements. The intelligence of the first year's success would call forth a host of expectancy from neighbours, for the vacancies of the second year, and thus would the matter make progress, so as that with the infection of a new taste, there should be the spread of a new habit, in that very quarter of society which is now so wofully overrun both with

political rancour, and with personal worthlessness. The appearance of a parochial demand for seats, from artizans and labourers, is just that initial tendency to what is good which ought to be hailed with delight, and met with the readiest alacrity, by all who have any presiding influence in the management of our public affairs. And when, instead of this, the tendency is discouraged, and driven back again to the dormancy out of which it had arisen—when the hand that ought to have fostered this approximation inflicts upon it the check of a mortifying repulse, made as offensive as possible, by the preference of a rich man who is out of the parish, to a poor man who is in it—when, disheartened by repeated failures, the attempt is no longer made, because the galling experience of this sordid and ungenerous partiality has at length convinced parishioners that the attempt is altogether hopeless,—the conclusion is, that philanthropy may often be thwarted in her likeliest designs, not because of the natural impediments which lie in her way, but because her best and dearest interests happen to lie at the disposal of men, who have neither the heart to care for the success of a generous enterprise, nor the talent to appreciate it.*

---

* It may be right to mention, that in Glasgow, where the public functionaries are so alive to every consideration of the public welfare, the rule of parochial seat-letting has been virtually conceded to, at least, one of the parishes, though, at the outset of its operation, the old habit which wont to obtain in the executive department of this business may, for a time, be a little uncontrollable.

It is much better, for the right Christian economy of a town, when the rule of parochial equity, in seat-letting, tends to the disappointment of capitalists than to the disappointment of labourers. By the former disappointment, an effective interest is created in behalf of more churches; and the inconvenience of a limited accommodation is made to fall upon those who are most able to remedy and to extend it; and these wealthy outcasts can form into a powerful body of application for an additional church—so that to reject the applications of the wealthy, in favour of the poor, is to walk in that direct line which leads to the increase of our ecclesiastical provision in great cities. Whereas, to reject the applications of the poor, in favour of the wealthy, is just to reverse this process. It is to make irrecoverable outcasts of those who are without the means of at all helping themselves. It is to damp, into irrecoverable apathy, the whole class of society to which they belong. It is to extinguish the first hopeful symptoms of a revival, throughout that mass of human beings, whose estrangement from all the sanctities of Sabbath observation, is of such deadly import to the well-being of a community. It is to stifle that incipient voice which arises from among the poorer orders themselves; and, by listening to which, a healing influence would have come back upon them, and restored to soundness that great foundation of a country's prosperity and peace—the virtue of its people. It is thus that men, who are

the very first to tremble at the outbreakings of radicalism, may lie the most deeply chargeable with the guilt of having fed and sustained it in its principle; withholding, as they do, the best counteraction to all the brooding elements of a fiery and mischievous fermentation.

Of all the outrages, either felt or fancied, on the rights of the people, this is the one which is followed by the surest retaliation; and that, not so much from its present influence, in swelling the tide of discontent, as from its final result in the more confirmed irreligion of our city populace. It forms the addition of at least one real, to the whole previous list of their imaginary grievances, and leaves upon its aspect such a glaring expression of preference to the desires of the wealthy, over the righteous demands of the poor, as not only to furnish one topic of substantial provocation, but as to impart a plausibility to all the others. This, however, does not constitute the main soreness of that cruel and unfeeling policy which we have endeavoured to expose; and which lies in the effect that it has to perpetuate the depravity of the multitude, and that too, in the face of a willingness, on the part of the multitude, to be set on the path which leads both to tranquillity and to righteousness.

We deem this topic, of seat-letting, to be of sufficient importance in itself, for justifying all the amplitude of remark and argument that we have bestowed upon it: and, we think, it may farther

be employed for the purpose of illustrating a distinction, which we shall find most closely and essentially applicable to many other particulars connected with the Christian and Civic Economy of towns; and which the reader would do well to apprehend and to fix in his remembrance, more especially, throughout the whole of our intended lucubrations on the subject of pauperism. We advert to the distinction between what may be called a natural and a political difficulty in the way of any given reformation. There is no natural difficulty in the way of certain benefits that would accrue from a right arrangement of matters as to seat-letting. But there is a political difficulty in the way of initiating and maintaining the arrangement itself. Grant the simple enactment of a preference for parishioners to all vacant places in their own parish church, as the vacancies occur, and a faithful adherence to this enactment; and, *in the nature of things*, there is no let or hindrance in the way of a very great improvement on the economy of our cities; and that, with little more to do, than just to wait the operation of this new method. Vacancies will, by deaths and removals, occur, as a matter of course. Other things being equal, parishioners will, by the mere influence of juxtaposition, aided, as it generally is, by the influence of connexion with their minister, on other grounds, prefer accommodation in their own, to accommodation in other churches. If there be any thing in the very superior attractions of one,

or more, of the city clergy, to disturb this preference—this will operate within his parish, as well as beyond its limits, and secure an overwhelming superiority of competition for seats from his own parishioners; so as to give to the favourite minister all the surer chance of at length realising a parochial congregation. This, in the very order of nature, he will sooner or later arrive at; and we should then, upon the whole, behold, under such a system of management, the ministers of a city having each a compact and concentrated influence over his own separate portion of it—an influence that would be inconceivably augmented, from the very circumstance of such a number of families, with whom he stood parochially associated through the week, being now his stated hearers on the Sabbath—and an influence, which the whole operation of the principle of locality would enable him to wield with tenfold greater facility and effect than he ever can do over the hearers of a general congregation. There may be artificial impediments in the way of setting up this arrangement, but there are no natural impediments to it: for, after it is set up and acted on, the nature both of individual man and of society affords nought but openings and facilities in its favour; and, without more than the ordinary strenuousness of average and every day people being farther concerned in the matter, the benefits that would flow from it are altogether incalculable. Nature would soon unpeople a parish church of its present sitters.

Nature would more incline parishioners than others to fill up the vacancies. Nature would put into the breast of each clergyman a far more lively interest in a parish where he had a thousand, than in one where he had only a hundred hearers, and would vest him with a far more useful ascendency over it. Nature would prompt him to the exertions of a more willing activity, in a field that was crowded with the members of his own congregation; and even should his natural habits, as in some cases it undoubtedly is, be not labour but indolence, the reformed economy would, at least, render any slender week-day attentions which he was disposed to bestow, ten times more effective than they ever can be under the existing economy. So, that in respect of natural difficulties, or such difficulties as attach inherently and essentially to the subject of management, there are none, but the contrary, in the way of bringing about a desirable result; and whatever difficulties we have to contend with, in this matter, are altogether factitious or political,—appertaining, not to the constitution of the thing to be managed, but to the constitution of what may be called the managing apparatus—not to the subject that we want to be operated upon, but to the agency who now work it.

For example, the difficulty, in the present instance, lies not in the parish where we should like the arrangement, that we are now pleading for, to be carried into effect, but it lies among the ar-

cana of city business and city committeeship. It is not a natural but a political difficulty. It consists in a kind of *vis inertiæ*, whereby it is so hard to move any municipal body out of its old tendencies. The field of contest is not the population, but among the heads and rulers of the population; and the mighty resistance that is to be overcome, nearly all arises from the rust and the tardiness which adhere to the ponderous machine of a city corporation, that obstinately perseveres in its wonted cycle, and whose subordinate committees as obstinately persevere in their wonted epicycles. The way to overcome this, no doubt, is by the force of persuasion, addressed to the present and the living administrators of this superintendence. But, without meaning the slightest disrespect to these individuals, who, to say the least of them, must, in regard to intellect, be on the fair level and average of humanity, there is, perhaps, no class of men who are better entitled to a sensitive dislike and jealousy of all innovation. They are incessantly assailed, and upon all hands, with counsel and criticism; and full many must be the crudities of undigested speculation that are submitted to their notice; and the very labour of separating the precious from the vile of the suggestions, wherewith they are plied, must be oppressive to men who are already overborne; and it is no wonder that they should feel the disturbance of any change whatever, in their accustomed routine, to be harassing and vexatious; and the

public are really not aware of all the indulgence that is due, upon these grounds, to men who make such important surrenders of time and of convenience to the well-being of the community: so, that it was not with a view to advance any charge, but with a view to impress what we deem a distinction of capital importance, that we have given way to the train of our present observations. A natural difficulty is that which is encountered on the field of direct and immediate management, and after we have obtained an actual occupation of the field, in the way that is desired. A political difficulty is that which is encountered previously to taking this occupation, and, generally, on the road to it; and is often of a nature so impracticable, that the operation, out of which a good result was promised, may never be begun. The natural difficulty lies with the thing to be managed, and is a let or hindrance between the operation and the result. The political difficulty lies with the existing managers, and is a let or hindrance anterior to the operation, and often preventive of it. The operation of the rule of seat-letting would most surely lead to the result that we anticipate, and have attempted to explain; because there is no natural impediment among our men of private condition in parishes, but the reverse, in the way of such a consequence. But, among our men of public office in corporations, there is a very strong political impediment in the

way of establishing, and practically abiding by, the rule.

The truth and importance of this distinction will come to be more fully recognised when we treat of Pauperism. The example of nearly all Europe, with the exception of England, proves, that there is no natural difficulty in the way of a population being subsisted, without almost the single case of an individual perishing by want; and that, without any legal or compulsory provision for the poor. But now, that such a provision has been established in this country, and that the great unwieldy corporation of the state must be moved, ere any step can be taken towards the abolition of it, and that the subordinate courts of administration, in every parish, have sunk and settled into the obstinacy of an old practical habit, in all their proceedings, there is a host of political difficulties that must be met and overcome, not ere it can be proved with what certainty the people, when left to themselves, will find their own way to their own comfort and independence, but ere the measure shall be carried of actually leaving the people to themselves. We think that there is no natural difficulty which stands in the way of the success of such an experiment, *if tried;* but we feel that there are many political difficulties in the way of putting the experiment to the trial. We hold it a practicable thing, to conduct any parish, either in a city or in the country, to the old economy of a Scottish

parish, on the strength of an arrangement which we shall afterwards endeavour to set, in more detailed exposition, before our readers; and that there is no impediment on the parochial field, which is the real theatre of the experiment, in the way of final and looked for success. The struggle is not with the population, for obtaining the success of the arrangement—but the struggle is with our legislature and our municipalities, for obtaining the arrangement itself. The place of most formidable resistance is not in the outer, but the inner department of this business, and the occasion of it is, when, in the hall of deliberation, the attempt is made to break up our existing artificial economy, and thus to prevail over the dislike and the prejudices of hacknied functionaries, and to carry that nearly impregnable front, wherewith all novelty is sure to be withstood, by the clerks, and the conveners, and the committeemen, of an old establishment. The battle is not with the natural difficulties of the problem, but with its political difficulties—not with the laws of human nature, as to be found in the parish where the experiment is made, but with the tendencies of human nature, as exhibited on that arena of public discussion and debate where the experiment is proposed. In the work of abolishing legalised charity, the heaviest conflict will not be with the natural poverty of the lower orders, but with that pride of argument, and that tenacity of opinion, and all those political feelings and capacities

which obtain among the higher orders. In short, we hold that there is nothing in the condition of the people which opposes a barrier against the abolition of all legal and compulsory pauperism, but that there is a very strong initial barrier in the condition of our laws, and courts, and long established usages. In the practical solution of the question of public charity, the recipients will not be found so difficult of management as the law-givers and administrators. There is a method by which might be effected, and almost without difficulty, the abolition of public charity among our plebeians—but the consent of our patricians must be obtained, ere we are free to put the method into operation: and what we affirm is, that it is a greater achievement to obtain leave and liberty for using the method, than to obtain success for the method itself; or, in other words, that the great impediment to the removal of this sore national distemper, lies not among the plebeians, but among the patricians of the commonwealth.

But there is another distinction, which we must labour to impress—even that which obtains between the way in which a Christian, and the way in which a Civic good is rendered to the population of cities, by the establishment of a good ecclesiastical system amongst them.

We should not call that a Christian benefit to any individual, which conduces not either to his security, or to his preparation, for an inheritance in heaven. Ere he is Christianly the better, for

the labour that has been bestowed upon him, there must be wrought in his soul that change of principle and of character, without which, he will for ever remain an outcast from the abodes of a blissful eternity. We shall not, nor is it necessary to dogmatise, at present, about the precise nature of this change. We shall only suppose, that some change or other must be made to pass upon every human heart, ere he who owns it has passed from the state of an heir of condemnation, to that of the heir of a glorious immortality. Any benefit short of this, is not entitled to the denomination of a Christian benefit, and it is just by the number of individuals who receive this distinct benefit, each for himself, that we would estimate the amount of Christian good done to a population.

Now, there is no doubt that this good would be promoted, by the arrangement which we have suggested, by a full parochial attendance of the people upon acceptable ministers, and by the labours of those ministers, now rendered greatly more effective, in virtue of that more strict parochial relationship which we have ventured to recommend. And, yet it is not to be disguised, that even in those congregations which are reputed to be the most prosperous and flourishing, the number of actual converts may bear a small proportion, indeed, to the number even of steady and interested hearers—that, in respect to the whole auditory, they may constitute a very little flock, and stand forth a peculiar people, in the

midst of the many still sunk in the lethargy and unconcern of nature—that, as the fruit of the labour, and close earnestness, of a lengthened incumbency, all that a most assiduous pastor shall leave behind him may be a mere fraction of his parishioners, turned, through his means, to the genuine faith and discipleship of Christianity. This is what will most readily be admitted, by those who rate Christianity according to the high standard of the New Testament—who demand, as tests of the reality of conversion, those lofty and spiritual characteristics that were so current in the early churches, however rarely exemplified in modern days—who require, for eternity, a devotedness of heart, as well as a decency of external observation—and are not satisfied with any transition of habit, short of that thorough regenerative process which sanctifies the affections as well as reforms the external history, and by which man becomes a new creature in Jesus Christ our Lord.

Now, if this spiritual renovation, to the feelings and the principles of peculiar Christianity, be an event of such exceeding rarity—if it but occur at distant intervals, to cheer and to reward the labours even of our most devoted clergymen—if, in the best attended ministry, and under the busiest application of powerful and persuasive influences, it still holds true, that though many are called, yet few are converted,—then it but leads us again to the conclusion, that let churches be built, and parishes be organized, and the wisest

and fittest arrangements be adopted, the quantity of Christian good which is in consequence done, may be in very minute proportion, indeed, to the number of human beings among whom it is attempted; that a very handful out of the untouched mass may be all the harvest that is reaped, and that too, by a machine of which we are required to enlarge the compass and the magnitude, so as to make it commensurate to the whole population. And thus, both with enlightened Christians, who are aware of the extreme paucity of that faith which is unto salvation, and with mere secular philanthropists, who can, at the same time, perceive how little, even under the most close and diligent administration of the ordinances of the gospel, the real sacredness of the gospel is ever diffused throughout the general bulk of any congregation;—with both, may there be an impression, as if the effect that we promised, from the setting up of a right Christian apparatus in cities, was most sanguinely overrated—with the former, who are most thoroughly, and, as we think, most rightly convinced, that, without a special and sanctifying influence from above, no engine of human contrivance is at all available to the conversion of a human soul—and, with the latter, who will feel that, if all which is gained be but the bringing down of some mysterious and preternatural influence from heaven, on a mere scantling of the population, then the labour of raising so vast a spiritual organization is not only thrown away

upon an inadequate object, but upon an object that is only prized by a few unintelligible fanatics, with whom they can feel no sympathy, and will hold no fellowship.

We refer the former of these two classes to the first chapter of this work, where we have attempted to demonstrate the good and the necessity of a terrestrial apparatus, for the distribution of that living water, or that spiritual influence, which cometh from above: and we have only farther to remind them, that even though a few more of the whole human race be thereby snatched from the common ruin of our nature, and be recovered to a blissful immortality, it is not from them that we should expect any complaint of the inadequacy of such a result, to the means or to the labour that may have previously been expended. And, besides, it is to be presumed that the extended means of Christian instruction which we have ventured to recommend, would, at least, be productive of as great a proportion of additional Christianity, as the present means are of the Christianity that is now actually produced. And would they, because so little is produced, set aside the means that are already in operation? Would they discontinue the expense of all the existing churches, because in almost every church, it is still the fearful minority, we have reason to apprehend, who are brought under the saving power of the gospel, and so are raised, by spiritual education, into a meetness for paradise? The truth is, that when-

ever a more copious descent of the Holy Ghost shall come down upon us, it will pass through all the channels of conveyance that have been furnished for it in the land; entering into pulpits, and then spreading itself over congregations, and finding its way, most readily, through the most free and frequented pathways of communication that have been opened up between the ministers of religion and the people among whom they expatiate. By subdividing parishes, we just multiply these pathways; and by localising parishes, we just make the pathways shorter, and more convenient and accessible, than before. We do not set aside the doctrine of a spiritual influence; for we believe that it is this which will be the primary and the essential agent in that great moral regeneration that awaits our species. But just as in the irrigating processes of Egypt, the reservoirs are constructed, and the furrows are drawn, and every field on the banks of the Nile is put into readiness for the coming inundation—so we, knowing that the Spirit maketh its passage into the human heart, by the word and the ordinances of the gospel, are just labouring at a right process of spiritual irrigation, when we provide such arrangements as will bring the greatest number of human beings into broadest and most recurring contact with this word, and with these ordinances.

But, at present, we have it still more at heart to propitiate the latter class, or our mere civil and political philanthropists, to the cause of a

right ecclesiastical system for cities. And the argument we would urge upon them is, that, under such a system, the civic benefit which they most care for, is both anterior, in regard of time, and greatly more extended, in regard of diffusion, than the Christian benefit about which, we fear, they are much less solicitous. The fact admits of being explained, but we have only time, just now, to announce it,—that the preacher who, by his doctrine, is best fitted to convert the few, is also best fitted to congregate the many,—that he who is the most powerful, in respect of the saving influence which he causes to descend on the very little flock, is also the most popular, in respect of the attractive influence wherewith he assembles the multitude around his stated ministrations: in a word, that he who is most qualified for the Christian good, of turning some from darkness to spiritual light, is also most qualified for the civic good, of turning many from their habits of Sabbath riot, and Sabbath profanation, to, at least, a personal attendance on the services of Christianity. It is certainly a question, full of interest, what that is, in the lessons of an orthodox minister, which draws the crowd around his pulpit, and yet falls short of reaching an effective Christian influence to more, perhaps, than a very small proportion of them. Without resolving the question, we would turn to this fair application the undoubted fact upon which it is founded; we would bid our philanthropists mark the distinction which obtains be-

tween the Christian and the civic good that may be rendered to a population. The one extends but to the select few, who have been reclaimed from the love of the world, to the love and the spiritual services of him who made the world. The other may extend to the whole of a crowded congregation, reclaimed from the outlandish heathenism of their old practices, to the decencies of Sabbath attire and Sabbath observation. There is a humanizing, that is far short of a Christianizing, influence. There is a soberness of habit to which a general population may be trained, and that, under the very process which conducts a few of that population to spirituality of heart. The very practice of church-going would make a more orderly and pacific society on earth, even though it should fail of preparing more than a very few of that society for heaven. It is thus, that, by a deed of acceptable patronage, the magistrates of a city may confer a temporal benefit on the community, that shall be felt extensively, and almost instantaneously, even though the minister of their appointment may have to labour most strenuously for years, and yet be the instrument of a Christian blessing to but an exceeding small number of families. The fact is melancholy to those who are engrossed with the considerations of death and judgment, and the various concerns of the imperishable soul. But we now address those who are taken up with the mere accommodations of the fleeting journey of this world's existence—whose

demand, as the rulers of a town, is more for quiet citizens, than for holy and regenerated believers—who should like men to be so far moral as to be manageable, whether or not they shall also be so far spiritual as to be heavenly—who want, at all events, to have a commonwealth free from the profligacy that leads to turbulence on earth, however short its vast majority may fall of that piety which leads to triumph, and to a rich inheritance in paradise. Now, what we affirm is, that on the higher ground of Christian usefulness, a right ecclesiastical system may only reclaim from the evil to the good, its tens or its fifties, out of the teeming multitudes of a city parish; but that while it is doing so, there is also a collateral influence, by which it reclaims its thousands and tens of thousands, from what is evil, to what is good, on the lower ground of civic usefulness.

To estimate the Christian good done to an individual, made pious, through the labours of a devoted clergyman, we have only to compute the difference between a ruined and a blissful eternity. To estimate the civic good done to a town, the majority of whose people stood estranged from the ordinances of Christianity, but are now, by the multiplication of churches, and the right exercise of patronage, reclaimed to attendance upon them, we must bethink ourselves a little of the many substantial influences, upon the general character, which such a habit will necessarily bring along with it. Conceive, then, one family, in hum-

ble and operative life, trained, though it may only be to the outward regularities of a Christian Sabbath; and taking respectable occupancy of its own pew, where it exhibits the domestic group of well doing parents and well disciplined children—each exchanging, on that day, the garb of citizenship for the becoming holiday attire, which thrift and management have enabled them to provide; and retained in constant attendance on the lessons of a minister, from whom, if they do not inhale the vital spirit, they will, at least, imbibe, though perhaps insensibly, somewhat of the sedate and moral tone of Christianity, and be strengthened in their taste for the decencies of even-going citizenship. May we not read, on the very aspect of such a family, the indications of virtue, and order, and industry, through the week, and a manifest superiority, in all these attributes, over another family, that spends its Sabbath recklessly and at large? It is certainly not from families of a right Sabbatical habit, that popular violence will draw the aliment by which it is upholden; for it is a habit which holds no alliance, whatever, with dissipation, or idleness, or discontent. And, therefore, could a right exercise of patronage simply induce a greatly more general attendance of the lower ranks upon divine service—then, far more readily and extensively than the spread of thorough conversion among the people, would there be the spread of such secondary virtues as should amount to a civic good that were altogether incalculable.

If in pure Christianity, which we have attempted to prove is popular Christianity, there be an initial charm to draw the people around its ministrations, and that greatly beyond its final effect, in turning them from the children of this world, to the children of light; and if it be farther true, that the very habit of Sabbath regularity stands associated with all the other habits of sober and pacific citizenship, then, though the great majority of a congregation, so attracted and detained, shall still continue to be of this world, yet are the virtue and tranquillity of the world greatly promoted, even by the more superficial transformation which they have thus been made to undergo. So, that by every deed of acceptable church patronage, though small be the accession which may thereby be gained to the kingdom of heaven, yet a mighty accession will be made to the stock of good civic accomplishments and properties upon earth. Nor is there another way by which our municipal rulers could more effectually mark the wisdom of their policy, or do so much to meliorate the distemper of a vicious and disorderly population, than by the appointment, to their vacancies, of such Christian ministers as are best suited to the taste of the labouring classes, and who of this hold out the most authentic and palpable testimony, by the simple fact of their overflowing congregations.

The distinction between the Christian and the civic good that is done to a community were still

more apparent, did the minister localise upon a given territory, and as he went from house to house, in week-day visitations, meet, at every turn, with the greetings of affectionate recognition from the members of his now parochial congregation. Throughout the whole of this progress, he might rarely meet with the heirs and expectants of a blessed eternity—yet, who does not see, that beyond the limits of a circle so select and peculiar, he bears about with him a humanizing influence that may be felt in almost every habitation? It is a sad contemplation to him whose heart is occupied with the weight and reality of eternal things, that out of so vast a population, a mere handful of converts may be the whole fruit of a lengthened and laborious incumbency. And yet it is an experimental truth, that in respect of temporal and immediate good, the whole population may be sensibly bettered, by the ever recurring presence of an affectionate pastor in the midst of them. The primary impulse, it is true, on which he sets out among his people, is the good of their immortality; and, in the occasional fulfilment of this high errand, he finds his encouragement and reward. But he scatters abroad, and far more largely, among the families, another good, which, though but of secondary and subordinate importance in his eyes, is enough to stamp him, in the estimation of every civil and political ruler, as by far the most useful servant of the community. There is a substantial, though unnoticed, charm in the

visit of a superior. There is a felt compliment in his attentions, which raises an emotion in the breast, the very opposite of that disdainful sentiment towards the higher orders of society, that is now of such alarming prevalence amongst our operative population. There is a real contribution made to the earthly moralities of the poor man, by the consciousness of that friendly tie which unites him in an acquaintanceship that is ever growing with the minister of his parish. The very aim that is made, by the people, to afford him a decent reception, in the cleanliness of their houses, and the dress of their children, is not to be overlooked, in our estimate of the bland and beneficial influences that accompany his frequent reiterations over the face of his allotted vineyard. There is, in all these ways, and in many more, a most effective, wholesome, and widely spread influence, coming out of the relationship that subsists between a local clergyman, and the families that reside within the limits of his superintendence—an influence which, in respect of its amount upon the individual, may come far short of that Christian good that issues in everlasting blessedness, but which, in respect of its diffusiveness, tells throughout the whole host of his parishioners, and issues in the important earthly or civic good of a better habited population—an influence that will, at least, reach so far as to reduce their profligacy, and to quiet their turbulence, and to soften all their political exasperations, and to beget a kindly

amalgamation of the various classes with each other, and, if not to secure their eternity, yet altogether to shed a comfort and a virtuousness over the pilgrimage which leads to it.

It both serves to spread this moral cement, and forms a mighty addition to its quantity, when the minister, by means of a well-appointed eldership, can multiply among his people the number of their Christian friends, who enter their abodes, and take a kindly interest in their families. Even with such an apparatus, we might expect the amount of Christian good to be only fractional, in respect to the whole population; yet this would not prevent a civic good, which, in a very few years, might be almost universal. Only let that monstrous coalition be broken up, in virtue of which the office of a spiritual labourer has been so wofully neutralised, by the duties and the dispensations of pauperism being laid upon it—let the jealousies and the heart-burnings incidental to such a business, be conclusively done away from all the ministrations of Christianity—let the clergyman have coadjutors who, like himself, may go forth among the families, on the single errand of Christian advice or Christian consolation—let them watch their best opportunities, and, in an especial manner, never neglect those openings of advantage, where sickness paves the way for the welcome admittance of a religious visitor, or the death of some near and beloved relative makes his sympathies and attentions so inexpressibly

soothing—let them, perhaps, in addition to the influence of their sincerity and worth, be a little raised, as they generally are, above the mass of the commonalty, in respect of fortune and intelligence,—and the effect of such an order of things, in attempering the social fabric, and in multiplying the links of confidence and good will between man and man, were altogether incalculable. A certain portion of good Christianity would, in all likelihood, come out of this arrangement; but a far greater proportion of good citizenship would, most assuredly, come out of it: and we repeat it, that all those who take a greater interest in the latter object than they do in the former, are still in the most direct way of advancing their own favourite cause, when, through the medium of the former, they attempt to reach the latter; or, when in devising for the temporal welfare of that community, with whose concerns they are entrusted, they do their uttermost for improving the ecclesiastical system of great towns, by the multiplication of churches, and the appointment of acceptable and efficient clergymen.

And here it may not be out of place to remark, how much it serves to divide and to weaken the force of popular violence, when the vast and overgrown city is broken down into separate parochial jurisdictions—where each is isolated as much as possible from the other, by its visible landmarks, and its own distinct and busy apparatus of management; and where the people, instead of all

looking one way, to the distant and general head, and forming into a combined array of hostile feeling and prejudice against it, are, in virtue of a local economy, which possesses interest enough to have formed a sort of *esprit de corps* among the inhabitants of every subordinate district, habituated to look several ways to that nearer and more interesting *regime* by which they are respectively surrounded. In a great town, where the parishes are little better than nominal, and there is no affecting relationship between administrators and subjects, all the public and political tendencies of the popular mind run towards one point, and may form into one impetuous and overwhelming surge against the reigning authority of the place. The more that this else unmanageable mass is penetrated and split up into fragments, and that the effervescence which is in each is made to play around a separate machinery of its own, the more safe will be the leading corporation from any of those passing tempests, by which the multitude is often thrown into fierce and fitful agitation. A parochial economy is not the less effectual, for this purpose, that the jurisdictions which it institutes, instead of being of a legal, are rather of a moral and charitable character. The kindly intercourse that is promoted between the various classes, under such an arrangement as this, is the best of all possible emollients, in every season of political restlessness. It is the distance between the ruler and his subjects, which, whether

in the unwieldy state, or in the unwieldy metropolis, leaves room for those dark and brooding imaginations that are so apt to fret and infuriate into a storm. The more that this distance is alleviated, by the subdivisions of locality, the more do the charities of common companionship mingle in the commotion, and exude an oil upon the waters, that assuages their violence. They are the towns of an empire, which form the mighty organs of every great political overthrow; and if a right parochial system in towns would serve to check, or rather to soften, the turbulence that is in them, then ought the establishment of such a system to be regarded by our rulers as one of the best objects of patriotism.

There is no class of philanthropists who ought to be more aware of the distinction between a Christian and a civic good, and of the way in which the one is outstript by the other, than the teachers of Sabbath schools. A very few months of discipline, in these seminaries, will witness a very palpable transformation on the manners, and habits, and general appearance of the young pupils. The cleanliness, and the docility, and the scholarship, and the decency of demeanour, and the friendliness of regard towards their instructor—these may all be induced, in a short time, on the great majority of attendants; and they are all so many important contributions of civic good rendered to that community, in the business and concerns of which they are afterwards to partake.

The direct consequence of such juvenile training, is to rear them into better members of society than they would otherwise have been; and yet there is not a more familiar exhibition than that of a visible growth, in these secondary accomplishments, on the part of almost all the learners, while, perhaps, not a single individual can be quoted, as having been the subject of a sound and scriptural conversion during the period of his attendance. It is the part of a Christian labourer to persevere in his assiduities with diligence and prayer; and though only one, out of many, should be turned from the darkness of nature to the light of the gospel, to think not that such a result is too insignificant for the big and busy operation of many years. And far less, ought the mere secular philanthropist to grudge the expense or the magnitude of such an apparatus, for he may reckon on a greatly more abundant crop of that fruit which is unto social prosperity here, than of that fruit which is unto immortality hereafter. His objects, at least, will be extensively promoted by the diffusion of Sabbath teaching among the outcast and neglected families of a city population. He is not to measure the extent of civic, by the extent of Christian good that may emanate from a right ecclesiastical system; and however languidly the mere theologian may lend his concurrence to an economy of means, on the ground of their slender efficacy in regenerating the souls of men—yet may the municipal functionary be very sure that, for

the earthly good which he aspires after, no more likely expedient can be devised, for humanizing the lower orders, and adding to the stock of those virtues which go to strengthen and uphold a commonwealth.

And we must not, when on this subject, omit the fine remark of Wilberforce, respecting the power of Christianity to elevate the general standard of morals, even in countries where it has failed of positively converting more than a very small proportion of the inhabitants. The direct good which Christianity does, is when it stamps the impress of its doctrine on the few whom it makes to be the living epistles of Christ Jesus. But they are epistles which, to use the language of holy writ, may be seen and read of all men. Society at large may not be able to appreciate the hidden principle of the evangelical life; but they can, at least, peruse the inscription of its visible graces and virtues, and can render them the homage, both of their full esteem and of their partial imitation. It is thus that Christians are the salt of the earth; nor is it known how much they contribute to the general healthfulness and preservation of that community, throughout which they lie scattered. The presence of but one Christian individual in a city lane, may tell, by a sort of reflex and secondary influence, on the general tone of his vicinity. His example may not be of force enough to regenerate the hearts of his acquaintances; but it may be of force enough to in-

duce a certain reformation upon their habits: and whether the fire of sacredness shall pass or not, from one bosom to another, that light, by which the outward history of every genuine disciple is irradiated, may be borrowed and sent back, though with fainter and duller brilliancy, from all his associates. It is thus that, through the medium of few Christians, many may be moulded into better citizens; and notwithstanding the exceeding rarity of conversion, yet, by that sort of repeating process, wherewith it acts on the social habits and earthly moralities of the species, may there emanate from the very little flock a real, though unacknowledged blessing, over the whole face of a world that lieth in wickedness.

We hold it necessary to have expatiated thus much on the relation that subsists between the Christian and the civic good that may be rendered to a town population, because we are aware of a certain feeling, wherewith the whole speculation is shrewdly and sagaciously looked to, as if it were at best a sanguine, though plausible romance, that could never be realised. And, among this class of sceptics, we have to rank some of our soundest theologians, who, aware of the extreme paucity of conversion, even under means of the likeliest devising, are led to anticipate therefrom a corresponding paucity of reformation in the social and secular habits of the people. Now, we altogether defer to their judgment, in regard to the paucity of conversion; and we most thorough-

ly concur in their affirmation, that few are the people who now walk on the path which leadeth to life everlasting; and, acceding to the justness of their demand, for a Christianity as strict, and lofty, and spiritual, as that which is pourtrayed in the New Testament, and conscious, at the same time, how rarely it is exemplified in our days, we hold with them, that a right machinery may be erected, and put for years into busy operation, and yet that a few additional gleanings, out of a field teeming with imperishable creatures, may form the whole amount of what is thereby secured and gathered in for the kingdom of heaven. But, with our eyes perfectly open to this melancholy likelihood, we are still, and even on Christian grounds alone, desirous of the machinery. It has its indispensable uses, as we have already attempted to show, even in the season of most copious descent of living water from above; and if, ere that day of refreshing shall arrive, it be instrumental in adding, though only one, to the number of the saved, we think that, on the high count and reckoning of eternity, the profit of the apparatus far outweighs both the labour and the expense of it. But it is on civic ground, we think, that such a machinery would earn the triumph of its earliest and most conspicuous achievements; and we have to entreat the attention of our mere ecclesiastics to the way in which the one influence may be diffused over the whole extent of humanity, while the other remains circumscribed within those bar-

riers which can only be forced by the weapons of a higher warfare—ere they shall resolutely give up the cause of civil and economical improvement, as alike inaccessible, by ecclesiastical means, to all the efforts of human strength, and to all the devices of human policy.

But it were an object of more immediate and practical importance to overcome the incredulity of our civil functionaries upon this subject; to the imaginations of many of whom, we fear, there is, in the peculiar walk of clergymen, something cabalistic, and mysterious, and remote from the whole business of ordinary affairs. The direct aim of a spiritual labourer is to work in his people a spiritual regeneration of character; and this is a matter that may, to the eye of clerks and council men, stand too much aloof from the scenes and transactions of our every day world, to have any intelligible bearing on the department which they occupy. When the argument is addressed to a man of common official experience, by which the civic good of a population is linked and limited with the operation of a high evangelical influence, that he does not comprehend, then the whole anticipation that is founded upon it, will bear to him very much of an ideal character: and, when he is farther told of the exceeding few who are saved and sanctified by the truth as it is in Jesus, he will very naturally conclude, that the specified cause, and the predicted consequence, are alike insignificant; and that the result of an

improved ecclesiastical system, in cities, will be as paltry, in point of extent, as it is aerial, in point of speculation. If Christian regeneration be as rarely exemplified in actual life as poetical romance is, then it may be thought, that after all, the promise of any great sensible good to be done to society, is just as unlikely of fulfilment from the doings of a priesthood, as from the dreams of poetry. These form some of the elements of that indisposition which obtains among our rulers to the erection of city churches, and the subdivision of city parishes; and, therefore, it is the more necessary to expose those more palpable human influences, on which hinges the dependance between a vigorous and well filled up Christian economy, on the one hand, and a great popular reformation, on the other, in all the virtues of good neighbourhood, and good citizenship. It is the minister, after all, who most urges the spiritualities of Christian faith and holiness, that most attracts the multitude to congregate into a stated audience, and thus to exchange a former looseness of habit for the decencies of Sabbath observation;—and it is he who is generally found to be most assiduous in week-day ministrations;—and it is he who will most readily obtain the zealous co-operation of others, to mingle in all the charities of intercourse along with him, among the families of sunken and neglected plebeianism;—and though the work of grace, for another world, be still restricted to a small minority of his parish, yet a sure colla-

teral attendant upon his labours is, that a work of converse and cordiality is carried abroad throughout the mass of his people, which tends to heighten the aspect, and to improve the whole economy of the present world. This is a process, the *rationale* of which might be obvious enough, even to a mere earthly understanding; and so might the power and charm of locality; and so might the effect of one Christian's example, in raising the standard of morality among many who are not Christians; and so might the tendency of Sabbath schooling, both to induce a more orderly and civilized habit among the young, and to strengthen the tie of kindliness between the teachers and the taught, or between the higher and lower ranks of the community. There is nought surely of the mystic or unsubstantial in any of these influences; and if nevertheless, they be the most faithful stewards of the mysteries of God, from whom they are most ready to descend on the families of our general population, there ought to be an indication here, to our men of political ascendency, whether in the state or in the city corporation, of what that is which forms our best and cheapest defence against the evils of a rude, and lawless, and profligate community.

CHAP. X.

ON THE BEARING WHICH A RIGHT CHRISTIAN ECONOMY HAS UPON PAUPERISM.

We are able to affirm, on the highest of all authorities, that the poor shall be with us always—or, in other words, that it is vain to look for the extinction of poverty from the world. And, yet we hold it both desirable and practicable to accomplish the extinction of pauperism: so that between the state of poverty and that of pauperism, there must be a distinction, which, to save confusion, ought to be kept in mind, and to be clearly apprehended.

The epithet poor has a far wider range of application than among the lower orders of the community. We may speak, and speak rightly, of a poor nobleman, or a poor bishop, or a poor baronet. It is enough to bring down the epithet on any individual, that out of his earnings or property he is not able to maintain himself in the average style of comfort that obtains throughout the class of society to which he belongs. The earl who cannot afford a carriage, and the labourer who cannot afford the fare and the clothing of our general peasantry, however different their claims to our sympathy may be, by being currently termed poor, are both made to share alike in this designation.

To be poor is primarily to be in want;—and even though the want should be surely provided for, by the kindness of neighbours, yet is the epithet still made to rest on the individual who originally wore it. The aged female householder, who is both destitute and diseased, may, in virtue of the notice that she has attracted, be upheld in greater abundance than any occupier in the humble alley of her habitation. And yet it may with truth be said, that she is the poorest of them all—poor in respect of her own capacity for her own support, though comfortable in respect of the support that is actually administered to her. She, even after the charitable provision that has thus been attached to her lot, is always termed poor, and in this sense do we understand the prophecy of our Saviour, that the poor shall be with us always. She, in the midst of her comforts, still exemplifies the prediction; and we doubt not, that there will be such exemplifications to the end of time. She is poor, and yet she is not in want. The condition of poverty, arising from a defect of power or of means on the part of him who occupies it, will ever, we apprehend, be a frequent circumstance in society; while the wants of poverty, arising from a defect in the care of relatives, or in the humanity of friends and observers, will, we trust, at length be exclusively done away. So that even after the charity of the millennial age shall have taken full possession of our species, may the prophecy still find its verification under

an economy of things where the state of poverty shall be at times exemplified; but where the sufferings of poverty, from the vigilance and promptitude of such sympathies as are quickened and kept alive by the influence of the gospel, shall be for ever unknown.

It was with the benevolent purpose of hastening so desirable a consummation, that poor rates were instituted in England. A fund is raised in each of the parishes, by a legal and compulsory operation; out of which a certain quantity of aliment is distributed among those residents who can substantiate the plea of their wants, to the satisfaction of its administrators. A man is, or ought to be poor, and that referably too, not to any of the higher classes of society, as a poor clergyman or a poor gentleman, but referably to the labouring classes of society; or, he ought, in respect of his own personal means, to be beneath the average condition of our peasantry, ere he is admitted upon the poors' fund. When so admitted he comes under the denomination of a pauper. A poor man is a man in want of adequate means for his own subsistence. A pauper is a man who has this want supplemented in whole or in part, out of a legal and compulsory provision. He would not be a pauper by having the whole want supplied to him out of the kindness of neighbours, or from the gratuitous allowance of an old master, or from any of the sources of voluntary charity. It is by having relief legally awarded

to him, out of money legally raised, that he becomes a pauper. We are just now occupied with the mere business of definitions, but this is a business which is often necessary: and we therefore repeat it, that the state of poverty is that state in which the occupier is unable of himself to uphold the average subsistence of his family; and the state of pauperism is that state in which the occupier has the ability either entirely, or in part, made up to him out of a public and constitutional fund.

But the truth is, that the invention of pauperism, had it been successful, would have gone to annihilate the state of poverty as well as its sufferings. A man cannot be called poor, who has a legal right, on the moment that he touches the borders of indigence, to demand that there his descending progress shall be arrested, and he shall be upheld in a sufficiency of aliment for himself and his family. The law, in fact, has vested him with a property in the land, which he can turn to account, so soon as he treads on the confines of poverty: and had this desire been as effective as was hoped and intended, a state of poverty would have been impossible. A man may retain the designation of poor, who has been relieved from all the discomforts of want, by the generosity of another; but this epithet ought not to fall upon any, who can ward off these discomforts by means of a rightful application for that which is constitutionally his own. So that had this great politi-

cal expedient been as prosperous in accomplishment as it was mighty in promise, there would have remained no individual to whom the designation of poverty had been applicable—and the wisdom of man would have defeated the prophecy of God. But though the wisdom of man cannot make head against the state of poverty, the charity of man may make head against its sufferings. The truth is, that pauperism has neither done away the condition of poverty, nor alleviated the evils of it. This attempt of legislation to provide all with a right of protection from the miseries of want, has proved vain and impotent; and leaves a strong likelihood behind it, that a more real protection would have been afforded, had the case been abandoned to the unforced sympathies of our nature—and had it been left to human compassion to soften the wretchedness of a state, against the existence of which no artifice of human policy seems to be at all available.

We have already abundantly remarked on the slender influence of a right Christian apparatus, in regard to the very small number that may be Christianized by it out of the whole population—while, at the same time, its influence may be immediately and extensively felt, in regard to the very great number that may be civilized by it. The same relation, of which we have attempted to demonstrate the existence, between the Christian and the civic good that may be done under a right economy in towns, obtains, and in a still

more remarkable degree, we think, between the proper Christian effect that is accomplished in a city parish, and the effect not merely of arresting, but even of driving away its pauperism altogether. Were the conversion of the many an essential step towards the overthrow of pauperism—then by some would the latter effect be regarded as a romantic, and, by others, as a fanatical anticipation. But in like manner as the same economy which works but a minute Christian, may work a mighty civic good; so, while it only does away the blindness and depravity of nature from a very few individuals in a parish, may it, at the same time, do away a corrupt and corrupting pauperism from all its families. We think, that the political achievement of emancipating all from pauperism may be sooner arrived at, under a system of means which has for its main object the Christianity of the people, than the spiritual achievement of emancipating a twentieth part of them from the power of the God of this world, and calling them out of darkness into the marvellous light of the gospel. Our readers, we trust, are sufficiently familiarized, from the remarks and reasonings of our last chapter, to the compound effect of a good parochial economy over the families among whom it is instituted; and can now clearly perceive, how while there is one influence addressed by it to the spiritual principles of our constitution, which may only tell on a select and scanty peculium from among the general mass—there is ano-

ther influence addressed by it to the natural principles of our constitution, which tells widely and suddenly on the vast majority of the people. Now, connected too with the question of pauperism, there are certain strong and urgent natural principles; some of which are powerfully operated upon by the Christian local economy that we would recommend, and all of which tend to hasten the extinction of pauperism, at a rate of far greater velocity than the progress of essential Christianity among the people. So much, indeed, is this our feeling, that while we look on a good Christian economy, as eminently fitted both to sweeten and to accelerate the transition from the charity of human laws to the charity of human kindness, yet we do not think it indispensable to this effect; but that on the simple abolition of a compulsory assessment for the relief of new applicants, there would instantly break forth from innumerable fountains, now frozen or locked up by the hand of legislation, so many refreshing rills on all the places that had been left dry and destitute, by the withdrawment from them of public charity, as would spread a far more equal and smiling abundance than before over the face of society.

The first, and by far the most productive of these fountains, is situated among the habits and economies of the people themselves. It is impossible but that an established system of pauperism must induce a great relaxation on the frugality

and providential habits of our labouring classes. It is impossible, but that it must undermine the incentives to accumulation; and, by leading the people to repose that interest on a public provision, which would else have been secured by the effects of their own prudence and their own carefulness, it has dried up far more abundant resources in one quarter than it has opened in another. We know not a more urgent principle of our constitution than self-preservation; and it is a principle which not only shrinks from present suffering, but which looks onwards to futurity, and holds up a defence against the apprehended wants and difficulties of the years that are to come. Were the great reservoir of public charity, for the town at large, to be shut, there would soon be struck out many family reservoirs, fed by the thrift and sobriety, which necessity would then stimulate, but which now the system of pauperism so long has superseded;—and from these there would emanate a more copious supply than is at present ministered out of poor rates, to aliment the evening of plebeian life, and to equalise all the vicissitudes of its history.

The second fountain which pauperism has a tendency to shut, and which its abolition would reopen, is the kindness of relatives. One of the most palpable, and at the same time most grievous effects of this artificial system, is the dissipation which it has made of the ties and feelings of relationship. It is this which gives rise to the melan-

choly list of runaway parents, wherewith whole columns of the provincial newspapers of England are oftentimes filled. And then, as if in retaliation, there is the cruel abandonment of parents, by their own offspring, to the cold and reluctant hand of public charity. In some cases, there may not be the requisite ability; but the actual expense on the part of labourers, for luxuries that might be dispensed with, demonstrates that, in most cases, there is that ability. But it is altogether the effect of pauperism to deaden the inclination. It has poisoned the strongest affections of nature, and turned inwardly, towards the indulgences of an absorbent selfishness, that stream which else would have flowed out on the needy of our own blood and our own kindred. It has shut those many avenues of domestic kindliness by which, but for its deadening and disturbing influence, a far better and more copious circulation of needful supplies would have been kept up throughout the mass of society. We believe, that were the first fountain restored to its natural play, there would be discharged, from it alone, in the greatest number of instances, a competency for the closing years of the labourer;—and did this resource fail, that the second fountain would come in aid, and send forth, on the decaying parentage of every grown up and working generation, more than would replace the dispensations of pauperism.

A third fountain, on which pauperism has set one of its strongest seals, and which would in-

stantly be unlocked on the abolition of the system, is the sympathy of the wealthier for the poorer classes of society. It has transformed the whole character of charity, by turning a matter of love into a matter of litigation: and so, has seared and shut many a heart, out of which the spontaneous emanations of good will would have gone plentifully forth among the abodes of the destitute. We know not how a more freezing arrest can be laid on the current of benevolence, than when it is met in the tone of a rightful, and perhaps, indignant demand for that, wherewith it was ready, on its own proper impulse, to pour refreshment and relief over the whole field of ascertained wretchedness. There is a mighty difference of effect between an imperative and an imploring application. The one calls out the jealousy of our nature, and puts us upon the attitude of surly and determined resistance. The other calls out the compassion of our nature, and inclines us to the free and willing movements of generosity. It is in the former attitude, that, under a system of overgrown pauperism, we now, generally speaking, behold the wealthy in reference to the working classes of England. They stand to each other in a grim array of hostility—the one thankless and dissatisfied, and stoutly challenging as its due, what the other reluctantly yields, and that as sparingly as possible. Had such been a right state of things, then pity would have been more a superfluous feeling in our con-

stitution; as its functions would have been nearly superseded by the operation of law and justice. And the truth is, that this sweetener of the ills of life has been greatly stifled by legislation; while the amount of actual and unrelieved wretchedness among the peasantry of England, too plainly demonstrates, that the economy of pauperism has failed to provide an adequate substitute in its room. Were this economy simply broken up, and the fountain of human sympathy again left free to be operated upon by its wonted excitements, and to send out its wonted streams throughout those manifold subordinations by which the various classes of society are bound and amalgamated together —we doubt not that from this alone a more abundant, or, at least, a far more efficient and better spread tide of charity would be diffused throughout the habitations of indigence.

But there is still another fountain, that we hold to be greatly more productive even than the last, both in respect to the amount of relief that is yielded by it, and also in respect to the more fit and timely accommodation wherewith it suits itself to the ever varying accidents and misfortunes of our common humanity. There is a local distance between the wealthy and the poor, which is unfavourable to the operation of the last fountain, but this is amply compensated in the one we are about to specify;—and, some may be surprised, when we intimate, that of far superior importance to the sympathy of the rich for the poor, do we

hold to be the sympathy of the poor for one another. In the veriest depths of unmixed and extended plebeianism, and where, for many streets together, not one house is to be seen which indicates more than the rank of a common labourer, are there feelings of mutual kindness, and capabilities of mutual aid, that greatly outstrip the conceptions of a hurried and superficial observer: And, but for pauperism, which has released immediate neighbours from the feeling they would otherwise have had, that in truth the most important benefactors of the poor are the poor themselves—there had been a busy internal operation of charity in these crowded lanes, and densely peopled recesses, that would have proved a more effectual guarantee against the starvation of any individual, than ever can be reared by any of the artifices of human policy. One who has narrowly looked to some of these vicinities; and witnessed the small but numerous contributions that pour in upon a family whose distresses have attracted observation; and seen how food, and service, and fuel, are rendered in littles, from neighbours that have been drawn, by a kind of moral gravitation, to the spot where disease and destitution hold out their most impressive aspect; and has arithmetic withal for comparing the amount of these unnoticed items with the whole produce of that more visible beneficence which is imported from abroad, and scattered, by the hand of affluence, over the district,—we say that such

an observer will be sure to conclude, that, after all, the best safeguards against the horrors of extreme poverty have been planted by the hand of nature, in the very region of poverty itself—that the numerous, though scanty rivulets which have their rise within its confines, do more for the refreshment of its more desolate places, than would the broad streams that may be sent forth upon it, from the great reservoir of pauperism: And, if it be true, that it is just the stream which has dried up the streamlets, and caused them to disappear from the face of a territory, over which they would else have diffused a healthful and kindly irrigation —then should pauperism be abolished, let but humanity abide, in all the wonted attributes and sympathies which belong to her, and we may be sure, that for the supplies which issued from the storehouse of public charity, there would be ample compensation, in the breaking out of those manifold lesser charities, that never fail to be evolved, when human suffering is brought into contact with human observation.

We cannot, at present, expatiate, as perhaps we shall, on these compensatory processes, that would most surely be stimulated into greater power and activity by the abolition of pauperism; but the last of them is of such weight and importance in the argument, that ere we proceed to the main topic of this chapter, we may offer a few remarks in the way of illustration. Those sympathies, which lie deeply seated and diffusively spread

among a population, form a mine of productiveness, that lies very much hidden from the eye of that philanthropy which moves on the elevated walk of city committees, and great natio. al societies. Perhaps the most palpable argument that could be addressed to our institutional men, upon this subject, is the fact of the Bible Society drawing a larger revenue from the weekly pennies of the poor, than from the splendid donations, and yearly contributions, of the wealthy. It is a striking evidence of the power of accumulated littles, and proves how much the number compensates for the smallness of the individual offerings. Now, though this be a very palpable demonstration of the importance of the lower orders to the cause of charity, yet it is far from being an adequate demonstration. This fact, convincing as it is, does not sufficiently represent the might and the magnitude of those resources which lie deposited among the labouring classes, and would, in a natural state of things, emit a far more plentiful relief upon human indigence than is done by all the paraded charities of our land. It is delightful to perceive how readily the poor have been interested on the behalf of a great Christian society. But there is a still more forcible appeal made to their hearts, by the *spectacle* of human suffering, and in circumstances of life like their own. There is a more constantly plying address to their sympathies, in the disease or helplessness of a next-door neighbour, than even in the weekly recurrence of

a visitor for their humble contribution. There is a common feeling among the men of the operative classes, inspired by the very condition which they in common occupy: for fellowship with one in his lot is felt as a sort of claim to fellowship with him in his love and liberality. In these, and in many other principles of our nature, there are daily and most powerful excitements to charity, which, if never interfered with by pauperism, would have yielded a far more abundant produce to the cause, than ever descended upon it, in golden showers, from all the rich, and mighty, and noble of the nation put together. It is the little, combined with the numerous and the often, which explains this mystery. Each offering is small—but there is an unknown multitude of offerers, and under incessant application too, from the near and the constant exhibition of suffering at *their* very doors. Had art not attempted to supersede nature, or the wisdom of man to improve upon that wisdom which poured into the human heart those sympathies that serve to oil and to uphold the mechanism of human society, there would have emerged out of this state of things, a far more plenteous dispensation of relief than the *wealthy* have ever given, or even, perhaps, than the wealthy could afford; whose occasional benefactions come far short, in the quantity of aid, of those kind offices which are rendered, and those humble meals which are served up, and those nameless little participations into which a poor

householder is admitted with the contiguous families, and all that unrevealed good which circulates, unseen, throughout every neighbourhood where the native play of human feeling is not disturbed by the foreign and adventitious influences of a perverse human policy.

There is a statement, made by Mr. Buxton, in his valuable work upon Prisons, which is strongly illustrative of the force of human sympathy. In the Jail of Bristol, the allowance of bread to the criminals is beneath the fair rate of human subsistence; and, to the debtors, there is no allowance at all, leaving these last to be provided for by their own proper resources, or by the random charity of the town. It has occasionally happened that both these securities have failed them, and that some of their number would inevitably have perished of hunger, had not the criminals, rather than endure the spectacle of so much agony, given a part of their own scanty allowance, and so shared in the suffering along with them. It is delightful to remark, from this, that the sympathy of humble life, instead of the frail and imaginative child of poetry, is a plant of such sturdy endurance as to survive even the roughest of those processes by which a human being is conducted to the last stages of depravity. Now, if the working of this good principle may thus be detected among the veriest outcasts of human society, shall we confide nothing to its operation among the people and the families of ordinary life. If such an in-

tense and unbroken fellow feeling be still found to exist, even after the career of profligacy is run, are we to count upon none of its developments before the career of profligacy is entered on? In other words, if in prisons there be the guarantee of natural sympathy against the starvation of the destitute, is it too sanguine an affirmation of our species, that there is the same and a stronger guarantee in parishes? The truth is, such is the recoil of one human being from the contemplation of extreme hunger in another, that the report of a perishing household, in some deepest recess of a city lane, would inflict a discomfort upon the whole neighbourhood, and call out succour, in frequent and timely forthgoings, from the contiguous families. We are aware that pauperism lays an interdict upon this beautiful process. Pauperism relaxes the mutual care and keepership which, but for it, would have been in more strenuous operation, and has deadened that certain feeling of responsibility which would have urged and guided to many acts of beneficence. There can be little doubt, that the opening up of this great artificial fountain has reduced that natural fountain, the waters of which are so deeply seated, and so diffusively spread, throughout the whole mass and interior of a population. But, in countries where pauperism is unknown, and popular sympathy is allowed to have its course, it sends forth supplies upon human want which are altogether incalculable; and still, in our own country,

is it ready to break forth in streams of rich and refreshing compensation, so soon as pauperism is done away.

It will be seen, then, that we do not hold a good Christian economy to be indispensable to the negation of pauperism. We think, that simply upon the absence of this system from any country, there will be in it less of unrelieved poverty than when the system is in full establishment and operation. We would confide this cause to the great fountains of relief which are provided by nature, and conceive that, when the people are left to themselves, they, in the first instance, by their own economy, would prevent the great majority of that indigence which now meets the dispensations of pauperism; that, in the second instance, the care of individuals, for the aged and the helpless of their own kindred, would, operating in each separate circle of relationship, work a mighty reduction on the territory of want; that, in the third instance, a still farther reduction would be effected, by the more copious descent of liberality from the wealthier to the poorer classes; and, to complete the wholesome process, that internal charity among the poor themselves would fill up the many countless vacuities which escape the eye of general observation. We cannot affirm, that never, in any instance, would there be a remainder of want unprovided for; but we are strongly persuaded, that it would fall infinitely short of the want which is now unreached and unrelieved

by all the ministrations of legalized charity. And we reckon that this argument would hold, even apart from Christianity, on the mere play of those natural principles of self-preservation, and social and relative sympathy, which are inseparable from the human constitution. So that in Constantinople the condition of the people would be economically worse, were pauperism introduced among them; and, in London, the condition of the people would, at this moment, have been economically better, had pauperism never been instituted. In those great towns of continental Europe, where the compulsory relief of poverty is unknown, we read of no such distress as should urge the adoption of such an expedient. There may occur a very rare instance of positive starvation; but let it never be forgotten, that instances also occur in the British metropolis: and we do think it more likely to happen there, just because of pauperism, which has substituted the tardy and circuitous process of a court of administration, for the prompt and timely compassions of an immediate neighbourhood. So that, whatever the bearing may be of a good Christian economy, upon this question, we neither regard it as indispensable to the exemption of a country from pauperism, nor do we regard pauperism as conducive to the well-being of a country where Christianity is unknown.

But, though it were utterly misconceiving the truth and philosophy of the whole subject, to affirm that Christianity was indispensable, yet there

is a way in which it acts as an element of mighty power and importance in this department of human affairs. It is most true, that nature, when simply left to the development of her own spontaneous and inborn principles, will render a better service to humanity than can be done by the legal charity of England; but it is also true, that Christianity urges this development still farther, and so gives an augmented and overpassing sufficiency to nature. It is true, that it is better to commit the cause of human want to the safeguards which nature has already instituted, than to a compulsory assessment; but it is also true, that Christianity strengthens these safeguards, and so creates a far more effective defence against those miseries that might be apprehended to ensue on the abolition of pauperism. It is true, that, in every assemblage of human beings, there are proper and primary fountains of relief, from the mere efflux of which there cometh the discharge of a more abundant blessing upon the poor than ever can be made to descend from the storehouse of public charity; but it is also true, that Christianity both quickens the play, and adds to the productiveness, of all these fountains. The man who is a Christian will be the most ready to labour with his own hands, rather than be burdensome; and, if he have dependent relatives, he will be the most ready to provide for those of his own house and of his own kindred; and, if he be rich, he will be the most willing to distribute and ready to communicate;

and, if he be poor, still, with his humble mite, will he aspire after the blessing that is promised to a giver, and shun, to the uttermost, the condition of a receiver. Christianity does not originate these principles in society, but Christianity adds prodigiously to the power and intenseness of their operation—so that without, perhaps, striking out any fountain diverse from those that we have already enumerated, does it, by simply stimulating these, call forth a mighty addition to those healing waters, that serve both to sustain the comfort and to assuage the sufferings of our species.

And let us not estimate the beneficial effect of Christianity, on this department of human life, merely by the number of people who have been so far influenced by its lessons, as to be spiritualised by them. This were, indeed, to reduce the worth and importance of the whole speculation. But there is, as we have already stated, an indirect power in Christianity to multiply, beyond the spread of its own essential principle through the hearts of men, those virtues which go to improve their social habits, and to rectify the many disorders which would otherwise agitate and disturb their social history. The sound Christian economy that regenerates the few for heaven, reforms the many into the frugality, and the industry, and the relative duty, and all the other moralities which stand allied with self-respect and decency of character upon earth. We should augur greatly more for a man of congregational habits, in regard

to his providential management, and his unbroken independence, and his generous sympathy for neighbours and kinsfolk, than we should for the man who lived beyond the pale of all ecclesiastical cognizance, and spent his unhallowed Sabbath in shameful and sordid profanation. Now, what we affirm is, that a local, and, at the same time, a laborious clergyman, has the power of thus congregating his people, greatly beyond his power of converting them: and out of the civic virtues which he would be the instrument of diffusing through his parish, would there be a strong additional excitement given to all those various sources of distribution and supply, which were sure to be re-opened, and to re-issue, the moment that pauperism was withdrawn; and which, either by the prevention, or by the positive relief of indigence, would leave much less of human suffering unredressed, than we now witness under a full and long established operation of public charity.

But, beside the growth and multiplication of the civic virtues, we have, under a good parochial economy, other, and, perhaps, more powerful securities for an ample compensation being rendered to human want, should pauperism be done away. It would have the effect of enlisting the very pride and selfishness of our nature into the service. Out of the mingling and acquaintanceship that would ensue, among the various orders of society, there were a greatly more honourable feeling that would arise in the breasts of the poor, and uphold them

in their generous stand against the humiliations of public charity. The homage rendered to the dignity of each household, by the annual presence of the minister, and the more frequent visitations of his parochial agents, were not without its efficacy, in rearing a preventive barrier to stop the descent and the degradation of many families. When the rich go forth on a plebeian territory, in the ostensible capacity of almoners, we are aware what the character of that stout and clamorous reaction is, which is sure to come back upon them. But let them go forth on those topics of our common nature, which tend to assimilate all the ranks of life; let education, or piety, or friendship, be the occasions of those short, but frequent interviews, where the inequalities of condition are, for the time, forgotten; let Christian philanthropy, for which a right parochial apparatus would give such ample scope and exercise, guide the footsteps of our official men to the humblest of our city habitations, and there suggest, in conversation, all that sense and sympathy can devise for the immortal well-being of the inmates;—though these applications should fail, in many thousand instances, of their direct and primary design, yet let them be repeated and kept up, and one result will be sure to come out of them—a more erect, and honourable, and high minded population, less able than before to brook the exposure of their necessities to the observation of another, and more strenuous than before in sustaining their respecta-

bility, on that loftier platform to which they have been admitted, by the ennobling intercourse of their superiors in society.

There is one style of companionship with the poor, that is fitted to call forth a reciprocity, which all the ministrations of opulence cannot appease. There is another style of it, that is fitted to call forth delicacies of a far softer and more sensitive character than they often get credit for. The agent of a society for the relief of indigence, who carries a visible commission along with him, is sure to be assailed, in full and open cry, at every corner, with the importunities of alleged want. The bearer of a moral and spiritual dispensation will not, in the long run, be the less welcome of the two, nor will his kindness be less appreciated, nor will the courtesy of his oft repeated attentions fail of sending the charm of a still gladder sensation into the heart. The truth is, that it is in the absence of every temptation, either to cunning or sordidness, when the intercourse between the rich and the poor is in the end most gratifying, as well as most beneficial, to both; and these are the occasions upon which the unction of a finer influence is felt, with each of the parties, than ever can have place in the dispensations of common charity. When one goes ostensibly forth among the people as an almoner, the recoil that is felt by them, from the exposure of their necessities, is overborne, at the very first interview; and the barrier of delicacy is forced, and forced irrecoverably:

so as that deceit and selfishness shall henceforth become perpetual elements in every future act of fellowship between them. When one goes forth among them on a spiritual enterprise, and introduces himself on a topic that reduces to a general level the accidental distinctions of humanity, and addresses a poor man as a sharer in the common hopes and common interests of the species, he is relieved, for the time, from all sense of inferiority, nor will he be the first to revive it in his own breast, by descending to the language of complaint or supplication. It is thus that the acquaintanceship between the rich and the poor, which is sustained by converse with them on all other topics save that of their necessities, is sure to increase the reluctance of the poor to obtrude this last topic on the attentions of the wealthy. It is thus that a mere Sabbath teacher comes speedily into contact with such delicacies, among the lower orders, as are not suspected even to exist by the administrators of a city hospital. And it is thus, that under a right Christian economy, there would arise, in the hearts, and among the habitations of the poor themselves, a most effectual barrier against all that importunate and insatiable urgency of demand, which has been so fostered among the people by debasing pauperism.

And the system of locality, when carried into effect, not only exposes the people to the view of their superiors, but it exposes them more fully and frequently to the view of each other. One sure

result of this system is, that it supplies contiguous families with common places of resort, as the parish church and the parish schools; and furnishes them with objects of common interest and attention, as their minister, or the Sabbath teachers of their children; and groupes the inhabitants of small vicinities into occasional domestic assemblages, as when the minister performs his annual round of household ministrations, or under the fostering care of himself and his agents, the more religious of a district hold their weekly meetings for the exercises of piety. It is unavoidable, that with such processes as these, a closer and more manifold acquaintanceship shall grow up in every immediate neighbourhood; and that moral distance which now obtains, even among families in a state of juxtaposition, shall be greatly reduced; and the people will live more under the view, and within the observation of the little besetting public wherewith their ties of fellowship are now more strengthened and multiplied than before; and this, independently of all Christian and all civic virtue, will bring the natural pride of character into alliance with those various habits which go to counteract the vice and the misery of pauperism. The consciousness of a nearer and more impending regard than is now directed towards them, would make them all more resolute to shun the degradation of charity, and the obloquy they would incur by a shameful abandonment of their relatives, and even that certain stigma which would be affixed

to them, were the liberality of some open-hearted neighbour eulogised in their hearing, and they felt themselves to suffer by the comparison. The local system, in short, would bring a sense of character into more quick and habitual play among the intimacies of a city population—and this were favourable to the growth among them of, at least, the more popular and respectable virtues—and, when they are a little raised, by education and intelligence, there is not a surer forfeiture of respect than that which is incurred by him who unworthily stoops to the attitude of a supplicant and a waiter on for public charity; nor is there a readier homage of popularity awarded, than that which is openly and cordially given, when a poor man shares of his humble means among the poorer who are around him.

And here let it be remarked, that though the direct power and principle of Christianity are limited to a few, yet that reflex influence which emanates from them upon the many, would tell with peculiar effect on the economic habits of the whole population. The one Christian of a city lane may fail to reach a spiritual lesson into the hearts of his acquaintances, and yet, by the very dress of his children, and the decent sufficiency of his whole establishment, hold forth another obvious lesson, that may be learned and copied by them all. And they may vie with him, at least, in decency of condition, if not in devoutness of character; and, though they decline to run the heavenly

race along with him, yet will they far more readily enter with him into rivalship for the honour and the becoming air of independence upon earth. There is an utter inadvertency to the laws of our universal nature, on the part of those who think, that in the humblest circles of plebeianism, there is not the operation of the very same principles which may be witnessed in the higher circles of fashionable life. There is a style of manner and appearance that is admired among the poor, and which, when introduced by one of the families, constitutes it the leader of a fashion that is apt to be emulated by all the others. There is a certain *bon ton*, by which the average feeling of every district is represented; and nothing contributes more powerfully to raise it, than the residence of an individual, whose attention to the duties of his station has kept him nobly and manfully afloat above the degradations of charity. The infection of such an example spreads among the neighbours. What he shuns from principle they spurn at from pride; and thus the very envies and jealousies of the human heart go to augment our confidence, that should the economy of pauperism in our cities give place to a right Christian economy, there will, in the spirit and capabilities of the people themselves, be an ample compensation for all that is withdrawn from them.

We are most thoroughly aware of the incredulity wherewith all such statements are listened to, by men hacknied among the details of official

business, and who hold every argument, that is couched in general language, and is drawn from the principles of human nature, to be abstract and theoretical. But they should be taught, that their institutional experience is not the experience which throws any light upon the real and original merits of this question—that though they have been working for years, with their fingers, among the accounts and the manipulations of city pauperism, their eyes may never, all the while, have been upon the only relevant field of observation—that practitioners though they be, it is not at all in the tract of their deliberations or their doings, where true practical wisdom is to be gotten—that the likeliest counsellor upon this subject, is not the man who has travelled, however long and laboriously, over the inner department of committeeship, but the man who travels, and that on an errand distinct from common charity, over the outer department of the actual and living population. In one word, a local Sabbath teacher, with ordinary shrewdness of observation, and who meets the people free of all that disguise which is so readily assumed, on every occasion of mercenary intercourse between them and their superiors,—from him would we expect a greatly sounder deliverance, than from the mere man of place or of penmanship, on the adequacy of the lower orders to their own comfort and their own independence. It is a sufficient reply to the charge of sanguine or visionary, which is so often advanced against

our confident affirmations upon this topic, that we invite the testimonies of all those with whom a district of plebeianism is the scene of their daily, or, at least, their frequent visitations. And it is no small contribution which a good Christian economy will render towards the solution of this great political problem—that it so penetrates and opens up the interior of that mass which has hitherto been shrouded in the obscurity of its own denseness, from all previous inquirers—that it unseals this book of mystery, and offers a distinct leaf, which may be easily overtaken by each one of its labourers—that it can thus lay an immediate hand on the *ipsa corpora* of the question—and rear the true doctrine of pauperism on the same solid and inductive basis by which all truth and all philosophy are upholden.

We know not how great the artificial transformation is, which the pauperism of two centuries may have wrought on the individual habits, and the mutual sympathies, of a London population; or to what degree it may have overborne either the cares of self-preservation, or the kindnesses of neighbourly regard towards those children of misfortune and want, who chance to come within the range of their daily observation. We can well believe, that the sum which issues from legal charity, upon a given district of the metropolis, could not, all at once, be dispensed with: the native capabilities of the people being so much weakened and impaired, by the very system that now

comes in aid of the deficiencies it has itself created. But of the very worst and most wretched vicinities of Glasgow, where pauperism is only yet in progress, and has not attained such a sanction and settlement as to have effaced the original habitudes of nature, we can aver that, under a right economy, and without the importation of any charity from abroad, each is sufficient in its own internal resources, for the subsistence of all its families. And were people only left to themselves, and made to feel that they were the alone rightful keepers of their own households and their own kinsfolk, and committed back again to those spontaneous charities, which the sight of suffering never fails to awaken—it would be found that the mechanism of human laws has, by thwarting and doing violence to the laws of the human constitution, superseded a previous and a better mechanism.

That district of the Saltmarket, which is referred to in the second chapter of this work, has now, for several years, been under the superintendence of the same teacher who originally assumed it. In respect of poverty, we should regard it as rather beneath the average state of our operative population; and, accordingly, it was proposed, at the outset, that all the expenses of the little institution which has been reared in it, including the rent of the room, with the cost of the fuel and candles, and a small library of books, should be defrayed by the subscriptions of the charitable.

But this had not been prosecuted with vigour enough, to meet all the charges of this humble concern, and the teacher resolved to throw himself on the good-will and resources of the parents themselves. It is true, that by a small monthly payment, which is most cheerfully rendered on the part of his scholars, he has been enabled to overtake and to overpass all the expenses of his little seminary. The *materiel*, it may be thought, of this free-will offering, is so insignificant as to prove nothing. But the alacrity wherewith it was rendered; the conscious ability that was indicated for the required sacrifice, and for a great deal more; the additional interest that was felt in the school, when each was thus led to regard it as a nursling and a dependant of his own; the unexcepted support that was given, not one family being deficient of its quota, though the very poorest of the territory had to share in it; the certain air and consequence of patronage wherewith this proposal invested all the contributors; the delight expressed by them at their own independence, not unmixed, perhaps, with somewhat of a generous disdain towards any obligation of the sort from their betters in society,—these were the tokens of a sufficiency and a spirit that still remain with the very humblest of our peasantry, and are enough to indicate such elements of moral greatness, as only need to be called back again from the dormancy into which they had been cradled by the hand of pauperism, when they shall rear anew,

and in the bosom of our community, all those guarantees for the sustenance of our people that this cruel foster-mother has destroyed.

We are glad to understand that so good an example is now beginning to be copied, and that about ten of the Sabbath school districts, in that neighbourhood of the town, have been recently laid under the same system of management. There is a most willing concurrence, in them all, on the part of the population; and fitted as such an economy is, both to honour them, and to fasten, more tenaciously than before, the roots of each little association, among the families that are thus admitted to nourish and to uphold it, we would earnestly recommend the same practice to every other local teacher, who may have obtained a sufficient intimacy with the people, to have made sure of their confidence, and of the satisfaction which they feel in the kindness and usefulness of his labours.

We have already endeavoured abundantly to prove, that a good Christian economy is not indispensable to the negation of pauperism, in a country where it has never been established: seeing that the simple abolition of it would naturally, and of itself, work out a great improvement on the economic condition of the people. Still, however, Christianity would heighten and secure this improvement the more, by the re-enforcements it would bring, both to human sobriety and to human sympathy. And, in a country where pau-

perism is established, and where it is proposed, through the extinction of it, to commit the cause of human suffering back again to that individual care and kindness from which it has been so unwisely wrested by the hand of legislation—we think that nothing could more effectually speed and ensure this great retracing movement, than the parochial subdivisions, and the pure patronages, and the wholesome influences on the popular mind, which were attendant on the working of a right ecclesiastical apparatus, rightly administered. It were well that the existence of a good Christian economy, and the decline of pauperism, went gradually and contemporaneously together, so as that the complete establishment of the one, shall come, at length, to be the death and disappearance of the other; and, although the former be not absolutely essential to the latter, yet, we know of no other way, than through the attainment of the Christian desideratum, in which the economic desideratum would be arrived at with greater practical facility and smoothness, or with the hazard of less violence being rendered to the deeply rooted prejudices of the land.

It is on this account, that the merely secular philanthropist, reckless though he be of eternity, and all its concerns, should hail a good Christian economy, as he would the fittest and the likeliest instrument of a great civil and political reformation. And it is no less true, that the Christian philanthropist, though he sits comparatively loose

to this world and all its evanescent interests, should desiderate the abolition of pauperism, as he would the removal of a deadly impediment in the way of that great spiritual reformation, to the hastening of which he consecrates his labours and his prayers. On the one hand, we fear not the contempt of the statesman, when we affirm, that the salvation of one soul is an achievement of surpassing worth and importance to the deliverance of our whole empire from the weight of its assessments for pauperism. And we fear not, on the other hand, the dislike of the theologian to our announcement, that the pauperism itself is a moral nuisance, which must be swept away from these realms, ere we can rationally hope for a very powerful or prevalent spirit of Christianity in the land. That which letteth must be taken out of the way. It is, indeed, a heavy incumbrance on the work of a clergyman, whose office it is to substitute among his people the graces of a new character, for the hardness, and the selfishness, and the depraved tendencies of nature, that, in addition to the primary and essential evils of the human constitution, he has to struggle, in his holy warfare, against a system so replete as pauperism is, with all that can minister to the worst, or that can wither up the best, affections of our species. With what success can he acquit himself as a minister of the New Testament, in the presence of this legalized and widely spread temptation, by which every peasant of our land is solicited to cast away

from him the brightest of those virtues wherewith the morality of this sacred volume is adorned? By what charm shall he woo them from earth, and bear their hearts aspiringly to heaven, while such a bait and such a bribery are held forth to all the appetites of earthliness,—or, how can he find a footing for the religion of charity and peace, in a land broiling with litigation throughout all its parishes, and where charity, transformed out of its loveliness, has now become an angry firebrand, for lighting up the most vindictive passions and the fiercest jealousies of our nature?

It is a question deeply interesting to human morality, whether, when it lies within his choice, it is the more becoming part in man to face a temptation or to flee from it. The one, and consistent, and oft repeated deliverance of the gospel upon this subject, is, that in every case where it can be done, without the dereliction of what is incumbent in the given circumstances, the temptation ought to be shunned rather than resisted; and that we have no reason to calculate on the present success, or future moral prosperity, of any individual, who, uncalled, goes daringly and wantonly forth upon the arena of trial, however strenuous his purposes, and however firm his confidence of victory. "Enter not into temptation," is one of the recorded precepts of the New Testament; and "lead us not into temptation," is one of the prescribed prayers. It is our duty not merely to maintain a distance from evil, but as

much as in us liés to maintain a distance from the excitements to evil. And it were well that this principle, one of the most important which relates to the discipline of character, and altogether suited as it is to the real mediocrity of the human powers, was not merely proceeded on in the walk and sanctification of private Christians, but was adverted to by those who, elevated to the guardianship of the public interests, ought not to overlook the most precious of them all, even the virtue of the commonwealth. What an Augean stable, for example, is the whole business of excise and custom house regulation!—nor were there a task more truly honourable to the legislature of Britain, that has been so busied of late with plans of economy for reducing the expenditure, than now to busy itself with the details of a still nobler reformation. It were a still higher walk of improvement, did the government, which now studies to bear as lightly as possible on the means of the people, study also to bear as lightly as possible on the morals of the people. To carry the abolition of pensions and places is reckoned a triumph in the contest between power and patriotism. But there is a yet more generous triumph in reserve, for a yet more unspotted patriotism—even the abolition of those many provocations which are now held out to fraud, and falsehood, and perjury, on the part of our regular traders, and to the more daring iniquities of contraband, on the part of a bolder and hardier population. It is, indeed, a

melancholy lesson that we read of our nature, when we note of the practice of smuggling, how sure it is to flourish just up to the degree of encouragement that is enacted and provided by parliament—how, from the two elements of the risk and the profit, there may be computed a certain specific bounty upon this lawless adventure, that will specifically call out as much of crime and cupidity as shall seize upon every shilling of it—and how every addition made to the bounty, by some careless or unlucky clause, acts with all the certainty of physical attraction, in bringing on a consequent addition to the number of desperadoes, whom it lures from the pursuits and the peaceful habits of regular industry: Or, in other words, such is the fragility of principle among men, that accurately in proportion to the length and breadth of the temptation, will be the corresponding dimensions of an offence that has demoralised whole provinces of the empire—seducing the people from all the decencies and sobrieties of their former life, and utterly unsettling the domestic habit of their families.

We hold pauperism to be a still more deadly antagonist to the morality of our nation, though neither so sudden nor so ostensible in the mischief which it inflicts upon human principle; and, instead of striking out local and visible eruptions, in certain parts of the body politic, holding forth a cup of seeming bounty, but which is charged with a slow and insinuating poison, wherewith it

has tainted the whole frame of society. It effecteth its work of destruction, upon the character of man, more by sap than by storm. The family virtues have not been swept away by it with the violence of an inundation; but they have drooped and languished, and, at the end of a few generations, are now ready to expire. The mildew which it has sprinkled over the face of the community, has fallen, in small and successive quantities, from its hand; and it is only by an addition made every year, to this deleterious blight, that the evil at length is consummated. Like the Malaire in Italy, it has now attained a progress and a virulency, which begin to be contemplated with the awe of some great approaching desolation; and a sense of helplessness mingles with the terror which is inspired by the forebodings of a mighty disaster, that has been gathering along the lapse of time, into more distinct shape and more appalling magnitude. It is, indeed, a frightful spectacle; and the heart of the Christian, as well as of the civil philanthropist, ought to be solemnized by it. He, of all men, should not look on with indifference, while the vapour of this teeming exhalation so thickens and spreads itself throughout the whole moral atmosphere of our land: And, when he witnesses the fell malignity of its operation, both on the graver and more amiable virtues of our nature,—when he sees how diligence in the callings, and economy in the habits, of individuals, are alike extinguished by it, and both the tender-

nesses of relationship, and the wider charities of life, are chilled and overborne—we should expect of this friend to the higher interests of our species, that he, among all his fellows, would be most intent on the destruction of a system that so nips the best promises of spiritual cultivation, and, under the balefulness of whose shadow, are now withering into rapid decay, and sure annihilation, the very fairest of the fruits of righteousness.

CHAP. XI.

ON THE BEARING WHICH A RIGHT CIVIC ECONOMY HAS UPON PAUPERISM.

It will be seen, from the last chapter, that we hold the securities for the relief of indigence, which have been provided by nature, to be greatly better than those artificial securities for the same object, which have been provided by legislation; and that the latter have done mischief, because, instead of aiding, they have enfeebled the former. This matter should have been confided to the spontaneous operation of such sympathy and such principle as are to be found in society, among the individuals who compose it. And when the question is put to us, what is the best system of public management for alimenting the poor, we reply, that the question would come in a more intelligible form, were it asked, which of these systems is the least pernicious; or which of them is the least fitted to hinder or to disturb the operations of the natural system. We, in fact, hold every public management of this concern to have been deleterious; and think that pauperism, according to the definition we have already given of it, should not be regulated, but destroyed. Still, however, this cannot be done instantaneously; and one expedient may be better than another, for committing the cause of poverty back again to those charities of private life, from

which it has been so unwisely wrested—and, by that same intermeddling spirit too, which has cramped the free energies and operations of commerce. The home trade of benevolence has been sorely thwarted and deranged by the impolitic bounties, and the artificial channels, and the unnatural encouragements, and all the other forcing and factitious processes, that a well-meaning government has devised for the management of a concern which should have been left to itself, and to those principles of its own, that would, if alike unhelped and undisturbed, have wrought out a far better result than we have now the misfortune to behold, and in a state of maturity almost big for immediate explosion. We should have deemed it better, that there had been no organ of administration, either in a town or parish, for the supplies of indigence; and that kindness and compassion had been left to work at will, or at random, among its families. Yet, one way may be assigned that is preferable to another, for retracing the deviation which has been made from the right state of matters,—and even although the movement should stop at a point short of the total abolition of public charity, yet, still if there be a conducting of this treatment from a more to a less pernicious system, an important gain shall have been effected to the interests of humanity.

The public charity of Scotland is less pernicious than that of England, only because less wide in its deviation from nature, and less hostile to the ope-

ration of those natural principles, that prompt both to the cares of self-preservation, and to the exercise of the social and relative humanities of life. It is not because positively more efficacious of good to the poor, that we give it the preference—but because negatively, it is more innocent of any violation to those sympathies and sobrieties of conduct, which form the best guarantees for a population against the sufferings of extreme want. The philanthropists of England are looking to the wrong quarter; when, convinced of the superiority of our system, they try to discover it in the constitution of our courts of supply, or in the working and mechanism of that apparatus, which they regard as so skilfully adapted for the best, and fittest, and most satisfying distribution of relief among the destitute. When they read of the population of a Scottish parish upheld in all the expenses of their pauperism, for the sum of twenty pounds yearly, and that in many a parish of England the pauperism of an equal population costs fifteen hundred pounds, they naturally ask by what strenuousness of management it is, or by what sagacious accommodation of means to an end, that a thing so marvellous can be accomplished. The truth is, that the administrators for the poor in the Scottish parish, are not distinctly conscious of any great strenuousness or sagacity in the business. The achievement is not due to any management of theirs, but purely to the manageable nature of the subject, which is a population whose habits and whose hopes are accom-

modated to a state of matters where a compulsory provision for the poor is unknown. The problem, in fact, would have been resolved in a natural way, had they not meddled with it; and, by the slight deviation they have made from this way, they have only given themselves a little work in trying to bring about the adjustment again. It is by the tremendous deviation of the English parish from the way of nature, that they have so embarrassed the problem, and landed themselves in difficulties which appear quite inextricable.

Between what is peculiarly the English, and what is peculiarly the Scottish style of pauperism, there is a number of parishes in the latter country, in a sort of intermediate or transition state from the one to the other. It is well known, that throughout the majority of Scotland, the fund for the relief of poverty is altogether gratuitous, being chiefly upheld by weekly voluntary collections at the church door, or by the interest of accumulated stock, that has been formed out of the savings or the bequests of former generations. This fund is generally administered by the Kirk-Session, consisting of the minister of the parish and his elders; and altogether the annual sum, thus expended, bears a very moderate proportion, indeed, to the number of inhabitants in the parish. We are greatly within the limits of safety when we say, that throughout all the parishes where this mode of supporting the poor is strictly adhered to, the av-

erage expense of pauperism does not exceed forty pounds a-year, for each thousand of the population. In some of the parishes, indeed, the relief is quite nominal—not amounting to five pounds a-year, for each thousand. And there is one very palpable and instructive exhibition, that is furnished out of the variety which thus obtains in different parts of Scotland—and that is, that where there is a similarity of habits and pursuits, and the same standard of enjoyment among the peasantry, there is not sensibly more of unalleviated wretchedness in those parishes where the relief is so very insignificant, than in those where a compulsory provision for the poor is now begun to be acted upon; and where they are making rapid approximations towards the ample distributions, and the profuse expenditure of England.

In England, it is well known, the money that is expended on their poor, is not given, but levied. It is raised by the authority of law; and the sum thus assessed upon each parish, admits of being increased with the growing exigencies of the people, from whatever cause these exigencies may have arisen. As the sure result of such an economy, the pauperism of England has swollen out to its present alarming dimensions; and, in many instances, the expenditure of its parishes bears the proportion of a hundred to one with the expenditure of those parishes in Scotland, which are equally populous, but which still remain under the system of gratuitous administration.

Now, in most of the border parishes of Scotland, as well as in many of its large towns, there is the conjunction of these two methods. There is a fund raised by voluntary contribution at the church doors; and, to help out the supposed deficiencies of this, there is, moreover, a fund raised by legal assessment. We can thus, in Great Britain, have the advantage of beholding pauperism in all its stages, from the embryo of its first rudiments in a northern parish, through the successive steps of its progress as we travel southward, till we arrive at parishes where the property is nearly overborne, by the weight of an imposition that is unknown in other countries; and where, in several instances, the property has been reduced to utter worthlessness, and so been abandoned. We can, at the same time, the better judge, from this varied exhibition, of the effect of pauperism on the comfort and character of those, for whose welfare it was primarily instituted.

We scruple not to affirm, that we feel it to be a desirable, and hold it to be altogether a practicable thing, to conduct a parish, of most heavy and inveterate pauperism, back again to that state in which pauperism is unknown, and under which it shall be found, that there is more of comfort, and less of complaining, than before, among all its families,—the gradual drying up of the artificial source, out of which relief at present flows, being followed up by such a gradual re-opening of those natural and original sources that we have already pointed

to, as will more than repair all the apprehended evils that could ensue from the legal or compulsory provision for the poor being done away. But, instead of attempting to describe the whole of this transition at once, let us only at present point out the way in which a certain part of it may be easily accomplished. Instead of setting forth from the higher extreme, and traversing the entire scale of pauperism, down to the lower extreme thereof, let us take our departure from a point that is yet considerably short of the higher extreme, and travel downwards to a point that is yet also short of the lower extreme, or of the utter negation of all pauperism. We shall not be able to overtake any part of such a journey, without the guidance of such principles as belong essentially to the entire problem—nor can we make even but a partial retracing movement, without, perhaps, gathering such experience on the road, as may serve to light and prepare us for traversing the whole length of it. It is on this account, that the method of conducting a Scottish parish, which has admitted the compulsory principle into its administrations for the poor, back again to that purely gratuitous system, out of which it had emerged, should not be regarded with indifference by the philanthropists of England. It is, perhaps, better that the subject should first be presented in this more elementary and manageable form, and that a case of comparative simplicity should be offered for solution, before we look to a case of more appalling complexity and

magnitude. It is like learning to creep before we walk, and submitting to a gradual process of scholarship, ere we shall venture to contend with the depths and intricacies of the subject. In describing part of a journey, we may meet with intimations and finger-posts, by which we shall be instructed and qualified for the whole of it. And, therefore, do we hold it better to explain the retracing movements which have been proposed for Scotland, or are now practising there, ere we proceed to discuss the specialities that obtain in the pauperism of England.

And it will be found to stamp a general importance on our present explanation, if it shall be made to appear, that the best civic economy which can be instituted, for the purpose of re-committing one of our transition parishes to that purely gratuitous system from which it has departed, is also the best for conducting an English parish to the same point, so soon as such a motion shall be made competent by the legislature; and even until that period shall arrive, that it is the best economy which can be devised for improving the administration, and mitigating the weight of an oppressive and long established pauperism.

Let us begin, then, with the alterations which appear indispensable in the civic economy of our great Scottish towns, in regard to their pauperism, in order that their present mixed or transition system be reduced to that voluntary system of con-

tributions at the church doors, which obtains throughout the majority of our country parishes.

The great fault in the administration of city pauperism, is, that it is brought too much under one general superintendence. The whole sum that is raised by assessment for the whole town, is made to emanate through the organ of one general body of management. In some cases, the weekly collections, which still continue, in all the large towns of Scotland, to be received at the church door, are made to merge into the fund that is raised by the poor's rates, where it comes under the control and distribution of one and the same body of administrators. In other cases, the collections of the several parish churches are kept apart from the money that is raised by assessment, but still are thrown into one common fund, and placed at the disposal of another body, distinct from the former, but still having as wide a superintendence, in that they stand related as a whole to a whole—that is, in having cognizance over all the town, and in having to treat with applications from every part of it. We are aware that these bodies are variously constituted in different places—and that, just like the sets of our Scottish burghs, they have almost each of them its own speciality, and its own modifications. But in scarcely any of those towns which consist of more than one or two parishes, is there a pure independent parochial administration for each of them; but they all draw on a common fund, and stand subordinated to a common man-

agement. It is not necessary, save for the purposes of illustration, to advert to the peculiar constitution of the town pauperism in different places, when the object is to expose the mischief of one general property which attaches to each of them.

At the same time, it should be recollected, that every parish is shared into small manageable districts—each of which has an elder of the church attached to it. It is most frequently his office to verify and recommend the cases of application for relief; and often, though not always, it is through him, personally, that the relief is conveyed to the applicant. When the ecclesiastical and the legal funds are kept asunder, and assigned to distinct managements, he generally is the bearer of the application for relief to both, but more often the bearer of the relief back again from the former, than from the latter, of these funds. It sometimes also happens, that, instead of carrying up directly the case of an application from his district to the administrators of either of these funds, he carries it up to his own separate session, where it is considered, and if admitted, it goes through them to one or other of the fountain heads, along with all the cases that have been similarly approven, and is backed by the authority of the whole parochial session to which he belongs. The separate sessions thus obtain a general monthly sum for their poor from the higher body of management, to which they are subordinated—and this sum, parcelled out among the different members, brings them into contact with

their respective paupers, who call on their elder for the relief that has been awarded to them.

Now, one evil consequence of thus uniting all the parishes of a town under the authority of one general board, is, that it brings out to greater ostensibility the whole economy of pauperism, and throws an air of greater magnificence and power over its administrations. This has a far more seducing effect on the popular imagination than is generally conceived. The business and expenditure of five thousand a-year for the whole town, have in them more of visible circumstance and parade, than would the separate expenditures of as many hundreds in each of its ten parishes. Pauperism would become less noxious, simply by throwing it into such a form as might make it less noticeable. For that relaxation of economy, and of the relative duties which follows in the train of pauperism, is not in the proportion of what pauperism yields, but of what it is expected to yield, and therefore is it of so much importance, that it be not set before the eye of the people in such characters of promise or of power, as might deceive them into large and visionary expectations. The humble doings of a Kirk-Session will not so mislead the families from dependence on their own natural and proper capabilities, as when the whole pauperism of the place is gathered into one reservoir, and made to blaze on the public view, from the lofty apex of a great and conspicuous institution. And it were well, not merely for the purpose of

moderating and restraining the sanguine arithmetic of our native poor, that the before undivided pauperism should be parcelled out into smaller and less observable jurisdictions, but this would also have the happy effect of slackening the importation of poor from abroad. It is not by the actual produce of a public charity, but by the report and the semblance of it, that we are to estimate its effect, in drawing to its neighbourhood those expectant families, who are barely able to subsist during the period that is required to establish a legal residence and claim; thus, bringing the most injurious competition, not merely on the charity itself, but overstocking the market with labourers, and so causing a hurtful depression on the general comfort of our operative population.

But, secondly: the more wide the field of superintendence is, the greater must be the moral distance between the administrators of the charity and its recipients. A separate and independent agency for each parish, are in likelier circumstances for a frequent intercourse and acquaintanceship with the people of their own peculiar charge, than are the members and office-bearers of a great municipal institution for the poor of a whole city. In the proportion that such a management is generalised, do the opposite parties of it recede, and become more unknowing and more unknown, the one to the other. The dispensers of relief, oppressed by the weight and multiplicity of applications, and secretly conscious, at the same time, of their inability

to discern aright into the merit and necessity of each of them, are apt to take refuge either in an indiscriminate facility, which will refuse nothing, or in an indiscriminate resistance which will suffer nothing but clamours and importunities to overbear it. And, on the other hand, the claimants for relief, whom the minute inquiries of a parochial agent could easily have repressed, or his mild representations, and, perhaps, friendly attentions, could easily have satisfied—they feel no such delicacies towards the members of a stately and elevated board, before whom they have preferred their stout demand, and, in safety from whose prying and patient inspection, they can make the hardy asseveration both of their necessities and of their rights. No power of scrutiny or of guardianship, can make compensation for this disadvantage. No multiplication whatever of agents and office-bearers, on the part of the great city establishment, can raise the barrier of such an effectual vigilance against unworthy applications, as is simply provided by the ecclesiastical police of a parish, whose *espionage* is the fruit of fair and frequent intercourse with the families, and can carry no jealousies or heart-burnings along with it. The sure consequence of those intimate and repeated minglings which take place between the people of a parish, and its deacons or elders, is, that a growing shame on the one side will prevent many applications which would else have been made, and that a growing command on the other, over all the details and diffi-

culties of humble life, will lead to the easy disposal of many more applications, which would else have been acceded to. There may, in fact, be such a close approximation to the poor, on the part of local overseers, as will bring within their view those natural and antecedent capabilities for their relief and sustenance, that ought, we think, to have superseded the ministrations of pauperism altogether. By urging the applicant to spirit and strenuousness in his own cause, or by remonstrating with those of his own kindred, or by the statement of his case to neighbours, or, finally, if he thought it worthy of such an exertion, by interesting a wealthy visitor in his behalf—may the Christian friend of his manageable district, easily bring down a sufficiency for all its wants, from those fountains of supply which were long at work ere pauperism was invented, and will again put forth their activity after pauperism is destroyed. But these fountains are too deep and internal for the observation of legal or general overseers, nor could they bring them to act, though they would, on the chaos of interminable and widely scattered applications that come before them. In these circumstances, they have no other resource than to meet them legally, which is tantamount, in the vast majority of instances, to meeting them combatively,—and then, other feelings come to actuate the parties than those which prompt, on the one side, to a compassionate dispensation, and on the other side, to a humble entreaty, or a grateful ac-

ceptance. It is thus, that a ministration, which ought to have been the sweetener and the cement of society, now threatens to explode it into fragments: And, sure result of every additional expenditure through the channels of an artificial pauperism, do we behold the rich more desperate of doing effectual good, and the poor more dissatisfied with all that is done than before.

But might not the full benefit of a parochial agency be combined, with the general superintendence and the ample revenue of a large city institution? In all our transition parishes, indeed, do not the dispensers of the public charity avail themselves of the information, and often act on the express certificates of the elders? Was not the Town Hospital of Glasgow, whence all the money raised by assessment is distributed, in the habit of being guided by the recommendations of those very men, to whom we ascribe such facilities for the right treatment of all the cases that might offer from among the families? Ere they found their way to the general body of management, they had to pass through the local, or ecclesiastical agents, of their respective parishes. And the same of the General Session in Glasgow, which was more an exchequer than any thing else, whence money was sent out for the supply of the separate sessions, which, meanwhile, were at liberty, both by their individual members and in their meetings, to treat with their applicants just as they would have done, had they been thoroughly independent of each other. Ad-

mitting the first objection to this complex economy to be valid, it is not in general seen how the second is equally so; as the examination and approval of the different cases may still lie with the different sessions, very much in the same way as if each session had been left to square its own expenditure with its own separate and peculiar resources.

It is of importance plainly and fully to meet these questions, for they apply to the actual state of pauperism in nearly all the large towns of Scotland. There is either a general fund made up of what is levied by assessment, and what is collected at the church doors, placed under one management; or these funds are kept distinct the one from the other, and placed under two separate managements, both of which are alike, however, in that they have the same range of superintendence over all the families of all the parishes. The Town Hospital of Glasgow is a reservoir for the whole produce of the assessment, and out of which the supplies were made to emanate, alike, on the cases of pauperism which they admitted to relief from the town at large. And the General Session, till lately, was the reservoir for all the weekly collections that were received throughout the different churches—which were thrown into one fund, and brought under the disposal of this body, and then distributed at their judgment, not among the individual poor, but among the separate sessions—and to these sessions belonged the immediate cogni-

zance of all the cases that were relieved from this source in their respective parishes. Now the question is, what will be gained by the reduction of this general management into local and completely independent managements? The good of this change would be obvious enough, if the General Session had been charged with the examination of all the particular cases of pauperism, and now devolved this work on the separate Sessions of the separate parishes. But this, in fact, was the very business of the parochial Sessions under the old system. And the General Session was little more than a depository where the collections were all lodged, and out of which they were again issued to the parochial Sessions, after due regard being had to the comparative necessities of each of them. By the change in question, each Session is permitted to retain its own collections, and to make its own uncontrolled disbursements out of them. How does this, it may be asked, improve the administration? It vests no new facilities of examination over the cases of particular applicants—for this is what each Session and each elder of that Session could have carried to as great a degree of strictness, and could have conducted as advantageously under the full influence of all their previous acquaintanceship among their people, before the change, as it is in their power to do after it.

This brings us to the third objection against the system of a general superintendence over the pauperism of all the parishes, and of a general fund,

out of which each shall draw for its own expenditure. We have already, in our first objection, spoken to the mischievous effect which an economy so big and so imposing had upon the expectants of charity; and we have now to state its mischievous effect on the administrators of charity. The imagination of a mighty and inexhaustible fund is not more sure to excite the appetite, and so to relax the frugal and providential habits of its receivers, than it is sure to relax the vigilance of its dispensers. To leave to each Session the right of sitting in judgment over the cases of its own parochial applicants, after having wrested from it its own peculiar revenue, and then to deal forth upon it from a joint stock, such supplies of money as it may require for its expenditure, is the most likely arrangement that could have been devised for establishing in each parish a most lax, and careless, and improvident administration. For first, it slackens the interest which each Session would otherwise have taken in the amount of its own income. It will care far less for the prosperity of an income which is sent upwards to a General Session, and there merges into a common fund for behoof of the whole city, than it would have cared had the income remained its own, and been appropriated to the exclusive behoof of its own peculiar territory. There will be no such pains to stimulate the weekly collection of any one parish, on the part of its minister and elders, when the good of it is in a great measure unfelt or lost sight of, by its being

buried in the common fund of ten parishes, and reflected back upon themselves only in a small fraction of income, which they partake along with the rest at the monthly distribution—as when the whole is lodged in their own depository, and entered upon their own books, and applied to their own distinct and independent purposes.—But secondly, and what is of more importance still, the complex and general system complained of, slackens the interest which each Session would otherwise have taken in the strenuousness of its own management, and the strict economy of its own expenditure. If we wish to see, in the business of a Kirk-Session, somewhat of the same alertness and quicksightedness, and patient attention, wherewith an individual in private life looks after the business of his private affairs, we must throw it upon its own resources, and so leave it to square its own outgoings by its own incomings. It is not in human nature that any one corporation can be so tender of the funds of another, as it would be of its own—nor is there a more effectual method of encouraging, in one set of administrators, a facility in the admission of new cases, than to place with another set of administrators the fund for supplying them. Under the local and independent system of pauperism in a great town, the competition among the parishes would be, which shall best square its own separate expenditure by its own separate resources. Under the general system the competition is in the opposite way—which shall draw most from the

common stock, for enabling it smoothly to get over the expenses of its own smooth and indolent management. The effect is unavoidable. A Kirk-Session will be at no pains to augment that local revenue which it is not permitted to appropriate—and it will be at as little pains to husband that general revenue in which it has only a small fractional concern, and out of which, also, its allowances are drawn. It is thus that languor, and listlessness, and easy indifference, will characterise all those separate managements, under which the new cases that are admitted in the first instance, will pour every month, with most pernicious facility, into the domain of pauperism; and against this the scrutinies of every year that take place under the general management, will be found to raise a most vain and impotent barrier.

Such a constitution for ten parishes, has the like pernicious influence on the affairs of their pauperism, as it would have, if adopted by ten individuals for the conduct of their ordinary business. It is conceivable, that each might be left all the year round, to the details both of his own separate counting-house, and of his own family expenditure —only, that he had to throw all his profits into a common stock, and to draw therefrom such sums as he required, for the maintenance of his establishment. It must be quite obvious, how much an arrangement of this sort, would slacken both the labours of the counting-house, and the economics of the family—and that no yearly review by a com-

mittee of the whole number, could prevent such an effect. Not one of them, it is to be feared, would be so careful and industrious in trade, when, instead of realizing his own individual gains, he was only to share them with others, over whose operations in the meantime, he had little or no control. And neither could we feel so secure of his frugality at home, when, instead of drawing from his own peculiar repositories, he drew from the treasury of a general concern. The competition between individuals so unwisely assorted together, would be, who should labour least in the duties, and who should spend most of the produce of this ill-devised scheme of partnership. But ill-devised as it would be, it just exemplifies the system of a General Session for the whole town, with the Sessions of the various parishes subordinated to its control. It is by the resolution of this complex mechanism into its separate parts—it is by isolating and individualising each of the parishes—it is by vesting it with a sovereignty over its own income, and leaving it to the burden of its own expenditure—that you give an impulse to each Kirk-Session similar to that which presides over the economy of private life, where each man appropriates his own gains, and pays his own charges; and where, in consequence of so doing, he is both far more diligent in his professional calling, and far more frugal in his household and personal expenses, than he would have been under such an

artificial combination, as we are now attempting to expose.

Our desire, that the general system of management for the poor, shall be superseded by the independent local system, is not so much founded on the impulse it would give towards the augmentation of the revenue in each parish, as on the vigilance and care that it would be sure to introduce into the administration of that revenue. It would work both of these effects; but we would be disguising our own views of the truth and philosophy of this whole subject, did we rate the former of these effects as of any importance at all, when compared with the latter of them. We affirm, that a great revenue for public charity is not called for in any parish; but if public charity in some shape or other, is to be perpetuated amongst us, all we hold necessary is, that it be placed under the guardianship of men, who shall feel themselves under the necessity of being prudent, and considerate, and wary, in the dispensation of it. It is because the general system releases them from this feeling, and the local or parochial system brings it forth again into practical operation, that we are so anxious for the abolition of the one, and the substitution of the other in its place: And let the income be what it may, we have no fear, under this improved management, of each distinct population being upheld on their own capabilities, in greater comfort and independence than before, and that too in the very poorest of the parishes.

And, it is not by leaving the poor to a greater weight of endurance, that such an effect is anticipated. By shutting up the modern avenue to relief, they are simply conducted to those good old ways, from which, for a season, they have been allured, but which, so long as the nature of humanity remains unaltered, they will still find, in every way, as open, and as abundant of kindly and refreshing pasture as before. The closing of that artificial source, out of which the supplies of indigence have emanated for years, would be sensibly felt in any parish, were it not instantaneously followed up by a re-action on the natural sources; and did not the withdrawment of what wont to flow upon them from one quarter, find an immediate compensation from other quarters, which were in danger of becoming obsolete, by the unnatural direction that has long been imprest on the ministrations of charity. The truth is, however, that there is not a parish in Scotland so far gone in pauperism, but that all which it yet yields could be safely withheld from the population; and a slight addition to their industry, and thrift, and relative duty, and neighbourly kindness, would greatly more than overbalance any imaginary loss, which, it might be feared, would be sustained by the cause of humanity. To all sense there would be as little, and in positive reality, there would be less of unrelieved want under the reformed order of things, than before it,—and the whole amount of the change, were a population somewhat more exempted from

distress, and somewhat more prosperous in its general economics, with the mighty advantage of a more healthful moral regimen, from the impulse and free play that had been restored to the sobrieties and the sympathies of our nature.

But this need not remain a mere theoretical anticipation—nor will it be enough to satisfy the public, that it is announced in the oracular phraseology of one, who may be rendering to the picture of his own sanguine imagination, that homage which is only due to truth, in one of her living fulfilments, or, in one of her actual exhibitions. This matter admits of being brought to the test of experiment; and the demand of all practical men is for facts, rather than for principles. And yet, in affirming principles, one may be only affirming such truths as are strictly experimental. The urgency of the law of self-preservation, is an experimental truth; and the certainty wherewith this law will operate to the revival of a certain measure of economy, on the removal of those temptations which had served to relax it, is another; and the great strength of relative attachments, is another; and the dread of all that disgrace which would be incurred by the unnatural abandonment of those parents or kindred, to whom pauperism no longer holds out an asylum, is another; and the force of mutual sympathy among neighbours, is another; and the greater alacrity of that spontaneous kindness which is felt by the rich towards the poor, when the irritation of legal claims, and legal exactions, does not

extinguish it, is another: And, on the strength of all these known and oft ascertained principles of our nature, may it be not rashly conjectured, but most rationally inferred, that when pauperism is swept away, there will be a breaking forth of relief upon the destitute, from certain other outlets which pauperism had stopt, or, at least, the effusion of which, pauperism had stinted. Still, however, it were far more satisfactory that the thing be tried, than that the thing be argued; and of vastly greater authority than any speculation however ingenious, upon universal principles of our nature however sound, would we hold the specific result of any experiment that may have been made on a specific territory.

It is on this account that we feel disposed to estimate at so high a value the experience of Glasgow; nor are we aware of any given space on the whole domain at least of Scottish pauperism, where a touchstone so delicate and decisive of the question could possibly be applied—and we are most confidently persuaded, that if the progress of this city towards the English system could possibly be arrested, then it may also be arrested with equal or greater facility in any parish of Scotland—judging that to be indeed an *experimentum crucis*, which is made with such materials as an exclusively manufacturing population, and at such a time too as that of the greatest adversity which the trade of the place had ever to sustain in the history of its many fluctuations. But it will be necessary to premise

a short general account of the method in which its pauperism wont to be administered.

Each parish is divided into districts called proportions, over which an elder is appointed; whose business it is to receive from the people belonging to it, and who are induced to become paupers, their first applications for public relief. The fund which principally arises from the free-will offerings that are collected weekly at the church doors of the different parishes, is kept distinct from the fund that arises out of the legal assessments; so that when any application was made to the elder from his district, he had to judge whether the case was of so light a nature, as that it could be met and provided for out of the first and smallest of these funds; or whether it was a case of such magnitude as justified the immediate transmission of it to the administration of the second fund. It so happens, that excepting on rare occasions, the primary applications for relief, are brought upon the fund raised by collections, and therefore comes in the first instance, under the cognizance and control of the Kirk-Session of that parish, out of which the applications have arisen. So that generally at the first stage in the history of a pauper, he stands connected with the Kirk-Session to which he belongs, and is enrolled as one of their paupers, at the monthly allowance of from two to five shillings.

It is here, however, proper to remark, that the different Kirk-Sessions did not retain their own proper collections, for a fund out of which they

might issue their own proper disbursements; but that all the collections were thrown into one mass, subject to the control of a body of administrators, named the GENERAL SESSION, and made up of all the members of all the separate Sessions of the city. From this reservoir, thus fed by weekly parochial contributions, there issued back again such monthly supplies upon each subordinate Session, as the General Session judged to be requisite, on such regard being had, as they were disposed to give to the number and necessities of those poor that were actually on the roll of each parish. So, that in as far as the administration of the voluntary fund for charity was concerned, it was conducted according to a system that had all the vices which we have already tried to enumerate, and the mischief of which was scarcely alleviated, by the occasional scrutinies that were made under the authority of the General Session, for the purpose of purifying and reducing the rolls of all that pauperism, which lay within the scope of their jurisdiction.

But we have already stated, that even in the first instance, some cases occurred of more aggravated necessity and distress, than a Kirk-Session felt itself able for, or would venture to undertake. These were transmitted direct to the TOWN HOSPITAL, a body vested with the administration of the compulsory fund, raised by legal assessment, throughout the city, for the purpose of supplementing that revenue which is gathered at the church door, and which, with a few trifling additions from other sour-

ces, constitutes the sole public aliment of the poor, in the great majority of our Scottish parishes. There were only, however, a small number who found their way to the Town Hospital, without taking their middle passage to it by the Kirk-Session; so that the main host of that pauperism which made good its entry on the compulsory fund, came not directly and at once from the population, but through those parochial bodies of administration for the voluntary fund, whose cases, as they either multiplied in number, or became more aggravated in kind, were transferred from their own rolls to those of this other institution. This transference took place when the largest sum awarded by the Session was deemed not sufficient for the pauper, who, as he became older, and more necessitous, was recommended for admittance on their ampler fund, to the weekly committee of the Town Hospital. So that each Session might have been regarded as having two doors—one of them a door of admittance from the population who stand at the margin of pauperism; and another of them, a door of egress to the Town Hospital, through which the occupiers of the outer court made their way to the inner temple. The Sessions, in fact, were the feeders or conductors by which the Town Hospital received its pauperism, that after lingering a while on this path of conveyance, was impelled onward to the farther extremity, and was at length thrust into the bosom of the wealthier institution, by the pressure that constantly accumulated behind it.

It will be seen at once, how much this economy of things tended to relax still more all the Sessional administrations of the city; and with what facility the stream of pauperism would be admitted at the one end, where so ready and abundant a discharge was provided for it at the other. We know not how it was possible to devise a more likely arrangement for lulling the vigilance of those who stood at the outposts of pauperism—and that, too, at a point where their firm and strenuous guardianship was of greatest importance; even at the point where the first demonstrations towards public charity were made on the part of the people, and when their incipient tendencies to this new state, if judiciously, while tenderly dealt with, might have been so easily repressed. To station one body of men at the entrance of pauperism, and burden them only with the lighter expenses of its outset, from which they have the sure prospect of being relieved by another body of men, who stand charged both with the trouble and expense of its full and finished maturity—there could scarcely have been set a-going a more mischievous process of acceleration towards all the miseries and corruptions which are attendant on the overgrown charity of England. In some recent years, the pauperism of Glasgow has about trebled the amount of what it stood at in 1803.

The great thing wanted, in these circumstances, was to make full restitution to a Kirk-Session of those elements which are indispensable to the prosperity of every other management, and both to

the spirit and success wherewith it is conducted—to assign to it an undivided task, and furnish it with independent means for its thorough accomplishment—to throw upon it the whole responsibility of acquitting itself of its own proper business, on the strength of its own proper resources—and, for this purpose, to cut it off by a conclusive act of separation, from all those bodies, a connection with which had made it alike indifferent either to the matter of its own revenue, which it felt no interest to augment, or to the matter of its own expenditure, which it felt no interest to economise. To disjoin it from the Town Hospital, all that seemed necessary was to shut the door of egress, by which its pauperism had been in the habit of finding vent to that institution, and to make the door of ingress from the general population, the only place of public repair, not merely for the lighter, but for the more urgent and aggravated cases of distress that occurred among its families. To disjoin it from the General Session, all that seemed necessary, was a permission to it from that body, to retain its own proper collections, and to have one unmixed and unfettered control over the distribution of them. It appeared likely that in this way a healthful impulse might be given both to the congregation who furnished the Sessional revenue, and to the agency who expended it—that the latter more particularly thrown upon their own means, and their own management, would have the greatest possible excitement for suiting the one

to the other—that in this way the initial movements towards pauperism would meet with the requisite vigilance, and have to undergo the most strict and attentive examinations. And, though this might seem to lay a great additional burden of superintendence on each Session; yet, was there reason to believe, that under such a system the labour of management would eventually be reduced with them all; for, in proportion to the pains bestowed on each new application, was it hoped, that the number of them would be greatly diminished, by the very knowledge, on the part of the population, of the now more searching ordeal through which they had to pass. There would besides, be a mighty alleviation to the fatigues of office, by the very simplification of its attentions, and duties, and by the release that would ensue from the attendance which was required of each elder, on those more general bodies wherewith his own parochial Session was joined and complicated, into a most unwieldy system of operations. It had really all the feeling of emancipation, to break loose from the control, and the controversy, and the inextricable confusion, which attached to such a piece of ponderous and overgrown mechanism, to retire from it into one's own snug and separate corner, whereon he could draw near to the subjects of his own petty administration, and bestow upon them an attention and a care, from which he was no longer distracted by those generalities that had before bewildered him—to have the degradation

incurred by the abridgment of that territory on which the minister and his elders shared in authority and importance with the great city corporation, most amply made up by the charm of that newly felt liberty, wherewith they might now preside over all the details of their own little concern, and wield an unfettered sovereignty within the bounds of their own limited but now thoroughly independent jurisdiction.

But we ought not to animadvert on the errors of an old system, without remarking how very little the fault of them, or the absurdity of them, are chargeable on any living individuals. The General Session of Glasgow, like the similar bodies of management for the poor, in other great towns, was originally the parochial Session of its one parish, and was simply continued in the existence of its authority after the division and multiplication of parishes. It did not originate in any scheme of combination, and is more the vestige of a former state of things, than a recent economy that has been framed and adapted to our actual circumstances. Its utter unsuitableness to another state of things than that which obtained at the time of its institution, bears in it no reflection upon the sagacity either of our present or any former race of public administrators. The mal-adjustment that there is between an old institution and a new state, is the fruit not of mismanagement, but of history, the events of which no wisdom could have foreseen, and no authority could or ought to have counter-

acted. That should not be branded as an ill-devised scheme, which may at the first have been founded in wisdom; and has been perpetuated down to the present times, not by the folly, but merely by the *vis inertiæ* of succeeding generations. In the conduct of the public men of Glasgow, respecting its pauperism, there is no room for criticism, but much for admiration and gratitude. The mighty obstacle in the way of every civic reformation, is the adhesiveness of our civic rulers to that trodden walk of officiality, on which, as if by the force and certainty of mechanism, they feel a most obstinate tendency to persevere—and there is no disturbance more painful, no dread more sore and sensitive, than that which is excited in their bosoms, by schemes and systems of innovation. And therefore was it the more fortunate, that, with a management full of incoherence, and ready to sink under the load of its own unwieldiness, there should, at the same time, have been such an unexampled largeness and liberality of spirit among its administrators, and an openness to the lights of generalization, that is rarely to be met, associated with the detail and the tenacious habit of practitioners.

We should not have dwelt at such length on the old constitution of pauperism in Glasgow, had it not exemplified the most essential vices which still attach to almost all the great towns of Scotland. We are not aware of any such town, consisting of more than one parish, where there is an independent fund, and an independent management, for

each of the parishes. They are generally implicated, though in various ways, the one with the other; and there are even instances, where, instead of being landed unawares into such an arrangement, by the increase and multiplication of parishes, the merging of the separate and local jurisdictions into one comprehensive of them all, has been deliberately entered upon, for the purpose of giving greater weight and efficiency to the administration. It has been thought that the wisdom, and the vigilance, and the strenuousness, would have been augmented, by this extension and complication of the mechanism. But this, at least, is one department of human experience, where the maxim has been found not to apply, that in the multitude of counsellors there is safety. We have already, however, sufficiently expounded our reasons for thinking, that, in every instance, this process of generalization ought to be retraced; that both an independent revenue, and an independent control should be restored to each of the parishes: And, we are most thoroughly persuaded, that with no other revenue, than that which is obtained by weekly collections at the church doors, and no other superintendence than that which may be severally and distinctly exercised by each of the Kirk-Sessions, it were a most practicable achievement to bring the whole pauperism of our large towns under a most strictly parochial economy, in the course of a few years; and thus to re-establish, even in those places which are most deeply and virulently

affected by the example of our sister country, the old gratuitous system of public charity, which obtained at one time universally in Scotland.

And, for this purpose, it is not necessary to withdraw, or in any way to meddle with the allowance of any existing pauper. He may be upheld in his present aliment; and that, too, under the present economy, which may be allowed to subsist in all its wonted relationships to the pauperism that is already framed, until that pauperism shall be swept away by death. Should, for example, so many of the poor have been admitted on the fund raised by assessment, and placed under a peculiar administration of its own, as in Glasgow—these poor may be left untouched, and suffered to receive of that fund just as before. It is only necessary that no new cases be henceforth admitted upon it, in order, by the dying away of the old cases, to operate a sure, though gradual, relief on this compulsory provision, which thus, in a few years, might be done away with altogether. Meanwhile, each parish should be left to its own treatment of its own new applicants, and that, on its own proper resources. Or, if instead of a fund by assessment, vested in a separate body of management, this and other charitable funds are united into one, and brought under the control and cognizance of one court, as a General Session, or a body made up of representatives from the various corporations of the place, there were still a way of meeting, by a temporary arrangement, all who are already taken on as

paupers, so as that they shall be alimented as formerly; while each parish, released from all foreign jurisdiction, could give its unfettered care and attention to the new applications. Thus, the united fund that is distributed over the whole city, will, of course, send forth its largest proportions to the poorest parishes. And the sum presently expended on the pauperism of such a parish, may very greatly exceed the sum collected at its church doors. Now, the way to accommodate this matter, were for the managers of the united fund to allocate to that parish as many of its poor as were equivalent to its collections—and after they had resigned these poor, and the collections along with them, they would find themselves just as able as before, with their remaining fund, for the remaining poor that were still left upon their hands, of whom, however, by the operation of death, they would speedily be relieved altogether. Again, it is conceivable of one of the richer parishes, that the expense of its poor may fall short of its collections, in which case, the managers of the united fund might retain as much of the surplus as would enable them to aliment that excess of poor which had been devolved upon them from the poorer parishes. As these poor die, however, there will always less of this surplus be required, which, when disengaged, ought to remain with the richer parish from which it had emanated. We are quite aware of a tendency and a temptation here to connect the rich parish permanently with the poor one—to keep up a stream of

communication between the wealth that is in the one, and the necessities which are conceived to be in the other. And for this purpose, there must be kept up an organ of transmission, or court, to direct and sit in judgment over this generalizing and equalizing process; or, in other words, a superintendence still, over the pauperism of the whole city. There is no obstacle in the way of reformation, which we more dread, than the imagination that there is, of a justice and an expediency in taxing the wealthier departments of the town for the pauperism of the whole—or, which is tantamount to this, in drawing the excess of the larger collections to those parishes, where the demand for relief is more urgent, and the collections smaller. This may be necessary till the whole of that existing pauperism, which has been accumulated under the present system, shall be seen to its termination. But, most assuredly, it is not necessary that it shall be perpetuated after this. There is not a district of the town, however poor, the economy of which will not be more prosperous in all the branches of it, by having all its public charity placed under an internal management of its own, and thrown upon the resources which are inherent to itself, than by having its Sessional revenue fed and amplified from a foreign quarter. This is a system which ought to expire with the expiration of all the cases that have been admitted under it; for, if upheld or revived in any shape whatever, it will re-land the parishes in all the evils of a lax

administration, on the part of the managers, and a rapacious expectancy on the part of the people. This is a matter which can easily be brought to the test of experience. Let the poorest city parish in Scotland be taken up as it at present stands—let its present collection be compared with the present expense of its pauperism—let it be relieved of the whole excess of its poor by the existing management, and be thrown on its own resources, with just such a number of paupers as can be maintained in their present allowances, on the proper and peculiar revenue of the Kirk-Session to which they belong, —let the elders go forth upon their tasks with this simple change in their feeling, that they have now an expenditure to preside over which they must suit to that free and separate income that has been left in their hands,—and, though a little more of strenuousness may be required at the outset, than they had wont to bestow on the duties of their office, yet will they be sure to find, that pauperism is a bugbear, which shrinks and vanishes almost into nothing, before the touch of a stricter inquiry, and a closer personal intercourse with the families. They will find, that by every new approach which they make to the subjects of their care and guardianship, the capabilities of the people themselves rise upon their observation; and that every utterance which has been made about the stimulating and the re-opening of the natural sources for the relief of indigence, in proportion to the closing of the artificial source, is the effusion not of fancy,

but of experience. The task may look a little formidable to them at its commencement. But they may be assured of the facility and the pleasure in which it will at length terminate—and that clamour, and urgency, and discontent, will subside among the poor, just according as they are less allured from the expedients of Nature and Providence for their relief, by the glare and the magnitude of city institutions. Along with the humbleness, there will also soon be the felt kindliness of a parochial economy, after the heartless generalities of the present system have been all broken up and dissipated—and, baiting a few outcries of turbulence or menace, which would have been far more frequent and more acrimonious under the old economy than the new, will every Kirk-Session, that enters fearlessly upon the undertaking, speedily make its way to the result of a parish better served, and better satisfied than ever.

And, the more to encourage and to open the way for such an enterprise as this, it were well, at the outset, to hold out more favourable terms to the poorer of our city parishes. It were no great addition to the burden of the general management, if, in the case of a parish where the collection is small, and which is at the same time among the most heavily laden of any with its existing pauperism, the whole of this pauperism was lifted away from the parochial management, and the collection were freely and altogether given up to it. This were only the surrender or the loss of the collection on

the part of the general body of management, which might be made up, for the first year, by a small addition to the assessment; and which, at all events, would most amply be atoned for in a very short time, by the dying away of old cases, without the substitution of any new cases whatever in their place. Meanwhile, the Kirk-Session, left to an unfettered control over its small but independent revenue, and having no other pauperism to meet with, but that which shall be formed and admitted by itself, would feel themselves incited to the uttermost patience and industry, and diligent plying of all their expedients in the treatment of the new applications. To begin with, in fact, they would have a revenue without an expenditure, and their weekly collections would, for a time, outstrip the gradual monthly additions which they made to their new pauperism. The extent to which that time might be prolonged, would depend on the stimulus which they gave to the liberality of the congregation, and still more on the stimulus they would receive themselves, to a careful and considerate administration. There is not a Session so poor of income, as not, under such an economy, to accumulate a little stock, in the first instance,—but, let it ever be recollected, that the final success, in all cases, would be mainly due, not to the means, but to the management. With both together, there is not a parish so sunk in helplessness, that might not be upheld in public charity on the strength of its own proper and inherent capabilities. And this,

without harshness; without a tithe of those asperities and heart-burnings among the people, which are the sure attendants on a profuse dispensation; without the aspect at all of that repulsive disdain which frowns on the city multitude, from the great city institution. This is one of the precious fruits of locality, and of a local administration. Its nearer and more frequent mingling with the families, would both reveal the natural sources which exist in every community, for the relief of indigence; and would further act upon those sources so powerfully, though silently, as to admit, without violence, of the great artificial source being nearly dried up altogether. The sure result, at all events, would be a far blander and more pacific society; and with greatly less of public and apparent distribution among the poor, would there, at the same time, be greatly less of complaining on our streets than before.

It will be perceived, that nothing can be more smooth, and more successive, than the retracing process, which is here recommended. There is no violence done to any existing pauper. There is no sudden overthrow of any old general institution, which simply dies its natural death with the dying out of the old cases. There is no oppressive or overwhelming load placed upon any of the local institutions, which, however humble be its means, is left to treat with the new cases alone, and will, therefore, have a very humble expenditure to begin with. The pauperism that has been accumulated under

a corrupt system, surely but silently melts away under the operation of mortality. And all that we have said of pauperism being an unnecessary and artificial excrescence upon the body politic, obtains its experimental fulfilment in the fact, that every city parish, disengaged from the former economy of matters, and thrown on its own proper resources, however scanty, will weather the whole demand that is made for public charity, up to the full weight and maximum of the new applications.

And, yet though the process be a very sure, it will be found that it is a very short one. In Scotland, we should think, that the average for a generation of pauperism, will not exceed five years. In that period, the old generation will have well nigh disappeared, and have been replaced in the full magnitude which need ever be attained by the new generation. The bulky and overgrown parent, that wont to scare and burden the whole city—and that, both from its size and its expensive habits of indulgence, will be succeeded by a few small, docile, and manageable children. The old general institution, relieved altogether of its charge, will cease its heavy assessments for a maintenance that ever craved, and was never satisfied: And, each member of the subdivided management into which it has been rendered, will have its own separate task, and with means inconceivably less than its wonted proportion, will be at no loss for its own separate achievement. And we again affirm, that under the new *regime*, moderate of income as it

is, its administrators will see far less of penury, and feel far less of pressure, than they ever did under the old one.

It is thus, that in a very few years, all the transition parishes of Scotland, may be conducted back again to that purely gratuitous system from which some of them have been receding and widening their distance, for several generations. It is well, that the method of collection on the Sundays, has not been totally abandoned in any of these parishes: for this furnishes a distinct object to which the retracing operation may be made to point, and whither, with no great strenuousness of attention, on the part of the parochial administrators, it may be made very shortly to arrive. It is true, that since the introduction of assessments into the country parishes, there has been a very natural decline of the collection at the church doors. But small as it is from this cause, it would revive again under any arrangement that pointed to the abolition of a poor's rate. But we again repeat, that the success of such an experiment depends not on the sufficiency of the positive means, but on the certainty wherewith the people may be made to accommodate their habits of demand and expectation, to any new system of pauperism that may be instituted, provided that it is introduced gradually, and without violence. In the transition parishes of the country, the collection is generally thrown into a common fund, with the money raised by assessment; and the whole is placed under the joint management

of the Heritors and Kirk-Session. The retracing process, in such a case, is very obvious. Let the Kirk-Session be vested with the sole management of the gratuitous fund, in which it will be the wisdom of the Heritors not to interfere with them. Let all the existing cases of pauperism, at the outset of the proposed reformation, be laid upon the compulsory fund, and seen out without any difference in their relation, or in the rate of their allowance, from what would have obtained under the old system. Let the Session undertake the new cases alone, with the money raised from the free-will offerings at the church doors, which offerings they may stimulate or not as they shall see cause. Let them give their heart and their energy to the enterprise, and a very few years will find the parish totally relieved of assessments, by the dying away of the old pauperism; and the revenue of the Session, as drawn from purely Scottish sources, will be quite competent to the expenses of the new pauperism.

Even though the experiment should at length fail—though in two or three years it should be found, that the collection is overtaken and outstript by the new applications—it has one very strong recommendation which many other experiments have no claim to. There will have been no loss incurred by it. Matters will not be in a worse, but to a moral certainty, will be in a better situation than they were at the commencement of the undertaking. There can be no doubt, that, as the

effect of the proposed arrangement, more care and caution will be expended on the new admissions than before; and that thus the influx of all the recent pauperism will be more restrained than it would otherwise have been. The old pauperism, in the hands of the old administrators, will melt away at a faster rate than the new pauperism in the hands of the Kirk-Session will be accumulated; and even though the Kirk-Session should at length be overpowered by this accumulation, and have to give in as before, to the necessity of recurring again upon the fund by assessment, they will meet that fund lightened upon the whole by the period of their separation, and refreshed by the breathing time which it has gotten for the new draughts and demands that may be made upon it. We have no apprehension ourselves of any such necessity; but it ought certainly to encourage the trial of what has been suggested, that even, on the worst supposition, and though the trial should ultimately misgive, the result will, at all events, be perfectly innocent, and, on the whole, be in some degree advantageous.

But we have no hesitation as to the final success of the experiment; and it is thus that we meet the imputations of wild and theoretical, which have been so clamorously lifted up against the enemies of pauperism. We know not how a more close, and pertinent, and altogether satisfactory proof can be attained of the truth of any principles whatever, than that which is so patently and directly accessi-

ble on the question before us. The affirmation is, that if the people of a parish are not lured away from their own proper and original expedients for the relief of human suffering, by the pomp, and parade, and pretension, of a great public charity—there will be less of complaint, and less, too, of distress in that parish, than when such a charity is flashed upon their notice, and so the eye and disposition of the people are turned towards it. We know not how a way more effectual can possibly be devised for reaching the evidence by which to try the soundness of this affirmation, than simply to dissociate a city parish from all those magnificent generalities of the place wherewith it stood related formerly, and thus to cause its administration for the relief of the poor shrink into the dimensions of a humble and separate parochial economy. Let it not be burdened with the liquidation of the old pauperism, but let it be tasked with the management of the new. When a Kirk-Session has thus had the spring and the stimulus of its own independence restored to it, let it be abandoned to its own specific treatment of all the specific applications. We do not ask it to blink or to evade, but openly to face all the complaints, and all the claims, which are preferred against it,—not to go forth upon this new charge steeled against the looks and the language of supplication, but giving a courteous reception to every proposal, patiently to inquire, and kindly and Christianly to dispose of it. There is only

one expedient, the use of which, on every principle of equity and fair self-defence, must be conceded to them. They should be protected against the influx of poor from other parishes; and, if there be no law of residence mutually applicable to the various districts of the same city, then it is quite imperative on the Session that is disengaged from the rest, not to outstrip, in liberality of allowance, the practice which obtains under that prior and general management from which it has separated: else there would be an overwhelming importation of paupers from the contiguous places. It is enough surely for the vindication of its treatment, if it can make out, in every specific instance, that the applicant has been as generously dealt with, as any other in like circumstances, and *whose case has been as well sifted and ascertained,* would have been in any other department of the town. With this single proviso, let a detached and emancipated Kirk-Session go forth upon its task—and let it spare no labour on the requisite investigations, and let it ply all the right expedients of prevention, the application of which is more for the interest of the claimant than for the interest of the charitable fund—let it examine not merely into his own proper and personal capabilities, but let it urge, and remonstrate, and negotiate with his relatives and friends, and lay down upon himself the lessons of economy and good conduct,—in a word, let it knock at the gate of all those natural fountains of supply which we have so often insisted on,

as being far more kindly and productive than is the artificial fountain of pauperism, which it were well for the population could it be conclusively sealed and shut up altogether,—let every attempt, by moral suasion, and the influence of a growing acquaintanceship with the families, be made on the better and more effective sources for the relief of want, ere the Session shall open its own door, and send forth supplies from its own store-house, on the cases that have been submitted to it; and it will be found, as the result of all this management, prosecuted in the mere style of nature and common sense, that the people will at once become both more moderate in their demands, and, on the whole, more satisfied with the new administration under which they have been placed. We are really not aware how this question can be brought more closely and decisively to the test of experiment, than by a body of men thus laying their immediate hand upon it; and, surely, it were only equitable to wait the trial and the failure of such an experiment, ere the adversaries of pauperism shall be denounced either as unpractised or as unfeeling spectators.

CHAP. XII.

ON THE PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF PAUPERISM IN GLASGOW.

It will be seen, from the exposition that has been already given of the state of pauperism in Glasgow, that, previous to the breaking up of its old economy, each distinct parish had its sessional poor, who were maintained out of the share that was adjudged for their support by the General Session; and it had its more advanced or hospital poor, who had, either in the shape of inmates or of out-pensioners, been transferred to the fund raised by assessment. The expense of the hospital poor greatly exceeded that of the sessional, in as much as the revenue of the former institution greatly exceeded that of the latter,—the sum raised by assessment being once so high as twelve thousand pounds a-year, whereas the annual collections at the church doors, seldom or never reached two thousand pounds. When the parish of St. John's was founded in September, 1819, the cost of the sessional poor within its limits, was only two hundred and twenty-five pounds, yearly, though its population amounted then to upwards of ten thousand; and, after the deduction which has been made from it by the still more recent parish of St. James', amounts now to upwards of eight thousand, which is something more than a tenth

part of the population of the whole city. In respect of wealth, too, we should hold it to be considerably beneath the general average of the inhabitants of Glasgow; consisting, as it does, almost exclusively, of an operative population. So that had it remained under the general system for the other parishes, its Session could not have been charged with glaring mismanagement, should it have been found, at the end of a period of years, that the expense of the whole poor of St. John's amounted to a tenth part of the sessional and hospital revenue for the whole city—adding, of course, to the money that went directly for the personal subsistence of the paupers, the money that was necessarily expended in the service and various offices of the two general institutions. In other words, under the average and ordinary style of management for one tenth of the population of Glasgow, in the average circumstances of that population, the whole expense of its pauperism should be from twelve to fourteen hundred pounds, yearly.

The experience of a few former years in another parish of Glasgow, warranted the anticipation of an annual collection at the church door of St. John's, of about four hundred pounds. By detaching this parish, then, from the General Session, there was a surrender made on the part of that body, of the whole difference between the sessional revenue of St. John's, and its sessional expense, which amounted, at the commencement, to only two hun-

dred and twenty-five pounds, yearly. It is true, that this surrender would ultimately be felt by the Town Hospital, on which institution the burden of all the deficiencies, of all the parishes, was laid. But, then, the compensation held out for this surrender, to the Town Hospital, was, that it should be relieved from the burden of all the future pauperism, which else would have flowed into it from the parish of St. John's. The door of egress from the Session of that parish to the Town Hospital, was forthwith and conclusively to be shut—while the door of ingress to the Session from the parochial population, was to be opened more widely than before, by its being made the only place of admittance both for the lighter and the more aggravated cases of necessity that might occur. Still it was a generous compliance on the part both of the General Session, and of the Town Hospital, thus to forego the immediate good of a hundred and seventy-five pounds, and this for the distant, eventual, and, as yet, precarious good, of one-tenth of the territory of Glasgow being finally reclaimed from the dominion of its general pauperism. It was true, that this surplus of £175, was all that the Kirk-Session of St. John's had to count upon, for extending the allowance of its paupers, at that state of their advancing necessity, when they wont, under the old system, to be transferred to the Town Hospital; and it may be thought to have been a little adventurous, perhaps, on the side of one of the parties in this negotiation, to have un-

dertaken, on a revenue of four hundred pounds, to meet all the expenses of a concern, which, under another system of administration, might easily have absorbed, at least, three times that sum, yearly. But, on the other hand, there was still an uncertainty that hung over the issue of this untried speculation; and, therefore, the utmost credit is due to the other parties in this negotiation, for the facility wherewith they acceded to the parish of St. John's, a favourite and much desired arrangement.

In the following brief statement of the operations which took place under this arrangement, it were of importance, that the reader should separate what properly and essentially belongs to the matter of pauperism, from that which, though connected with the details of its management, was in no way indispensable to the success that has attended them,—else he might be led to regard it as a far more ponderous and impracticable business than it really is, and, therefore, not so readily imitable in other parishes.

Of this collateral description, we hold to be the institution of Deacons. This was adopted in the parish of St. John's, not so much for a civil as for an ecclesiastical purpose—more for the sake of disjoining the elders from pauperism, than for the right administration of pauperism itself. The truth is, that it could not be distinctly foreseen, at the commencement, what would be the requisite degree of vigilance and examination under the

new system; and, therefore, was it deemed of importance, that the elders, whose office was more of a spiritual character, should be relieved from the labour and the invidiousness that might have attached to the strict treatment of all the new applications for public charity. As the matter has turned out, however, it is now decisively ascertained, that pauperism, under an independent parochial regime, is a thing so easily managed, and so easily reducible, that an order of deacons, however to be desired on other grounds, is not indispensable to the specific object for which they are appointed. We certainly prefer that elders should be protected from any violation, however slight, on the strictly ecclesiastical character which belongs to them; and one of the sorest mischiefs that attached to the old system in Glasgow, was the grievous mutilation inflicted upon this character, by this body of men being so implicated with the concerns of an overgrown and rapidly accelerating pauperism. On the setting up of a separate parochial system, it will be found, that this evil is greatly mitigated. For our own parts, we hold the utter extirpation of what is evil, to be a better thing than its mitigation—and, therefore, while pauperism, in its very humblest degrees, is to be perpetuated, we count it desirable, that in each parish there should be an order of deacons. Others, however, may not attach the same value to this consideration; and, therefore, for the purpose of distinguishing things which are really distinct, do

we affirm, that for the one design of conducting a transition parish back again to the pure and gratuitous system of Scottish pauperism, an order of deacons is not indispensable.

There was another circumstance connected with the pauperism of St. John's, that had also more of an accessory or fortuitous character, than any essential relationship with the success of its administration. This was the institution of an evening church service, on the Sabbaths, for the accommodation of parishioners. Neither is this of essential imitation by other parishes—the purpose of such an arrangement being purely ecclesiastical. But the reason why it is here introduced, is, that it enables us more distinctly to mark the operation of the new system, in the two great branches into which it is resolvable. The first branch consists of the sessional paupers, that had already been admitted, anterior to the commencement of our proceedings, and whose annual expense, as already stated, amounted to two hundred and twenty-five pounds. These the elders retained under their management, and to meet the charges of which, they had the produce of the weekly offerings of the day or general congregation, assigned to them. The second branch consists of the new applicants for parochial relief, the consideration and treatment of whose cases, were devolved upon the deacons, and who, meanwhile, were put in trust and keeping of the evening collections, or the free-will offerings of the parochial congregation. This arrange-

ment does not materially affect the process, but it serves to throw a clearer and more discriminative light upon it; and leads us to ascertain, first, in how far a Town Hospital, or a compulsory fund, is called for, to provide for the advancing necessity of those who have previously been admitted on the lists of pauperism—and, secondly, in how far a very large collection at the church doors, or the accumulation of a sessional capital from this source, is called for, to provide for the eventual demands that may, for aught that was previously known, have been thickened and multiplied to a degree that was quite overwhelming, in consequence of the number and urgency of new applications.

The charge upon the elders' fund, it will be seen, was liable to an increase from one source, and to a diminution from another. The expense of the pauperism laid upon this fund at the outset, was two hundred and twenty-five pounds, yearly. But, on the one hand, the state of many of the paupers would become more necessitous, as they grew older and more infirm, and, but for the new arrangement, they would have been transferred to the larger allowances of the Town Hospital,—and as that communication was now shut, the extension of the allowances devolved upon the Session. On the other hand, there was a relief upon the fund from the death of paupers; and the uncertainty, at the commencement of their proceedings, was, whether the extended allowances by the Session, in lieu of the Town Hospital allowances, would be

more or less than compensated by the gradual disappearance of the existing cases from death. The anticipation was, that, at the first, the increase of expense from the one quarter, would prevail over the diminution of expense from the other; but, that, after a short temporary rise of demand upon their revenue, there behooved to be a very rapid subsidency by death. Meanwhile, it was thought, that could the evening collection be found to meet, for a time, the new applications, the day collection might, at length, be relieved, even of all the pressure which originally lay upon it,—in which case, it might either be accumulated for the purpose of meeting the burden of the new cases, when they became too heavy for the deacons' fund; or be applied to any other legitimate purpose that stood connected with the good of the parish. It is remarkable, that the charge on the elders' fund, did experience the slight increase of a few pounds, sterling, during the first year of their separate and independent administration; but, that, now, as was to be expected, the cause of diminution by death, largely and rapidly prevails over the cause of increase by extended allowances. This was soon to be looked for in the course of nature—as, generally speaking, in Scotland pauperism implies considerable age—so that a generation of pauperism passes rapidly away. The expense of the Session, for the maintenance of those original cases that were devolved upon them, in September, 1819,—an expense that is defrayed

from the offerings of the day congregation, is now considerably less than it was at the commencement, and is in a course of rapid diminution.

But the far most interesting branch of this whole process, and that on which the success of the attempt most essentially hinged, was the treatment of the new cases to be admitted on the evening collection, after they had undergone the requisite examination by its distinct administrators. The fund placed at their disposal, was not one-fifth of the fund assigned to the elders for their operations, —being contributed by a much poorer congregation. But, then, at the outset, at least, of their proceedings, they had little, or more properly, nothing to do. They had no previous stock of already formed pauperism to begin with—their only business being to meet, with the means intrusted to them, all the future applications. It will, therefore, be seen, how gradually and successively the burden of their management and expenditure, behooved to grow upon them—and that, even scanty as the evening collection was, a little capital might accumulate in their hands during the earlier period of their administration: And the uncertainty, that time alone could resolve, was, how long it might take ere the expense of the new cases equalised the humble revenue that was confided to them, and ere the capital was consumed, and ere the necessity arrived of calling in the aid of the day collection, to make head against the accumulation of new applicants. The question could only be de-

cided by experience, and the result has, indeed, been most satisfactory. At the end of two years and a-half, the evening collection is still more than equal to the maintenance of the new cases; and the small capital that has been formed from this source alone, is still upon the increase; and, judging by the rate of application from the commencement, during a season, too, of singular adversity, there is a most warrantable confidence, that the deacons' fund will be found equal to the full weight of cases, the maximum of which will be attained when the period of an average generation of pauperism is completed. And, should the evening or parochial collection be actually found to weather the lapse of the old, and the coming on of the new generation, then will the Session, relieved, in a few years, by death, of all the existing pauperism of 1819, have the fund, constituted by the general or day congregation, transferrable to any other philanthropic purpose, that might be deemed most conducive to the good of the labouring classes in the parish; and the gratifying spectacle will be exhibited, of all the parochial pauperism upheld by the parochial offerings on the Sabbath evening,—Or, in other words, a large and, almost, entirely plebeian district of the town, defraying all the expenses of its own pauperism, on the strength of its own unaided capabilities.

A result so gratifying has certainly exceeded our own anticipations. We have never thought, that public charity, for the relief of indigence, was

at all called for by the state and economy of social life—or, that, the artificial mechanism of a legal and compulsory provision for the poor, had ever any other effect than that of deranging the better mechanism of nature. But we did not think, that a population would have conformed so speedily to the right system, after that the poison and perversion of the wrong system had been so long diffused among them—or, that, when the great external reservoir was shut, out of which the main stream of pauperism wont to emanate, they would have found such an immediate compensation, by their immediate recourse to those fountains of supply, which exist within themselves, and lie embosomed among their own families, and their own neighbourhood. But so it is,—and that, without any other peculiarity of management on our part, than a careful, and considerate, and, we trust, humane examination of every new claim that is preferred upon us. The success of this enterprise, in fact, is not so much the doing of the agency, as it is of the people themselves—and it hinges not so much on the number of applications repressed by the one party, as on the greatly superior number of applications that are forborne or withheld by the other party. We do not drive back the people; but the people keep back themselves—and that, simply because there is none of the glare or magnificence of a great city management to deceive their imaginations, and allure them from their own natural shifts and resources; and because they are further

aware, that should they step forward, they will be met by men, who can give them an intelligent as well as a civil reception; who are thoroughly prepared for appreciating the merits of every application, and, at the same time, firmly determined to try every right expedient of prevention, ere the humiliating descent to pauperism shall be taken by any family within the limits of their superintendence. The very frankness with which this is announced, is liked by the people; and let there be but an easy and a frequent mingling between the managers and the subjects of their administration, and there will be no difficulty in establishing a community of sentiment between them; the very tone of hostility towards pauperism that is manifested by the former, being positively caught and sympathized with by the latter, who, though of humblest rank in society, can, when rightly treated, display a nobility of heart, that makes them the best coadjutors in this undertaking. The parochial agency, in fact, have had little more to do than to hold out a face of intelligence to the people, on the subject of their necessities; and this has been followed up by an instantaneous slackening of the parochial demand. There is not one of them, who will not attest, that, the trouble and management of his assigned district, fall marvellously short of his first anticipations. The truth is, that there is not one application for five, that there wont to be under the old system. It is unfair to deceive a population,—and a population are

vastly too generous to like one the worse for coming to an open and decisive understanding with them. Our object is not to devise for the people new expedients of relief, but as much as in us lies, to keep them closely at their own expedients—not to perform more than in other parishes, but to promise less—not to strike out any additional sources, from which to send forth an abundant administration upon human necessity; but, wherever it is possible, to commit it back again to those pre-existent sources, from which it ought never to have been tempted away, in quest of a remedy that lay more nearly and comfortably within its reach. We have no new way, by which to maintain the poor. We have only abandoned that old way, which so grievously misled them. And when the people are not misled, they do not move. If they are not previously set agog, they give little or no disturbance. If they are not seduced from their own capabilities, they silently abide by them—and every act of friendly intercourse on the part of any observant philanthropist, with the lower orders, will serve to satisfy him the more, how much our distance from the people has kept us in entire delusion regarding them; and led us, more particularly, to underrate both their own sufficiency for their own subsistence, and the noble spirit by which they are already actuated, or, which, under a right system of attentions, can most speedily be infused into them. This has been the whole drift of our experience. To make it universal, the

principle of locality has only to be connected with pauperism, and to be carried downwards by a minute enough process of subdivision, and to be freed of all those obstructions, which lie in the way of its close and unfettered application. The problem of pauperism is resolved simply on the removal of certain disturbing forces, which ought never to have been put into operation. To arrive at it, we have not to do what is undone, but to undo what is done. To break up the general management of a great city, and substitute small and separate managements in its place, is an important step of this process. And, we repeat it, that it operates not so much by a positive good influence emanating from the new machinery that is thus formed, as by the withdrawment of the positive bad influence, which emanated from the old machinery. The credit of a prosperous result, is not so due to the manner in which the agents of the new system conduct themselves under it, as to the manner in which the people, of their own accord, conduct themselves under it. And let it always be understood, that the efficacy of a near, and vigilant, and local superintendence, operating independently, and within itself, and left to its own means, and its own management, does not lie so much in the resistance which it actually puts forth against advances which are actually made, as in the powerful, and almost immediate tendency of such an arrangement, to beget a general quiescence among the families of that territory over which it operates.

And, to prove that there is nought whatever of peculiar might or mystery, in our transactions, beyond the reach of most ordinary imitation, it may be right to state the very plain steps and inquiries, which take place, when any applicants come forward. This, perhaps, will be most effectually done, by simply transcribing the method of proceeding that was adopted, and has been persevered in from the commencement of our operations.

" When one applies for admittance, through his deacon, upon our funds, the first thing to be inquired into is, if there be any kind of work that he can yet do, so as either to keep him altogether off, or, as to make a partial allowance serve for his necessities. The second, what his relations and friends are willing to do for them. The third, whether he is a hearer in any dissenting place of worship, and whether its Session will contribute to his relief. And, if, after these previous inquiries, it be found, that further relief is necessary, then there must be a strict ascertainment of his term of residence in Glasgow, and whether he be yet on the funds of the Town Hospital, or is obtaining relief from any other parish.

" If, upon all these points being ascertained, the deacon of the proportion where he resides, still conceives him an object for our assistance, he will inquire whether a small temporary aid will meet the occasion, and states this to the first ordinary meeting. But, if instead of this, he conceives him a fit subject for a regular allowance, he will

receive the assistance of another deacon to complete and confirm his inquiries, by the next ordinary meeting thereafter,—at which time, the applicant, if they still think him a fit object, is brought before us, and received upon the fund at such a rate of allowance as, upon all the circumstances of the case, the meeting of deacons shall judge proper."

Of course, pending these examinations, the deacon is empowered to grant the same sort of discretionary aid, that is customary in the other parishes.

On the strength of these simple regulations, and in virtue, too, of our separate and independent constitution—such is the stimulus that has been given, on the one hand, to our parochial management, and such are the wholesome restraints, on the other hand, that have been laid on the parochial demand, as have enabled us to economise our recent pauperism, at least, ten-fold beyond what we either could or would have done under the general and complex system, from which we count it our privilege to have been so totally disengaged. With our small but separate revenue, we have more of the feeling of sufficiency, than when the door was open for us to all the wider and wealthier charities of the place: And if the principle be admitted, that as much good is done by a provision for human want, through the stimulated economy of individuals, or the stimulated kindness of those whose duty it is to relieve it—then are

we persuaded, that, small as our dispensations are, we have as well served and as well satisfied a parish, as any other that can be referred to in the city.

The thing of greatest importance in this statement is, that the success of the enterprise does not at all hang by the magnitude of the collection. It is not upon the strength of the means, but upon the strength of the management, that the expense of one of the poorest of our city parishes has been transferred, from the fund raised by assessment, to the fund raised by the free-will offerings at the church-door. There is nothing, it must at once be perceived by the attentive reader, that ought to deter the imitation of other parishes, in the oft-alleged superiority of that revenue which lies at the disposal of the Kirk-Session of St. John's. It is not, let it be well remarked, by that revenue, that the most essential step of this much contested problem has been overcome. The only alimentary use to which the day collection has been put, is in upholding the Sessional pauperism that had been previously formed, and was actually found, at the commencement of this operation; and this it has done so effectually, that a great yearly surplus over the yearly expenditure, and a surplus too which must rapidly increase, is left in the hands of the Kirk-Session. But the whole amount of any existing pauperism soon passes away; and by far the most interesting question relates to the present management, and the future probable amount of

the new pauperism wherewith it shall be replaced. Now it ought, most demonstrably, to prove how little essential a great revenue is to the object of meeting and of managing this pauperism, when it is made known that all the new applications have been satisfactorily disposed of for two years and a half, under the administration of the Deacons, whose alone ordinary fund consists of the evening collection, the annual amount of which does not exceed eighty pounds sterling. We have no doubt, that on this humble revenue alone, the new applications will continue to be met, till the whole pauperism accumulated under the old system, shall have died away. Then will the parish of St. John's be simply and purely in the condition of a Scottish country parish, with the whole expense of its pauperism defrayed, not by the offerings of wealthy day-hearers from all parts of the city, but by the humble offerings of an evening congregation that consists chiefly of parishioners, and of those in the labouring classes of society.

We fondly hope then, that one great difficulty which is often conjured up in opposition to this undertaking will, henceforth, be conclusively done away—*viz.* that the means of the parish of St. John's are so exceedingly ample as to place its process, for the extinction of pauperism, beyond the reach of imitation by the other parishes. Another, which has been frequently alleged, is that the management must be so very strenuous, as that the labour of it will only be submitted to by men

who act under the impulse of novelty, or who feel their responsibility and honour involved in the success of what many have stigmatized as a wild and irrational speculation. We are quite sure that there is not a Deacon belonging to the parish who could not depone, from his own experience, to the utter futility of this imagination. They all, without exception, find to be true what we have already affirmed, that the problem for the extermination of pauperism, is not resolved by any forthgoing of unexampled wisdom or activity on their part, but by a ready accommodation, on the part of the people, to a new system of things, in which they have willingly, and almost without a murmur, acquiesced. The task may look insuperable in the gross, but its obstacles all vanish in the detail. When the territory is once split into its several portions, and assigned to the several agents, each of them is sure to find, that the whole time and trouble of the requisite inquiries fall marvellously short of his first anticipations. We deny not that upon each particular application, more of care may be expended than under the lax and complicated administration of other days; but this is amply compensated by a great and immediate reduction in the number of these applications—so, in fact, as almost to reduce into a sinecure that office, which when regarded from a distance, had been magnified into one of mighty and almost insurmountable labour. We are the more solicitous to do away this objection, for we too should decry

every plan to the uttermost, as bearing upon it the character of Utopianism, that could not be accomplished by every-day instruments, operating on every-day materials. Any exemplification, however imposing, if gotten up by such extraordinary means, and such extraordinary management, as to distance all imitation, were but a useless and unsubstantial parade—the treacherous glare and splendour of a meteoric flash that soon passed away; instead of radiance from such calm and enduring light as might diffuse itself throughout all the abodes, and be mingled with all the doings of humanity.

And, as we are now engaged in treating with the scepticism of our many antagonists, let us here recur to another evasion, by which they have tried to dispose of the undoubted success of the parochial experiment in St. John's. This success has been repeatedly ascribed to the efflux of the poor from the parish of St. John's, on the other parishes of Glasgow; as if they were glad to escape from the parsimonious administration that had been established there, to those quarters of the city, where the stream of public charity flowed as kindly and as abundantly as before. But neither is this a true solution of the phenomenon in question. There is nought of which the whole agency in St. John's are more desirous, than the establishment of the same barrier of mutual protection, among the parishes within the royalty, that is raised by the law of residence between the parishes of Scotland in

general. They are quite sure that they would be gainers by such an internal arrangement among the parishes of Glasgow, and would be most willingly responsible for the maintenance of all who had gotten a legal residence within their own territory, could they be alike defended from the inroads of the poor, or of the paupers that belong to other parts of the city. The truth is, that on the first year of the reformed pauperism in St. John's, the importation of paupers from the city into that parish, just doubled the exportation of paupers from the parish into the city; and ever since, the balance has been greatly to our disadvantage. It is further understood, that when part of the parish was sliced off and incorporated with the new parish of St. James', several of the poorer families left the district that had been thus alienated, and retired within the present limits of the parish of St. John's. Such are the facts, whatever difficulty may be conceived to attend the explanation of them. And it may, perhaps, help our comprehension of it, if we reflect that judgment and firmness need only to be tempered with civility, in order to make them virtues of great and popular estimation—that the connivance which yields to the unfair or extravagant demands of the poor, has really not the same charm to their feelings as the courtesy which does them honour—that the lower orders of society can bear to be dealt with rationally, if they be, at the same time, dealt with frankly, and ingenuously, and openly—that, when the cause of human indi-

gence is thrown on the co-operation of their own efforts, and their own sympathies in its behalf, it is then placed in the very best hands for the mitigation of all its sufferings—and that a very slight impulse, given to the general heart of any assembled population, will greatly more than compensate for the deprivations which ensue, when the pomp and the circumstance of all visible charity have, at length, been done away.

But the thought will recur again, that the people cannot be served under such an arrangement, and therefore cannot be satisfied—that suffering and starvation must be the necessary accompaniments of an abridged pauperism—that one must bring a cold heart, as well as a cold understanding, to this sort of administration—that a certain unrelenting hardness of temperament, on the part of those who preside over it, is altogether indispensable to its success—and that, when the success is at length obtained, it must have been at the expense of pained, and aggrieved, and neglected humanity.

Coldness, and cruelty, and hardihood, are the inseparable associates of legal charity, and it is under the weight of its oppressive influences that all the opposite characteristics of our nature—its tenderness, and gentleness, and compassion, have been so grievously overborne. These, however, are ready to burst forth again in all their old and native efflorescence, on the moment that this heavy incumbrance is cleared away from the soil of hu-

manity. It is indeed strange, that the advocates of pauperism should have so reproached its enemies for all those stern qualities of the heart, wherewith it is the direct tendency of their own system to steel the bosoms of its hard and hacknied administrators; or, because the latter have affirmed that the cause of indigence may safely be confided to those spontaneous sympathies which nature has implanted, and which Christianity fosters in the bosom of man, they should therefore have been charged by the former with a conspiracy to damp and to disparage these sympathies—with an attempt to eradicate those very principles on which they repose so much of their dependence, and to the power of which, and the importance of which, they have rendered the award of a most high and honourable testimony.

The difference between the administration of a great public revenue for indigence, and the administration of a small one, seems to be this. The dispensers of the former are not naturally or necessarily led to bethink themselves of any other way by which a case of poverty can be disposed of, than simply by the application of the means wherewith they are entrusted. And as these means, under a system of assessment, admit of being augmented indefinitely, they are apt to conceive that there is an adequacy in them to all the demands of all the want that can be ascertained. At any rate, they seldom reckon on any other way of providing for human need, than by the positive discharge of

legal aliment thereupon. So that their only, or, at least, their chief business in the intercourse they have with the applicants, is simply to rectify or to dismiss their claim, on the investigation they have made into their palpable resources, upon the one hand, compared with their palpable exigencies, upon the other. In the whole of this process, there is much of the coldness and formality of a court of law; and the very magnitude of the concern, along with the unavoidable distance at which the members of such an elevated board stand from those who venture to approach it, serves to infuse still more of this character into all the large and general managements of pauperism. All is precise, and rigorous, and stately; or, if any human feeling be admitted, it is not the warmth of kindness, but the heat of irritation. The repeated experience of imposition; and the consciousness of inability thoroughly to protect themselves from the recurrence of it; and the sensation of a growing pressure, against which no other counteractive is known, or even put into operation, than that of a stern, or a suspicious treatment, which only calls forth a more resolute assertion, on the part of the aggressors upon public charity—these are what have instilled a certain acerbity into all its ministrations. So that, with the thousands that are scattered over that multitude which the great city institution hath drawn around it, there is not one softening moral influence which is thereby carried abroad amongst them—no exhibition of tenderness

upon the one hand, and no gratitude, that can only be awakened by the perception of such tenderness, upon the other—no heart-felt obligation among those whose plea hath been sustained; while among those who are non-suited, may be heard the curses of disappointment, the half-suppressed murmurs of deep and sullen indignation.

It is least of all from a quarter like this, that the administrators of a small parish revenue ought to be charged, with any defect of sensibility in the work that they have undertaken. The very circumstance of having adventured themselves upon it with a revenue that is small, proves a confidence in the other resources that nature has provided for the alleviation of human want; and it is in the act of stimulating these resources, or of pointing the way to them, that they get into close and kindly approximation with the humblest of the families. There is not a more cheering experience that has met us on our way, than the perfect rationality of the lower orders, when rationally and respectfully dealt with; and the pliancy wherewith they defer to a remonstrance that is urged with civility, and, at the same time, has the force and the weight of its own moral justness to recommend it. It is the more minute, and free, and familiar intercourse which takes place between a population and their parochial office-bearers—it is this which throws a sort of domestic atmosphere around the doings of a Sessional administration. The scantiness of its means, it may be alleged, will necessarily reduce

the elder or the deacon to his shifts, in the management of his district. And so it does. But they are the very shifts by which the business of human charity is transferred to its right principles; and, after this is accomplished, there is both more of genuine satisfaction among the poor, and more of genuine sympathy among all those whose duty it is to succour or to uphold them. The whole of our delightful experience on this matter has gone to assure us, of the cheapness and the facility wherewith the substitution may be completed of a natural for an artificial charity. And, let it never be forgotten, that the main springs of this natural charity are all to be found among the population themselves; and, that by dint of persuasion and of friendly intercourse, they are easily led to re-open them. That all who are able, should charge themselves with the maintenance of their aged relatives—that to the uttermost, a man's own hands should minister to his own necessities, and those who are with him—that every exorbitant demand on the liberality of others, is an injurious encroachment on the fund that is destined for the relief of real and unquestionable misery—that the poor who are moderate in their applications, or who forbear them altogether, are the best friends of all those who are poorer than themselves—that no inferiority of station, therefore, exempts from the virtue of beneficence; and that the humble contributions of time, and service, and such little as they can spare, by the lower orders, form by far the most impor-

tant offerings that can be rendered to the cause of charity—that pauperism is the last and the worst expedient to which they can betake themselves, and which ought never to be tried but in cases of extreme urgency, and when all the previous resources have been exhausted*—Let any philanthropist go forth among the people, and having earned their confidence, let him fill his mouth with such arguments as these; and he will never find them to be an unwilling or an impracticable auditory. To charge such a regimen as this with coldness and hardihood, and remoteness from all sympathy with human feeling, is a gross paralogism on all truth and all nature. It is true, that under its influence, the expenses of public charity may lessen every year—yet so far from this being any indication of extinct tenderness, or frozen sensibilities in the midst of us, it may serve most authentically to mark the growth of all those better habits, and of all those neighbourly regards, which ensure to every parochial family the greatest comfort and the greatest contentment, that in the present state of humanity, are attainable.

We have now breathed in both these elements—that of a parish, whose supplies for the poor were enforced by stout legality; and that of a parish

---

* If those previous resources were brought rightly to bear on every case of human suffering, they would anticipate the operations of pauperism altogether.

where this way of it has been totally superseded by the gratuitous system: and, certainly, our feeling is, that the air in which we now move, is of a softer and more benignant quality than before. Nor is it difficult to comprehend why, in this new state of things, many asperities ought to have subsided. When a people are more thrown upon themselves, they soon find, that as it were by *expression*, they draw additionally more out of their own proper resources, than they ever drew from public charity—so as to be positively in circumstances of greater comfort and sufficiency than ever. But more important still: Whatever of intercourse there is between the rich and the poor under this reformed economy, is purified of all that soreness and bitterness which attach to the ministrations of charity, so long as the imagination of a right is made to adhere to it. There no longer remaineth this freezing ingredient, either to chill the sympathies of the one party, or the gratitude of the other. And, on the whole, there is nothing more certain, than that when compulsory pauperism is abolished in any parish, and the interest it would provide for is left to the operation of spontaneous charity, then does the tone of this little commonwealth become less harsh and less refractory than it was—a kindlier spirit is felt throughout; and it soon becomes palpable as day, under which of the two systems it is that we have the more humanized, and under which of them it

is, that we have the more hard-favoured population.*

---

* It was by an unlooked-for coincidence, that while engaged in the preparation of this Chapter, the Author had to make his appearance at the bar of the General Assembly, which is the supreme Ecclesiastical Court in Scotland; and had there to advocate his measures for the reformation of the pauperism of St. John's. He has since published the Speech which was delivered on that occasion; and by a long appendix to it, has relieved himself of much of that matter, which, perhaps, would have been of too local and ephemeral a character for a more general work. There, in p. 59—64, the reader will find a few of those more minute and specific instances of parochial management, which may serve, perhaps, to appease the humanity that had been before offended, by the imagination of a certain cold-blooded severity in the system, that went to explode all public charity. To that list of instances, we shall just subjoin one more, for the purpose of correcting another imagination that lies in the opposite extreme from the one adverted to in the text.

We have heard it insinuated, then, by another and distinct class of sceptics from the former, that we have hitherto succeeded in our experiment not by the harshness of our treatment, but by its excessive kindness and liberality. The suspicion is, that there may be a sort of secret or underhand juggle on the part of our agents—as if we appeased by stealth the clamours of our else dissatisfied population, and bribed their acquiescence in an economy, to the success and establishment of which, we have so strongly committed ourselves. Here, too, our antagonists are just as wide of the truth, as in all their other attempts to explain away the undoubted prosperity of this much questioned and much resisted enterprise. There can be no doubt, that the abolition of legal charity would be instantly followed up by the growth and the more busily extended operation of private and personal charity; and this so far from being an argument against the abolition, is one of the best and most effective considerations in its favour. But most assuredly, the far promptest and most productive sympathy that were then called into action, would be the mutual sympathy of neighbours and residenters among the population themselves; and, we should deem this of tenfold greater importance to the poor, than the whole amount of benefaction or of aid that can be rendered to them, either by the kindness of their parochial office-bearers, or by the influx of liberality from without.

With regard to our own agents, in particular, it so happens, that there is a very great variety in the stations of life which they themselves occupy.

The parish of St. John's is no longer solitary in regard of its pauperism. The Outer-Kirk parish

---

Some of them, we are proud to say, have nought but personal worth and wisdom to qualify them for the charge which they have kindly undertaken. We do not hold the wealth of our office-bearers, to be at all indispensable to the prosperous management even of the poorest districts in the parish; and, if we are sensible of any difference between those proportions where relief might be conveyed to the indigent in this way, and those other proportions where there can be none, we would say, that upon the whole, the latter are in the more quiescent and satisfied state of the two; and that whatever outbreakings of rapacity, or of undue expectation have occurred, come chiefly, as was to be anticipated, from the former.

Yet we cannot, therefore, say, that it is the part of an elder or deacon, if he have of this world's goods, to shut his bowels of compassion against any actual case of necessity that comes before him. This were his duty as a Christian man in any condition of life; and there is nought surely in his assumption of a Christian office, nor is there ought in his peculiar relationship with those who have their geographical position upon his assigned territory, that should reverse his obligations, or lay an arrest on the spontaneous flow of his liberalities towards them. It is his part, precisely as it is that of others, to do good unto all as he has opportunity—and should the opportunity be more patent and of more frequent reiteration within the district of his superintendence than beyond it, this, of course, decides the question for him, as to the place and the people, to whom his private beneficence will take its most abundant and natural direction. Let human sympathy come as oft as it may into contact with human suffering, and let what will come out of it. To qualify a man for this peculiar charge, it is surely not necessary to put violence upon his faculties or his feelings; to lay his heart under some process of artificial coagulation; or to bear down the workings of his own free inclination towards any act of kindness or liberality among the families of his population, that with the same converse, and the same observation, he would have been prompted to among other families. But if not necessary to thwart his benevolent propensities by laying an interdict upon them, neither is it necessary to urge them onward by any artificial stimulant whatever. Let a philanthropist but assume several hundreds of a contiguous population, and let him move amongst them daily, if he will, not however in the ostensible character of an almoner, but of a friend—and he will not, in the prosecution of his labours, meet with more of solicitation, because of their temporal wants, than he will know clearly and

of Glasgow has also made its conclusive separation from the Town Hospital; and it did so, on more

---

Christianly how to dispose of. And should he be of circumstances to do good and to communicate, in his own person, still he will not find that he stands either in an unmanageable or in a ruinously expensive relationship towards them. He may have to describe an initial period of simplicity and alarm upon his own part, and, perhaps, of occasional exaggeration upon theirs. But after that he has been fairly disciplined into a sound experience upon the subject, and the matter has been reduced under his hands to its just and rational dimensions, then will he find how true is the exclamation of Hannah More, "O how cheap is charity, O how expensive is vanity!"

Now, if an individual could thus stay the importunities of a whole district, this of itself were argument enough of such capabilities among the people themselves, as marked pauperism to be a thing uncalled for. All that he could ever do on the uttermost stretch of his liberality, were so mere a bagatelle to the subsistence of his many families, as to form in itself no substitute at all for the provisions of a legal charity; and if, therefore, he without inconvenience, or even so much as the feeling of a sacrifice, could succeed in maintaining the quiescence of a population amounting to several hundreds; this of itself were the most strong and palpable evidence of all such provision being superfluous. The truth is, that any personal contribution of his to the necessities of his district, bears so insignificant a proportion to its extent, that in as far as the *materiel* of his benevolence is concerned, it makes no sensible difference whether it shall be rendered or withheld. And the only thing that stamps an importance on his benefactions, is the moral influence that attends them—the demonstration it holds forth of his good-will to the people among whom he expatiates—and, more particularly, the excitement that it gives to the play and the fermentation of their own sympathies. The anecdote that follows, we give merely as a plain example of this, and as proving how readily the people themselves may become the most effectual instruments of their own mutual comfort, and of their own independence.

A young man who had lodged several years with a family of the parish, took ill of consumption. His means were speedily exhausted; and the people with whom he lived, who had been kind and liberal to their uttermost, could not be expected to charge themselves with the whole burden of his maintenance. The Town Hospital, in virtue of our subsisting arrangement, was not open to receive him; but he had himself expressed a longing preference to be with his relatives in the country, who were at the distance of

generous terms, and at a bolder adventure, than characterized the outset of the enterprise in St. John's. For there was no excess of its Sessional

---

more than 100 miles, and were not able to transport him in that careful and sheltered way, which the state of his health had made so requisite. In these circumstances, the deacon certainly did give his best attention to the peculiar exigencies of the case; and, among other things, made interest with the proprietor of a stage-coach, to allow him an inside birth for the fare of an outside passenger. Such easy services in behalf of a sufferer as these, are never lost on that little neighbourhood of sympathy and observation by which he is surrounded: And, accordingly, in the present instance, neighbours did lend their most willing co-operation to this labour of love: and a subscription had only to be headed, and set a-going amongst themselves; and, while the sum that was thus raised formed by far the most precious contribution to the necessities of the case, it also carried the gratifying evidence along with it, of the power that lies in a little leaven of well-timed charity—how leavening the entire mass, and working its own quality throughout all the members of it, it can thus enlist upon its side the alacrity and the spare means of a whole population. It was not by the importation of money from without, but by the healthful operation of motives and principles within that the difficulty was provided for. A parochial agent may be in humble circumstances: but there are other tokens by which good-will is manifested than the giving of silver and gold. Such as he has he may give—his advice—the aid of his time and trouble—and on the strength of these, he will earn such a moral ascendency as shall stimulate like processes for like emergencies, and call forth those powerful and harmonized efforts which form an equivalent defence against all the extremities to which our species are liable. It is thus, that a man of sense and of character may fearlessly take upon himself the superintendence of a lot of population; and that, without a farthing to bestow upon their necessities, but on the strength of their inward capabilities alone, either rightly directed, or even left to their undisturbed operation. Unless, by a blight on the face of nature, or some peculiar and extraordinary visitation, not one instance of starvation will ever occur amongst them. The thing in the even and ordinary course of human life is morally impossible. And while this ought not to set aside among the rich, that ancient law of sympathy, which is coeval with nature, and re-echoed by the gospel of Jesus Christ, throughout all its pages, it ought certainly to set aside the provisions of a modern and artificial pauperism.

revenue over its Sessional expenditure. The expense of poor that were upon it at the time of its disruption from the old system, was about equal to its collections; and yet, without any surplus, did it simply withdraw itself from the wealthier institution, and undertake both to send no more paupers there, and to meet, upon its own resources, all the new cases that offered from their own population. In defect of all present pecuniary means for such an achievement, it first instituted a scrutiny of the existing poor upon its roll; and then stimulated the weekly collection by the announcement of their new system from the pulpit; and, last of all, resolved on a most strict and careful inquiry into the claims and circumstances of all future applicants. Its experience was in striking harmony with that of the Kirk-Session of St. John's in one particular. There took place a sudden diminution in the number of applications. We should not like to be too minute, or too prying of inspection into the concerns of others: But it is not too much to say in the general, that, by our latest information, they were going on most prosperously, and most hopefully; and we feel confident, that by the dying away of the old cases belonging to that parish, which are on the funds of the Town Hospital, and by the arrest that has been laid on the influx of all new cases to that institution, there will another large department of Glasgow be speedily cleared of all its compulsory pauperism.

The General Session has now ceased altogether from its charge of the weekly collections at the church-doors of any of the parishes in Glasgow. Each Kirk-Session retains its own—and those of them that need to have the expenses of their pauperism supplemented by foreign aid, stand connected simply and exclusively with the Town Hospital. The complexity of the old mechanism is in so far reduced, as that the combination of the parishes, one with another, in all the matters of ordinary administration for the poor, is now broken up. And things are certainly more manageable than before, for the work of ulterior reformation—in that each parish may, without thwarting, or opposition from its neighbours, negotiate its own separate and peculiar arrangement with the Town Hospital.

There are ten parishes in Glasgow. Two of them, St. John's and the Outer Kirk, have reached, or are in certain progress, toward the ultimate condition of parishes that are under a strict gratuitous economy. To be delivered of the assessment, it is necessary that the remaining eight parishes should be reduced to this condition also. It so happened of three of these, viz. the North West, St. George's, and St. James', that the expense of their Sessional poor was beneath the amount of their weekly collections—so that, on the dissolution of the General Session, they found themselves all at once in fair circumstances for separating from

the Town Hospital, and each attempting its own pauperism single-handed. And, accordingly, they have partially, or rather almost totally, begun their own independent expenditure on their own independent resources. There is still, we understand, a remainder of occasional aid, that more by the force of habit than of necessity, they still continue to receive from the Town Hospital. But, with this exception, and an exception that could well be dispensed with, they take the whole of their new pauperism upon their own funds: And having now ceased the transmission of their cases to the fund by assessment, they have only to wait the disappearance of their Hospital pauperism by death, when they too shall arrive at the desired landing-place.

And here would we urge it on the Kirk-Sessions of these three parishes, how desirable it were, that they acted on the principles of a total and conclusive separation from the Town Hospital; that they ceased from every sort of intromission with it; and swept away even the last vestiges of dependence, by which the need or importance of such an institution could at all be recognized. It were greatly better, if in as far as their poor too are concerned, the faintest shadow of argument for a compulsory provision were utterly done away. Pity it were, that for the sake of a few rare and trifling extraordinaries, the whole burden of which they could most easily take upon themselves, they

should forfeit that place of entire and absolute independence, which they are so well entitled to occupy, and so abundantly able to maintain. In the present style of their operations, they are laying no material burden on the fund by assessment; and why keep up even so much as a nominal obligation to it, or offer any sort of quit-rent acknowledgment at all, to a superiority that ought now to be cast off, and suffered to fall into utter and irrecoverable desuetude. Were it a mere question of complimentary deference to the Town Hospital, this might willingly be rendered. But it ought never to be forgotten, that any accession, however trivial, to the need of its services, bears along with it an accession to the need of its existence. It is because of this, that the acceptance even of the slightest boon from that institution is greatly to be deprecated. The homage may be insignificant—but it is not innocent—because it will be magnified into an arrangement for the continuance of a system that ought to be razed from the foundation. Pauperism will never be brought under a right economy, till all that is legal and compulsory in its administrations, shall be not regulated, but destroyed. At all events, with these three parishes, there do exist, in their present means, and with but one step more, in their recent change of management, the capabilities of their own entire independence—in which, should they persevere for a very few years, then, by the operation of death

on their present hospital cases, shall we behold half the domain of Glasgow altogether cleared of its compulsory pauperism.

But there still remain five parishes, which though not now connected with each other by the intermedium of a General Session, are still connected each by its own separate tie of dependence and obligation with the Town Hospital. The expenses of their Sessional poor, at the resolution of the old system into its separate parts, went beyond their receipts by collection; and each of the Sessions has this difference made good to it by distinct supplies of money from that institution. And besides this, the transference of paupers goes on, as formerly, from the Sessional to the Hospital lists; so that there still remain five open ducts of conveyance from about one half of Glasgow to the fund by assessment. The truth is, that without some such initial arrangement as we have all along recommended, the present state of matters was quite unavoidable. None of these Sessions had the means to defray the allowances, even of the existing paupers upon their roll—and far less was it to be expected, that they would undertake each the burden of its whole new pauperism, without the conveyance of its future excesses to the Town Hospital. They were already labouring under the weight of a present excess; and without a special act of accommodation on the part of the Town Hospital, towards each of the parishes so circum-

stanced, their emancipation from compulsory pauperism appears to be impracticable.

Were these parishes barely relieved by the Town Hospital of the overplus of their Sessional poor—were so many made to pass into the state of its out-pensioners, and so many left on each Session, as should just, with their present allowances, absorb the whole of its own proper revenue, we think that even on this arrangement, there is not one of them which could not, with the buoyancy of their new felt and conscious independence, so stimulate its means upon the one hand, and its management upon the other, as to weather the demands of its new pauperism, aye and until its old pauperism, by the operation of mortality, had all been swept away. But we should be inclined to grant a more favourable outset—to pass still more of their Sessional paupers into the lists of the Town Hospital, and perhaps, in some instances, to relieve them of the whole weight of their existing pauperism. At all events, we should rather, for the sake of their encouragement, that they started with an excess of revenue above their present expenditure—but with the full understanding, that to their treatment of all the future applications, we looked for the conclusive deliverance of the Town Hospital from the influx of all new pauperism. We again affirm our unqualified confidence in their success; and that nothing is wanting but the consent of the proper parties to these arrangements, for the extir-

pation of compulsory pauperism from the whole of Glasgow.

The vices of such a system as that under which they are now acting, we have already endeavoured to expose. Nothing can be worse, than to place the management of pauperism with one set of administrators, and the finding of ways and means for the expense of it with another. They, more especially, who stand at that place where the first movement is made by the population towards public charity, should be under every possible excitement to a close investigation; and, above all, to a diligent use of those various expedients of prevention, by which the application may either be stayed or be postponed. Now this is the very place that is occupied by the members of Kirk-Sessions in Glasgow—and a more effectual method could not be devised of opening the widest possible door for the influx of new cases, than to charge a Kirk-Session with the primary examinations of pauperism, and to lay the ultimate expense of it on another institution. In these circumstances, it is not only a most conceivable, but a most likely thing, that disunited though the Town Hospital should be from the charge of five of the city parishes, there will no sensible relief be felt, because of an almost instantaneous compensation in the augmented expense of the remaining five that adhere to them. The disease which had been cleared away from one half of the domain, might, and

from the pure operation of the faulty economy alone, gather to such increased virulence in the remaining half, as to perpetuate an unalleviated and, perhaps, growing burden upon the community—and cause the ignorant and unthinking to wonder, why pauperism should be at once so reduced in its geographical dimensions, and so unreduced in its demands on the still assessed and heavy laden citizens.

Even, though one-half of Glasgow should, by the adoption of the parochial system, free itself of all dependence on the Town Hospital, yet let the other half remain on its present footing with that institution, and nothing more likely than that the assessment over the whole city, shall not only maintain its present amount, but shall press forward as urgently to its own increase as ever. All will depend on the practical administration of it. Should those who are in the management feel the impulse of a rival spirit with the emancipated parishes, they may certainly, by dint of strenuousness, and of determined endeavour, keep down, and even reduce their expenditure. But, on the other hand, it is equally possible, that by a very slight relaxation of care and vigilance on their part, the demand may be just as overbearing from that fragment of the population wherewith they shall then have to do, as formerly from the whole mass. In affirming this, we do not charge the office-bearers of a compulsory pauperism, either

with incapacity, or with any defect of conscientious regard to the public interest. The charge that we prefer is not against them, but against the arrangements of that economy, wherewith it is their misfortune, and not their fault, that they are implicated. They must, in fact, have more of care and of principle, than are to be looked for in average humanity, should they be able to make head against the disadvantages of their most awkward and ill-assorted system. The falling away of two or more parishes from their superintendence, will, doubtless, be a relief to them in the mean time. But nothing is more natural, than that the very feeling of relief should induce a certain, though almost insensible remissness of practice, and a consequent facility in the admittance of new cases from that part of the territory which is still attached to them. The very men who would make a stand and an effort to prevent any addition to the burden of the community, might not feel just so intense a desirousness for the purpose of lightening the burden beneath that degree to which the community are already habituated. And from the moment, that they let down, though by ever so little, the defences of caution, and watchfulness, and strict investigation, from that moment they will let in additional pauperism. They may soon draw around them, from their remaining parishes, such a force and vehemency of new applications, as shall keep up, in its former magnitude, the whole business of their administration; and then the wonted pressure

of demand from without, shall be in its old state of equilibrium, with the wonted re-action of prompt and vigorous resistance from within.

Should this be the actual result of the late changes that have taken place in Glasgow—should a few of it parishes have wrought back their way to the gratuitous system, and the rest be still found as burdensome as formerly were all the parishes put together, we cannot think of a more impressive exhibition of the truth of our whole argument. To every considerate beholder, it must carry a demonstration along with it of the efficiency of the parochial administration on the one hand, and of the ruinous, and irrepressible, and altogether indefinite mischief that lies in a general and compulsory system, upon the other. It will prove, that wherever the principle of legal charity is acted upon, there is in it a creative power of evil, which can be kept under by no device of management, and be restrained by no limitation of territory—a virus that will scarcely admit of being mitigated, and from which society can never be delivered, but by its total extirpation.

Yet such is the blind impetuosity wherewith every suggestion for the reformation of existing abuses is liable to be opposed—such is the sensitive, instead of the rational style of that hostility, through which the course of improvement has frequently to force its way—so resolute often are the prejudice and the pre-determination that urge on the unreflecting cry of its adversaries, that it were no

astonishment to us, though a phenomenon so palpably decisive of the tendency of assessments, as that of their continued increase on a curtailed territory, should have an altogether contrary interpretation given to it; and it be even appealed to as an argument for recurrence to the old system, that in spite of all the abridgments which have been made upon it, the public burden is still unlightened, and no relief hath come out of the boasted innovations.

It is not he who is most versant in the detail, and drudgery, and penmanship of an old system—it is not he who is most qualified to pronounce on the merits or demerits of a new. All familiar though he be with the records, and the documentary informations of office, he may still be an utter stranger to the alone competent arena for the determination of this controversy. The experience of a mere practitioner in some of the inner departments of a poor's house, is totally dissimilar from the experience of a diligent observer on the hearts, and habits, and household economy of the poor—and it were well if this distinction was more adverted to by those who are loudest in their demand for practical wisdom, and in their outcry against the rash and confident anticipations of theory. It is not the man who has wildered all his days among the bye-tracts of error, it is not of him that you would most readily inquire the highway to truth; and his very familiarity with the windings and ambiguity of that labyrinth in which

he long has been involved, forms in our mind a presumption against any deliverance of his on the question at issue. It is on this account, however, that a ten-fold homage is due to him, who, though nurtured from the infancy of his public life among institutions that are wrong, has nevertheless, by the pure force of a vigorous homebred sagacity, seized upon and readily apprehended that which is right. This is not wisdom aided by the lights of a local or personal experience—but, much higher exhibition, it is wisdom forcing her way through the besetting obstacles wherewith she was encompassed; and evolving herself into the clear region of day, through all the intricacies of a mechanism, that only serves to cloud and to confuse the apprehensions of ordinary men. This has been finely exemplified by the civil and municipal functionaries of Glasgow—and, on closing our narrative of the present state and future prospects of pauperism in that city, we gladly offer the meed of our acknowledgments to men, without whose prompt and intelligent concurrence, there might never have been opened the only practicable avenue to reformation.

The Barony of Glasgow is one of its suburb parishes, and has now a population of more than fifty thousand. There is something very instructive in the history of its pauperism. The assessment was first resorted to in 1810—much against the advice and opinion of those who were most

versant in the details of the administration for the poor, antecedently to that period. We know not on the one hand, how to quote a more decisive experience against the wisdom of a compulsory provision, even for a large and wholly manufacturing population, than by appealing to the fact, that till 1810, the expenditure of this parish, the most populous in Scotland, seldom exceeded £600 annually—proving, that for the legal system of relief, there exists no natural and permanent necessity, in any circumstances whatever—though, after it is once adopted, there will arise, in all circumstances, an artificial necessity of its own creating, which will furnish the advocates of pauperism with a ready argument for its continuance. And we know not, on the other hand, a more striking evidence of the effect of an enlarged public charity, to multiply its cases, and enlarge the boundaries of its own operation, than that after 1810, the expenditure became about five times greater than before, in the short space of seven years. We would put the question to those among the heritors of the Barony, who were most in earnest for the establishment of a poor's rate, if they are sensible of having made the slightest progress towards the fulfilment of their benevolent anticipations—Can they say, that the poor are at all better off, under the present regime, than before?—or, that they have landed their parish in a better economy than that from which they have so recently departed? It is still time for them to retrace their

movement—and not, most assuredly, for the sake of their property, but for the sake of what is far more valuable, the comfort and character of a numerous population, would we like to see their promptitude and vigour embarked on what some might denounce as a cause of selfishness, but which, in the most emphatic sense of the term, is indeed a cause of true philanthropy and patriotism.

The following occurs to us as the proper steps for the retracing movement that we now have suggested. Let the church, and each of the three chapels of ease, be permitted to retain their own collections; and let each have a defined locality annexed to it, within which it shall be the business of the respective office-bearers to meet all the demands of the new pauperism. There behooved to be, at first, a slight extension of the assessment, for the old pauperism, in order to make up for this surrender of the church and chapel collections. But for this there would be a speedy compensation in the death of the existing paupers—for, meanwhile, from the districts that had been assigned to the new managements, there would be no additional cases transmitted to the compulsory fund. And we repeat, that it will be due not to the want of means, but to the want of management, if the collections, at these various places of worship, be not found adequate to all the fair demands of their respective territories.

But even after the present system is broken up thus far, the separate managements would still

be too unwieldy.* These could gradually be relieved by the erection of additional chapels, a

---

* Some years ago, Dr. Mitchell of Anderston, a most estimable and highly respectable minister of the United Secession, offered to undertake the pauperism of a locality in the Barony parish, with the collections at his Chapel, on an equitable condition of relief, from the assessment, to the members of his congregation. If this offer were repeated, and followed up by similar offers, in other quarters of the parish, it might be the germ of a very important reformation. Should the dissenting ministers in large towns, consent to assume a locality, they would find, most assuredly, nothing oppressive in the management of its new pauperism. For the small part of their collections, that they should find it necessary to expend, they would soon obtain compensation, in the relief of their wealthier hearers, from the assessment that is now levied upon them. And we should look, in time, for a compensation still more gratifying. The office-bearers of each dissenting chapel, would, under this arrangement, be exposed to frequent calls of intercourse with the population of their assigned districts—and their right of entrance and inquiry, would soon come to be recognised throughout all the families—and many are the expedients and facilities that might thus occur, for carrying the lessons of Christianity amongst them—and the ministers of our Secession would instantly be translated into the full benefit and influence of locality—and they might earn in consequence a rich moral and spiritual harvest, wherewith to uphold and recruit their various congregations. And so little jealousy do we entertain of this progress, that we should rejoice in it as a precursor to those liberal and enlightened views, which have been promulgated by the venerable pastor of the Barony. The day is perhaps coming, when localities primarily assumed by Presbyterian ministers of the Dissent, for the reduction of pauperism, may, at length, be transformed into parishes; and, they retaining their own style of patronage, and tolerating us in ours, may, at length, with the only important difference betwixt us thus compromised, consent to sit down beside us, under the canopy of our national establishment.

But, if such be the repulsion between the zealots of the establishment on the one hand, and the zealots of dissenterism on the other, that any entire co-alition of the parties is nauseous to both, and even the first step of the approximation that we have now recommended, is not likely to be entered upon—then, as the latter are so insensible to the charm and power of locality, it is peculiarly incumbent on the former, who remain in sole possession of this mighty instrument, to turn it to all the advantages of which it is suscep-

measure that might be advocated on higher grounds than the advantage of a reduced and rectified pauperism. Yet we should rejoice, if on this latter impulse only, men of wealth and influence could be prevailed upon to lend their aid to a cause, that has better considerations to recommend it, than even its subserviency to the best of all civic reformations.

---

tible. The extinction of pauperism is only one of those advantages and blessings, to the achievement of which the present apparatus of our church establishment is very nearly commensurate, but which would be prodigiously accelerated by the multiplication of chapels, or the subdivision of parishes.

CHAP. XIII.

ON THE DIFFICULTIES AND EVILS WHICH ADHERE EVEN TO THE BEST CONDITION OF SCOTTISH PAUPERISM.

THE Gorbals of Glasgow forms the other of its suburb parishes. Its inhabitants amount to upwards of twenty-two thousand, whose occupations are wholly of a mercantile and manufacturing character. Unlike to the Barony, it has no landed wealth whence it might derive those supplies for the relief of indigence, which many deem to be indispensable among families that are subject to all the vicissitudes attendant upon trade. This, then, in the eyes of many, were the likeliest of parishes for a compulsory pauperism, and a rapidly growing assessment—and did there really exist any natural necessity for such a provision, one should think that of all other places, it was here where the necessity would be most urgently and imperiously felt, and where a poor's rate would be most unavoidable. But if, instead of this, the Gorbals shall be found to have kept the simple parochial economy that was bequeathed to us from our ancestors, and to have flourished under it—this might well lead us to suspect, whether after all, a system of public and legalised charity, be essential to the well-being of any population.

This parish never has admitted an assessment—and the whole of its sessional expenditure for the poor, is defrayed from a revenue of about £400 annually. So little, in fact, has the circumstance of its being an exclusively manufacturing parish, brought along with it the necessity for a poor's rate, that its expenditure is fully as limited as in many of the most retired and wholly agricultural parishes of the north. It does not amount to £25 a-year for each thousand of the population—and yet, on the general blush and aspect of this industrious community, may it be confidently affirmed, that it not only offers to our notice an aggregate of families, in every way as well-conditioned, and as exempt from the rigours of extreme wretchedness, as are those of the assessed city to which it is contiguous; but that it will bear, in this respect, a comparison with the most heavily assessed towns, in any of the great manufacturing districts of England. There must be a mockery in the magnificence of those public charities, which have not to all appearance bettered the circumstances, or advanced the comforts of the people among whom they are instituted, beyond those of a people where they are utterly unknown. And, when we look to such a parish as the Gorbals, still an unimpaired monument of the olden time, though in full exposure to all those failures and fluctuations of commerce, which form the chief argument on the side of modern pauperism—the conclusion is irresistible, that had there been enough of wisdom

in the other towns and parishes of Scotland for withstanding the first introduction of a poor's rate among them, there would have been as little of unreached and unrelieved poverty in each as there is at this moment; and the charity of good will, unaided by the charity of compulsion, would have sufficed, at least as well as now both do together, for all the wants and sufferings of our land.

It may be thought by some a little gratuitous to affirm, at a glance, that the lower orders of unassessed Gorbals are in circumstances of as great comfort and sufficiency, as are those of the assessed Barony, and of the still more heavily assessed Glasgow. But on this subject there was a very interesting numerical exhibition afforded in the year 1817, a year of such low trade and miserable wages, that it was deemed necessary to raise an extraordinary subscription, of more than £10,000, for the relief of our operative population, both in the city and suburb parishes. The population of Gorbals is greatly inferior to either that of Barony or of Glasgow—being somewhat beneath one-half of the former, and one-third of the latter. But the whole relief awarded to it, by the committee, did not come to one-third of the relief granted to the Barony, nor to one-seventh of that granted to Glasgow. So that, in the judgment of practical men, sitting in examination over the number and urgency of all the applications that actually came before them, the distress of the Gorbals, in the season of a great common calamity, was far short of that of

the other two portions of the manufacturing community that were alike involved in it. And, if we are to estimate the relative degrees of sufficiency in ordinary times, by the inverse degrees of suffering in a time of extraordinary depression, there is room to believe, that the establishment of a compulsory provision has not only not advanced the condition of the labouring classes, but has positively aggravated the hardships to which they are liable. It has, in fact, unsettled their habits of economy and foresight; and, cruellest of all impositions, has misled them, by lying promises, from the only true source of a people's comfort and independence.

But before we leave the instance of Gorbals, we must advert to one observable peculiarity in the administration of its pauperism. It is well known, that in Glasgow, the elders, generally speaking, live at a considerable distance from their respective proportions—so as to have but a very slight acquaintance, and but very rare and occasional intercourse with the families. In Gorbals it is not so. It has been the practice there, when a vacancy occurs in the eldership, to seek for a successor among the inhabitants of the local district that falls to be provided. It is true, that this arrangement is liable to be disturbed to a certain extent, by changes of residence. But still upon the whole, the sessional affairs of the parish have the benefit of being conducted by a residing agency, where many of the members have their own

dwelling-places within the territory of their own special superintendence. Now, were there any urgent and indispensable call for a large charitable revenue to a large population, or any glaring maladjustment between so small a public expenditure, on the one hand, and so vast a multitude of artizans and labourers on the other, as we find in the parish of Gorbals—then the best thing for its sessional administrators would be to live at the greatest possible distance from their respective territories—that so they might evade the force and vehemence of the many applications with which they might be otherwise encompassed. It must be a puzzling phenomenon to all who strenuously advocate the cause of pauperism, that in the Gorbals we should behold a parish with upwards of twenty thousand people served, and, on the whole, satisfied, by a public expenditure of about £400 a-year. Now, were a result so marvellous in their eyes brought about by any dexterous or unfair juggle, surely the right policy for the operators thereof would be to retreat as far as they could from all converse, and observation, and criticism on the part of the common people—and we should behold the elders of this parish, each skulking in distance and concealment from the clamour of unappeased families, and the remonstrance and outcry of their sympathizing neighbourhood. Instead of which, they place themselves fearlessly down in the very midst of all these possibilities; and on their slender means do they brave an encounter with all the real

or imagined poverty that is around them; and surely if there were an outrageous shortcoming, on their part, from the fair and honest claims of the vicinity in which they dwelt, they could not have the toleration, and much less the esteem that we doubt not they enjoy. It is a truly instructive exhibition, to witness the solicitude of the able and experienced minister of that parish, for elders who shall have their personal occupancy each within the limits of that district which is assigned to him as the field of his labours. Did he feel burdened by the inadequacy of his parochial means to his parochial necessities, it would be his policy to have elders as much beyond the reach of his population as possible, rather than to have them placed at the distance of a walk of five minutes from one and all of the families. It would be his interest, that the administrators of this humble revenue never could be found, rather than be found, as they now are, at all times; because they generally live upon the domain of their own jurisdiction, and mingle hourly and familiarly with the people of their own charge. So to station these parochial office-bearers, each within his own portion of the mass of parochial pauperism, is one of the closest and most satisfying applications that can well be made of the touch-stone of experience to this question. There can be no blinking of the question with such a treatment of it. And the thing that has been proved, or rather the thing that has been found in consequence, is, that the way of bring-

ing pauperism down to its right dimensions, is to face, and not to flee from it—that, instead of starving it by unmanfully running away, the better method of reducing it is by proximity and thorough investigation, to probe it to the uttermost—that the nearer you come to it, it dwindles the more into insignificance before you—that it grows into real magnitude by the distance of its administrators, as well as grows into a still greater apparent magnitude, when seen through the medium of distance by beholders—but, that from thence it may, by personal approximation and intercourse, be followed back again into the nonentity from which it never would have sprung, had it not been conjured up by the wand of legislation.

Wherever there is jugglery between two parties, there is disguise with the one or the other of them —and disguise is certainly favoured by the mutual distance at which they stand. When the parochial office-bearers and the poor, mingle so intimately together, as in Gorbals, and a cheap administration is the result of it, we infer that this is all which is genuinely required by the real state and exigencies of the population. But when they stand more widely apart the one from the other, as in Glasgow, and a profuse or expensive administration comes out of it, we should say of this, that it was partly owing to a delusion between the parties, because of their intervening distance. So that, instead of inferring from the moderate ex-

penditure of Gorbals, that any juggle has been practised there on those who apply for public charity, we should rather infer, from the profuse expenditure of Glasgow, that a juggle is in daily practice and operation there, on those who dispense it.

Now we think that by the retracing process, which in our former chapters we have so often explained,* there is not an assessed parish in Scotland which does not admit of being conducted back again to that state from which the Gorbals never has departed. And yet, it ought not to be concealed that there are evils and difficulties even in the very best condition of Scottish pauperism. It has done less mischief than the pauperism of England, only because less outrageous in its deviation from the system of a free charity, prompted by nature, and stimulated as much as it may by the spirit of Christianity. But there is still a taint and a mischief belonging to it, which it would be well to expose—and that, both in justice to the real truth and philosophy of the subject, and also for the sake of our southern neighbours, many of whom have been misled into an unqualified veneration for the economy of our Scottish parishes. We do conceive that the overgrown pauperism of England is reducible; but we think that a still better landing-place might be provided for it, than even our own

---

* See Vol. II. Chap. XI. p. 131.

parochial administration. It is good in every reformation to point well from the very outset. And if such a movement of reformation, on the part of England, shall ever be attempted, it were certainly right that the best of possible directions should be given to it; and, instead of a change from the more to the less imperfect, it were desirable that the line of regress from its present system should be so drawn, as to terminate in that system which is most accordant with the universal and abiding principles of our nature. We are aware of many in England, who would rejoice in a translation from their own corrupt and oppressive method of public charity, to the comparatively light expenditure of the North. But if any translation is to be adventured on, and the hazards of a great revolution in our domestic policy are to be encountered, at any rate, then the purely rectilinear path of sound principle had rather be chosen, than another path, however slightly divergent it may be from the former one.* It is on this account that we should like to estimate the precise amount of our own error, and our own divergency. It may both serve as a land-mark by which to guide our future suggestions on the pauperism of England; and, by its tendency to expose, and perhaps to remedy the evils of our own peculiar sys-

* That we do not vindicate Scottish pauperism as being in itself a good, but merely indulge it as being the less of two evils, must be apparent from the whole of Chapter X. and the introduction to Chapter XI. of this work.

tem, may form an appropriate close to our observations upon Scottish pauperism.

We hold it then to be an evil, attendant even on the very humblest of our sessional administrations, that still their efficiency, for the relief of indigence, is so apt to be overrated. There is a great defect of arithmetic in the popular mind. It is the creature of imagination and habit; and easily imposed upon by the glare of publicity, does it often award a delusive power and importance to the objects of its contemplation. It is thus, that even a Kirk-Session, stands in loftier guise to the eye of parishioners, than is at all warranted by the might or the magnitude of its operations. There is about it an air of promise and of pretension, that is greatly beyond its power—nor is it easy to unmask this imposture, or, exposing the actual dimensions of our public charity, to convince our population of the real insignificance which belongs to it.

Now, this of itself is a serious mischief. The disturbance which an artificial process of charity gives to the natural processes, is not in proportion to the quantity of relief that is administered thereby, but in proportion to the quantity of relief that is counted upon. The relaxation of economy, on the part of an expectant upon public charity, is in the accurate ratio of the hope that is felt, and not of the hope that is realised. It is enough for the purpose of a vitiating influence among a population, to set up a visible appearance of distribution in the midst of them, with even an undefined

chance of its being made, on given emergencies, to bear upon one or other of the families. It is no satisfying answer to this, that the produce of our parochial charity is but small—for the anticipation, in almost all cases, greatly outstrips the experience—and thus, to a certain degree, are the people lured away from self-dependence—the only solid basis on which their prosperity can be reared. And more than this—the delusion to which we now advert, is not confined to the poor. They, whose duty it is to succour them, fully participate therein—and the existence of a court of supply has often appeased those personal sensibilities, which would have been ten times more available to the cause of charity. Neighbours feel, to a certain extent, disburdened of their obligation, because of the perceived calls and inquiries that have been instituted by a Kirk-Session upon a distressed household—and of the periodical allowance, however meagre, which they understand to be rendered to it. Both the hand of industry, and the hand of private benevolence, are slackened by the presence of this meddling intruder, on the natural habits and sympathies of men: and if we think that the lower classes of society in England are worse conditioned than they else would have been because of their poor rates—we do truly and conscientiously think, that the collections of Scotland might, though in but a fractional degree, work a degradation both on the comfort and character of the peasantry of our land.

It is cruel first to raise a hope, and then to disappoint it—and there are two expedients by which this cruelty might be done away. The first and most obvious expedient, were to meet the hope by a liberality more adequate to the high pitch at which it is entertained. This has been attempted in England—and we venture to affirm, as the consequence of it, a tenfold amount of unappeased rapacity, and of rancorous dissatisfaction, and of all that distress which arises where the expectation has greatly overshot the fulfilment. The second expedient were utterly to extinguish the hope, by the total abolition of public charity for the relief of indigence. This has not been attempted in Scotland—and there are reasons, both of a prudential and of an absolute character, why we should deem the attempt to be not advisable. But, meanwhile, if the sessional charity of Scotland is to be kept up, it is but honesty to proclaim its utter insignificance in the hearing of all the people. They should be taught that in trusting to it, they only trust to a lying mockery. The way to neutralise the mischief of our parochial dispensations, is by a frank and open exposure of their utter worthlessness—for we know not how a more grievous injury can be done to the poor, than by holding out such a semblance of aid to them as might either reduce, by ever so little, their own economy, or deaden, by ever so little, the sympathy of their fellows. A full feeling of responsibility to the demands of human want and human suffering should be kept

alive among the families of every neighbourhood—and for this purpose ought it to be a matter of broad understanding and notoriety, that there is positively nothing done by any of our Kirk-Sessions which should supersede the care of individuals for themselves or their keepership one for another. The elder who effectually teaches this lesson in his district, does more for the substantial relief of its needy, than by any multiplication whatever of public allowances—and even without one farthing to bestow, may thus be the instrument of a great alleviation to the ills and hardships of poverty. It is a downright fraud upon our population, to keep up the forms of a great public distribution, without letting them know that the fruits of it are so rare and scanty, as to be wholly undeserving of all notice or regard from them. The understanding should go abroad over a whole parish, that none are relieved from their duties. Each Kirk-Session ought to make full demonstration of its own impotency—and better far, that its functions as a public almoner were forthwith to cease, than that in the slightest degree, it should either lull the vigilance of self-preservation, or seduce kinsfolk and neighbours from that post of benevolent guardianship which they else would occupy.

It may startle some of our countrymen to be told, that the sessional charity of Scotland may be deleterious, and certainly is not indispensable to the well-being, or to the right economy of any of its parishes. The English reader has much greater

reason to be startled by the affirmation, that his parish, of a thousand people, with its expenditure for the year of fifteen hundred pounds, might have its public charity reduced to twenty pounds a year, and with infinitely less of clamour and disaffection among its families than there is at this moment. Now, if a parish could survive the shock of a revolution so marvellous, what is the mighty explosion or overthrow that would ensue, if the last remaining fragments of the system were made to disappear? If an English parish could be reduced to the condition of a Scotch one, in respect of its pauperism, then it were but adding one little step more to a wide and gigantic transition, should the Scottish pauperism be altogether swept away. And, when we wonder at the prejudice and incredulity of the South, as to the competency of the former achievement, let it not be forgotten, that this is fully overmatched by the incredulity of our own countrymen, when they protest against the latter achievement as wholly impracticable.

We are unable to comprehend on what principle a charitable expenditure of less than £500 a year, can be deemed essential to the good economy of a parish, with more than 20,000 people—or how the abolition of such an expenditure, would inflict a great and permanent derangement on the state of such a community. A very slight impulse indeed, on the popular feeling and popular habits, would fully balance the loss of so paltry a ministration. And the change in question, would, of it-

self, create such an impulse. We believe that a most wholesome reaction would ensue on the cessation of all public charity; and that private charity, then emancipated from delusion, would come forth with a tenfold blessing upon the poor of our land.

In the great majority of our Scottish parishes, all which the administrators of the public charity profess to do, is to "give in aid." They do not hold themselves responsible for the entire subsistence of any of their paupers; they presume in the general, on other resources, without inquiring specifically either into the nature or the amount of them. It says much for the truth of our whole speculation, that in this presumption they are almost never disappointed; and that whether in the kindness of relatives, or the sympathy of neighbours, or the many undefinable shifts and capabilities of the pauper himself, there do cast up to him the items of a maintenance. It is instructive to perceive how small a proportion the monthly allowance of a Kirk-Session must often bear to the whole support of an individual, who yet has no other visible means that can be specified: and the only inference to be made from this is, that the public charity of Scotland has not yet superseded those better operations of care and kindness among families, on which we think that the whole of human indigence might be fearlessly devolved. All that a Kirk-Session generally does is to come forth with a minute and insignificant fraction, as its offering to the cause:

and still the question remains, Whether in so doing it does not abridge the supply that cometh from other quarters, more than it supplements them. We feel no doubt in our minds, that upon the whole, it does so—that there is a state, and a circumstance, and a form about the proceedings of this body, calculated to magnify the hope of its expectants, and of their friends, greatly beyond its power to meet or to gratify the appetite which it may have kindled—that, had it not been for its own little contribution, the whole present aliment of almost all its pensioners, would have been overpassed by the free and undeluded benevolence of nature, more powerfully aided, as it then must have been, by that economy which even the humble pauperism of Scotland has somewhat relaxed, and by that duteous attention among friends and kinsfolk, which it has somewhat superseded. We do not believe that the whole sessional charity of Scotland, in those parishes where assessments are unknown, renders more than a fifth part to the maintenance of all its enrolled paupers. The remaining four-fifths are yielded from other sources, which, if not disturbed, and somewhat enfeebled by the sight of an imposing apparatus of relief, would have more than made good the deficiency which now is not permitted to be thus overtaken. And therefore do we think, that without that show of charity which is held forth by the parochial system of Scotland, but which is not substantiated, the peasantry of our land would, on the

strength of their own unseduced habits, have exhibited an aspect of greater comfort, and been in a still higher condition than they now occupy.

But, save for a great purpose, an innovating hand should not be stretched forth against the institutions and the established practices of a country—and, therefore, would we not plead for the abolition of our Scottish pauperism. We think that its comparatively harmless character entitles it to this toleration; nay, that it is susceptible of such improvements, in the administration of it, as to make it altogether innocent, if not salutary. There is even a way, that we shall explain presently, by which it might be made the organ of unquestionable benefit to the population, and especially in great towns, might be turned to the direct object of elevating both the morality and the scholarship of our land. Yet, however adapted to the good of a country where it has long been established, this is no reason why it should be introduced, with all its peculiarities, into a country where it is still unknown: nor does it follow, that because unwise to put down the existing economy of our Scottish parishes, it should therefore be held forth as a faultless model, or proposed as the best substitute for the present pauperism of England.

We have already said that the first evil of Scottish pauperism was that which attached to all public charity,—its liableness to be over-rated. It is not enough to say that experience will correct this evil. There is a want of arithmetic among the poor, in

virtue of which a monthly half-crown, or a quarterly half-guinea sounds far more magnificently in their hearing than either a penny, or three halfpence a day. The daily meal that is sent by a kind neighbour dwindles into a thing of nought when compared with the wholesale allowance which issues either from the city Board or the parochial vestry; and the neighbour himself feels relieved of the obligation that lies upon him, by a spectacle which deceives him as much as it does the object of his sympathy. Rather than this, it were well that the cause of human want should be thrown, an unprotected orphan, on the random charities by which it is every-where encompassed. But if this may not be, let all such public charity as ours be preceded by the herald of its insignificance. Let each elder make open demonstration of its nullity to the people under his charge; and that, both to keep alive, as far as may be, the self-dependence of the poor, and to keep alive, among all who have aught to give, an unabated sympathy with the needs and the sufferings of our species.

When accompanied by such a corrective as this, the parochial charity of Scotland may be disarmed of all its mischief, and even be transformed into an instrument for raising and purifying still more the economic habits of her people. It brings the lowest of them into frequent and familiar converse with men, so far elevated above the common mass of society, as to have been intrusted with the duties of an office, that is both sacred in its nature, and

implies a certain superintendence over the concerns and the character of families. Let him who fills this office be at once both worthy and enlightened; and by every act of intercourse may he bring a distinct good even upon the secondary habits of the population. Even an application for sessional relief might be so improved, and so turned by him. He might evince to their satisfaction the arithmetic of its worthlessness. He might remonstrate with them on the folly of making so great and humiliating a descent, for so paltry a compensation. He might go round with this argument among all the relatives, and draw from them a liberality and an aid that would put parish charity to shame, and bring it down to its right place in the popular estimation. Such an elder as this may at once heighten the delicacies of the poor, and quicken the sympathies of the beneficent in his district; and the blessing that he might thus confer upon the families, can only be equalled by the mischief that would ensue, were he to share with them in the delusion, that the charity of a Kirk-Session was the grand specific for human want, and make use of it accordingly. If the blind lead the blind, there will be unavoidable degradation. But when, instead of this, the whole truth and principle of the matter are completely unfolded; and the fair and friendly conference is often entered upon; and the duty is fearlessly pointed out, both that the poor man ought to economise, and that friends and relatives ought to feel for him,—then it is wonderful

how soon a kind and common understanding may come to be established between the elder who so expatiates over his territory, and the people who occupy it. Every thing can be made of them when they are dealt with frankly and rationally. No truth needs to be kept up from them, and there is nothing to fear from the announcement, in their hearing, of whatever has its own sense, and its own moral justness to recommend it. And, more particularly, let the revenue of the Session be only made to take a sound direction—let it be appropriated to some object that is at once popular and salutary—let it be allocated to the endowment of schools, or to a full provision for the unforeseen impotency, whether of body or of mind, wherewith Nature marks off a given number of unfortunates, in every neighbourhood, for the unqualified tenderness of all their fellows—let it be made palpable as day, that every one whom the hand of Providence hath smitten with blindness, or derangement, or some such special infirmity as hath made him through life the child of helplessness, is cherished and upheld to the uttermost—and let the elder be enabled to go forth among his people with the argument, that by the forbearance of their demands, they allow a more copious descent of liberality on families more abject than their own; and we despair not, at length, of a full concurrence, on their part, in that system by which indigence is left to the compassions of private benevolence, and unforeknown impotency alone is left to the care of benevolent institutions.

But there is another evil of more recent origin in Scottish pauperism, and which is a serious obstacle in the way of a good practical understanding between the managers of a parish and its population—and that is, the imagination of a legal right which a poor man has to subsistence from the hands of the Kirk-Session. This is a new spirit among our countrymen; but it is growing apace in all those districts where assessments have been introduced, and the effect is just what may have been anticipated. There is not one of those principles in our nature, which if left to their own unfettered operation, would have wrought the best and the kindliest distribution of relief, that this hard and heterogeneous legality does not counteract. For it gives a tenfold edge to the rapacity of expectants—and it arms, with a kind of defensive jealousy and rigour, the hearts of the administrators against them—and it displaces from what would else have been a business of charity, all the feelings, and all the characteristics of charity—and it associates the complacency of justice, and of a conscious right, with that neglect, on the part of relatives and neighbours, of which they would have otherwise been ashamed—and so, the elder who goes forth upon his territory, the conceived object of responsibility and of prosecution for all the distress that may be found in it, is not in such circumstances for a pleasing and a prosperous management, as if, delivered from the obligations of Law, he went forth on the footing of spontaneous

philanthropy. In the one way of it, friends are apt to do little, that they may leave the largest possible space for the attentions of the elder. In the other way of it, a very small attention from the elder would be so seconded by the charity of popular benevolence, that however large the space he might leave to be filled up, it were sure to be overtaken. An elder with the legal means of a Kirk-Session in his hand, but at the same time, under the weight of its legal obligations, is not in so fit a condition for being the benefactor of his district, as if, without either the means or the obligations that now attach to his office, he went with nought but the visits, and the inquiries, and the recommendations of Christian kindness among its families. The people make common cause against the man on whom they fancy that the needy have a claim; and they make common cause with the man from whom the needy obtain a sympathy and an aid that are altogether gratuitous. The pauperism of Scotland has done somewhat to thwart the operation of this principle; and we think that it has locked up more of private benevolence through the land, than it has replaced by its own distributions.

It is on this account that we have often looked both with admiration and envy to the method of public charity that obtains among many of our Scottish dissenters. The produce of their weekly collections, or at least part of it, is often distributed among the poor of their own congregations, and

who, at the same time, sustain a character that makes them admissible to Christian ordinances. There is nought of legality whatever in this administration, and much, we are persuaded, of the precious feeling both of sympathy and gratitude still adheres to it. We should deem it a mighty improvement in our pauperism, were this practice tolerated by our Courts of Law in the congregations of the establishment; and were a Kirk-Session held to acquit itself of all its obligations to the poor, by simply alimenting those poor who were the members of its own church. We should have no fear, under this arrangement of things, for the outfield population, who, in many of our country parishes, bear no sensible proportion to the whole, though, in great towns, they form the vast majority of our lower orders. Yet such is our confidence in those native forces of sympathy and of self-preservation, that we have so oft insisted on, as to believe of our general poor that a surer comfort and sufficiency would accrue to them, were they dissevered from sessional relief altogether. Not that we recommend the abolition of our present territorial superintendence by elders, whose office it is to render the attentions, and to exemplify the virtues of Christianity among the people of their assigned charge. But sure we are, that even as the benefactors of the poor, they would be translated into tenfold efficiency did they cease to be the objects of any legal demand or legal expectation; and they would speedily demonstrate, both by the more

quiescent state of their districts, and the actually better economy which obtained among their families, that neither a public fund by assessment, nor a public fund by collections for the relief of indigence, was indispensable, or even added to the well-being of any population.

It is conceivable of some one parochial domain in Scotland, that within its limits the law of pauperism had ceased to be in force—that the people there had been thrown beyond the pale, or the fancied protection of this law—that, unlike to the consecrated ground on which no debtor could be legally apprehended, it was a kind of outcast or proscribed territory on which no poor man could legally demand one morsel of aliment to keep him from famishing. Let it comprise some thousands of our operative and city population, and be without more of recognition from the upper classes of society, than the ordinary apparatus of a church, and a minister, and an eldership would naturally attach to it. We affirm, from all that we have seen or learned of the internal structure of every such community, that its ecclesiastical office-bearers are in better circumstances for upholding a well-served, and a well-satisfied parish, without the law of pauperism, than with that law. Every movement of benevolence that was made by them to a poor family, would call out a tenfold power of co-operation from the surrounding observers. The effect of such an arrangement on the hopes, and habits, and sympathies of the people, would just be less

of actual necessity among them; and that necessity, when it did occur, more promptly and abundantly met by a busier operation of internal charity than before. It would thus become clear as day, that Law had acted as a drag on the liberalities of our nature; and that, on the removal of this drag, these liberalities had found their own surer and speedier way among the families of the destitute. Law has wrought a twofold mischief. It has both whetted the appetency for relief, and stinted the supplies of it. The abolition of the law of pauperism would curtail this misery at both ends. That the starvation of a single individual would ever arise from such a state of things, we affirm to be a moral impossibility; but, as a certain result of it, would we at length be landed in a more peaceful and prosperous community than before.

Were such an experiment tried, and did such a result come out of it, it would be held by many as decisive of the truth of our speculation. But, on a little reflection, they will perceive, that the experiments which have actually been made, though not so striking, are still more decisive. In truth, the state of every unassessed parish in Scotland may be regarded as a distinct evidence against the need of any public charity for indigence. The whole expenditure, in many of them, does not amount to twenty pounds sterling, in the year, for each thousand of the population—a mere show of relief, that might well have been dispensed with,

as more fitted to impede the charity of nature than to supplement it; and that a parish should be upheld under such an economy, is proof in itself, that it could have been as well, if not better upholden, without any artificial economy at all. The result of a well-satisfied parish is not in consequence of the sessional revenue, but in spite of it; and this holds eminently true both of Gorbals, and of the retracing parishes in Glasgow, where the management is conducted under the heavy disadvantage of a population tinctured, in some degree, with the legal imaginations of England. It were an easier management far, to have both the revenue of the one party, and the right of the other, utterly swept away; and sure we are, that with such an arrangement, there would be less than now of actual and unrelieved want in our parishes. In a word, our sessional apparatus, with all the hopes and desires that it carries in its train, is to be regarded, not in the light of a facility, but of an obstruction; and that we have succeeded therewith, in warding off a compulsory provision, is a more impressive demonstration still of the native capability which there is among a people to supersede pauperism, than if, without one farthing of public expenditure, we had arrived at the same result with a people that urged no claim, and felt no expectation.

We are quite aware, at the same time, of the strength of our Scottish predilections on the side of a Sabbath offering. The removal of the plates from the church-doors would be felt as a sore de-

secration, both by many of our priests, and by many of our people. And, deeming as we do, that it is in the power of a good administration, very much to neutralise the mischief that is inherent in this as in all other public charity; and that, even with certain precautions which we are to enter upon, is convertible into an instrument of great positive benefit to all our parishes, we, among others, should regret the abolition of it. What has been found so innocent in practice might well be tolerated in a country where it has been long established, even notwithstanding its unsoundness in principle. So that were it the only question, What is best to be done with pauperism in Scotland?—we should incline to its remaining as it is, in all those parishes where assessments are unknown: and only setting up an impassable barrier between the gratuitous and the compulsory systems of public charity, we should restrain its perpetual tendency to merge, as it has done throughout our border counties, into English pauperism. And we should be further satisfied that in those latter parishes, by the methods which we have already explained, the minister and elders were to take their direction back again to the good old way of their forefathers. But though it were wrong to offer pain or disturbance to the old and confirmed associations of one country, that is no reason why, in another country, free from these associations, there should be the blind unvarying adoption of a system that is at all exceptionable; or that, on the

question, What is best to be done with the pauperism of England? any deliverance should be given that is not conformable, at all points, to the sound and universal principles of our nature.

But ere we pass on to this momentous and interesting part of our argument, let us advert to a few of those leading principles, on which, we hold it a practicable thing, to perfect the administration of our Scottish pauperism.

And, first, we think that a great moral good would ensue, and without violence done to humanity, were the Kirk-Session forthwith to put a negative on all those demands that have their direct and visible origin in profligacy of character. We allude more particularly to the cases of illegitimate children, and of runaway parents. It should ever rank among those decent proprieties of an ecclesiastical court, which can, on no account, be infringed, that it shall do nothing which might extend a countenance, or give a security to wickedness. In the case of exposed infants, a necessity may be laid upon it. But sure we are, that generally, and without outrage to any of our sympathies, the criminal parties may be safely left to the whole weight of a visitation that is at once the consequence and the corrective of their own transgression. We know not a more pitiable condition than that of a female who is at once degraded and deserted; but many are the reasons why it should be altogether devolved on the secret and unobserved pity which it is so well fitted to inspire.

And we know not a more striking exhibition of the power of those sympathies, that we have so often quoted as being adequate, in themselves, to all the emergencies of human suffering, than the unfailing aid, and service, and supply, wherewith even the child-bed of guilt is sure to be surrounded. It is a better state of things when, instead of the loud and impudent demand that is sometimes lifted upon such occasions, the sufferer is left to a dependence upon her own kinsfolk, and neighbours, and to the strong moral corrective that lies in their very kindness towards her. We think, that if every instance of a necessity which has been thus created, were understood to lie without the pale of the sessional administration, and to be solely a draught on the liberalities of the benevolent, we both think that these liberalities would guarantee a subsistence to all who were concerned, and that, at the same time, in a more intense popular odium, there would arise a defensive barrier against that licentiousness which the institutions of our sister country have done so much to foster and to patronise. It must shed a grievous blight over the delicacies of a land, when the shameless prostitute is invested with a right, because of the very misdeeds which ought to have humbled and abashed her—when she can plead her own disgrace as the argument for being listened to, and, on the strength of it, compel the jurisdictions of the country to do homage to her claim—when crime is thus made the passport to legal privileges, and

the native unloveliness of vice is somewhat glossed and overborne, by the public recognition which has been thus so unwisely extended to it.

In the case of a family that has been abandoned by its regardless and unnatural father, and where there is no suspected collusion between the parents, there is pity unmingled with reproach to the helpless sufferers. And our whole experience assures us, that this pity would be available to a far larger, and more important aid, than is rendered, on such occasions, by any of the public charities in Scotland. The interference of the Kirk-Session has the effect of contracting the supplies within the limits of its own rigid allowance; and better even for the members of the deserted household, that they had been suffered, each to merge into such an asylum of protection and kindness as the neighbourhood would have spontaneously afforded. But better still—there would, under such a regimen as this, be fewer instances of abandonment. The man who, without remorse, could leave his offspring to the charge of a public body, and a burden on a public fund, would need to have still more of the desperado in his heart, ere he could leave them at random to the care of his old familiars in society. To the honour of our nature, there is a moral certainty in this latter case, that there will be no starvation; but the sympathy of individuals will not be so often put to the trial of such a runaway experiment, as would the care and responsibility of a Kirk-Session. And better, surely, that such an

occurrence as this should be placed in the list of those casualties for which no legal provision has been made, than that any thing in the institutions of our country should tend to slacken or to supersede the ties of relationship. In a community that had not been thrown into derangement by pauperism, the desertion of a family would be as rare and appalling a visitation, as the destruction of their all by fire; and, like it too, would call forth as prompt and productive a sympathy from neighbours, while the indignation felt by all at the calamitous event, in which all had been made to take an interest, would strengthen the popular habit the more on the side of all the relative and family obligations.

It might appear to many a harsh and unfeeling suggestion, thus to withdraw the hand of public charity either from illegitimate or deserted children. We are satisfied that both human crime and human suffering would be greatly abridged by it—that, in the first instance, a much smaller number of these unfortunates would fall to be provided for—and that, in the second instance, there would come forth, from some quarter or other, an actual sustenance to all. Such is the result which we would most confidently anticipate, and it would most strikingly demonstrate the alertness of individual benevolence, when no artificial economy stood in its way.

But, secondly, if that indigence which is the effect of crime might be confined to the charities of private life, we may be very sure that the indigence

which is not associated with crime will be largely and liberally met by these charities. In the absence of all legal provision there would be greatly less of this indigence, and greatly more of this liberality; but as there does exist a legal provision, then is it the part of him who is intrusted with the dispensation of it, so to manage, as that the one shall be prevented, and the other shall be promoted to the uttermost. For this purpose he should ever ply the lesson among his people, that the charity of a Kirk-Session is the last resort which should come in the train of every other lawful expedient—that it is the duty of all to ward off the necessity of this humiliation from the poor brother who is just standing upon the verge of it—that, in this cause, it is the duty of the applicant himself to put forth all his powers of economy and labour, and the duty of his relatives to minister to his need, and the duty of his neighbours to interpose, and, if possible, to save him from the parish: and lest the minister or the elder who so expatiates should appear to be one of those who would lay burdens on the shoulders of other men, which he himself will not touch with one of his fingers, it is his duty to exemplify all that he thus strenuously recommends. It is not known at how cheap a rate the demand from whole thousands of a city population could thus be disposed of, or how soon, by this culture of honesty and frankness, their families could be weaned from all desire, and all dependence upon public charity.

And we have only to add, on this part of the subject, that while such a state of things would naturally, and of itself, bring on a far closer interchange of kindness between the higher and lower classes, this, however desirable for its own sake, is not indispensable for the sake of filling up the vacancies that might be created by the withdrawment of public charity. It is the unquestionable duty, and ought, at all times, to be the delight of the rich, fairly to meet with poverty, and to investigate and to bestow. One of our chief arguments for re-committing the business of alms to a natural economy, is, that the wealthy and the poor would thereby come more frequently into contact, and that would be made to issue upon the destitute, from the play of human feelings, which is now extorted without good-will on the one side, or gratitude on the other, by the authority of human law. It were an incalculable good, if, in this way, the breath of a milder and happier spirit could be infused into society: But, arithmetically, it is not true, that the free-will offerings of the rich are essential as a succedaneum to the allowances of pauperism—or, that, unless the former to some given extent, can surely be reckoned upon, the latter must, to a certain extent, continue to be upholden. The practical result that would come out from the cessation of all public charity, were, in the first instance, a very great abridgment of expectation or demand on the part of the applicants—and, secondly, while

the personal attentions and liberalities of the rich would be multiplied in consequence, on those poor, who shall be with us always; yet, confident we are, that even in the most plebeian of our city parishes, these poor would, in the stimulated kindness of relatives and neighbours, meet with far their most effectual redress, and by far their fittest and readiest compensation.

But, thirdly, there is a class of necessities in the relief of which public charity is not at all deleterious, and which she might safely be left to single out and to support, both as liberally and as ostensibly as she may. We allude to all those varieties, whether of mental or of bodily disease, for which it is a wise and salutary thing to rear a public institution. We hold it neither wise nor salutary to have any such asylum for the impotency that springeth from age; for this is not an unforeseen exigency, but one, that, in the vast majority of instances, could have been provided for by the care of the individual. And neither is it an exigency that is destitute of all resource in the claims and obligations of nature, for what more express, or more clearly imperative, than the duty of children? A systematic provision for age in any land, is tantamount to a systematic hostility against its virtues, both of prudence and of natural piety. But there are other infirmities and other visitations, to which our nature is liable, and a provision for which stands clearly apart from all that is exceptionable. We refer not to those current household diseases, which

are incidental, on the average, to every family; but to those more special inflictions of distress, by which in one or more of its members, a family is sometimes set apart and signalized. A child who is blind, or speechless, or sunk in helpless idiotism, puts into this condition, the family to which it belongs. No mischief whatever can accrue from every such case being fully met and provided for—and it were the best vindication of a Kirk-Session, for the spareness of its allowances, on all those occasions where the idle might work, or kinsfolk might interpose, that it gives succour to the uttermost of its means, in all those fatalities of nature, which no prudence could avert, and which being not chargeable as a fault, ought neither to be chargeable as an expense, on any poor and struggling family.

It may be at once seen, wherein lies the distinction between the necessities of signal and irremediable disease, and those merely of general indigence. A provision, however conspicuous, for the former, will not add one instance of distress more to the already existing catalogue. A provision for the latter, if regular and proclaimed, will furthermore be counted on—and so be sure to multiply its own objects, to create, in fact, more of general want than it supplies. To qualify for the first kind of relief, one must be blind, or deaf, or lunatic, or maimed, which no man is wilfully—so that this walk of charity can be overtaken, and without any corrupt influence on those who are sustained

by it. To qualify for the second kind of relief, one has only to be poor, which many become wilfully, and always too in numbers which exceed the promise and the power of public charity to uphold them—so that this walk can not only never be overtaken, but, by every step of advancement upon it, it stretches forth to a more hopeless distance than before, and is also more crowded with the thriftless, and the beggarly, and the immoral. The former cases are put into our hand by nature, in a certain definite amount—and she has farther, established in the human constitution such a recoil from pain, or from the extinction of any of the senses, as to form a sure guarantee against the multiplication of them. The latter cases are put into our hands by man, and his native love of indolence or dissipation becomes a spontaneous and most productive fountain of poverty, in every land where public charity has interposed to disarm it of its terrors. It is thus, that while pauperism has most egregiously failed to provide an asylum, in which to harbour all the indigence of a country, there is no such impossibility in the attempt to harbour derangement, or special impotency and disease. The one enterprise must ever fall short of its design, and, at the same time, carry a moral deterioration in its train. The other may fulfil its design to the uttermost, and without the alloy of a single evil that either patriot or economist can fear.

The doings of our Saviour in the world, after he entered on his career as a minister, had in them

much of the eclat of public charity. Had he put his miraculous power of feeding into full operation, it would have thrown the people loose from all *regular habits*, and spread *riot* and *disorder* over the face of the land. But there was no such drawback to his miraculous power of healing. And we think it both marks the profoundness of his wisdom, and might serve to guide the institutions and the schemes of philanthropy, that while we read of but two occasions on which he multiplied loaves for a people who had been overtaken with hunger, and one on which he refused the miracle to a people who crowded about him for the purpose of being fed, he laid no limitation whatever on his supernatural faculties, when they followed him for the purpose of being cured. But it is recorded of him again and again, that when the halt, and the withered, and the blind, and the impotent, and those afflicted with divers diseases, were brought unto him, he looked to them, and he had compassion on them, and he healed them all.

This then is one safe and salutary absorbent for the revenue of a Kirk-Session. The dumb and the blind, and the insane of a parish, may be freely alimented therewith, to the great relief of those few families who have thus been specially afflicted. Such a destination of the fund could excite no beggarly spirit in other families, which, wanting the peculiar claim, would feel that they had no part or interest in the peculiar compassion. There is vast comfort in every walk of philanthropy, where

a distinct and definite good is to be accomplished, and whereof, at a certain given expense, we are sure to reach the consummation. Now, this is a comfort attendant on that separate direction of the poor's money which we have now recommended—but the main advantage that we should count upon, is its wholesome effect on the general administration and state of pauperism. The more systematically and ostensibly that the parochial managers proceeded on the distinction between special impotency and general indigence, the more, at length, would the applicants on the latter plea, give way to the applicants on the former. The manifest superiority of the first claim to the second, would go at once to the hearts of the people; and mere indigence would be taught, that in the moderation of her demands, there was a high service of humanity rendered to still more abject helplessness than her own. The Sabbath offering might gradually come to be regarded as a sort of consecrated treasure, set apart for those whom Providence had set apart from the rest of the species. Nor would indigence suffer from this rejection of her claims by public charity. She would only be thrown back on the better resources that await her in the amenities and kindnesses of private life. And it is thus that a great positive good might be rendered out of the parochial administration, to one class of sufferers, while both the delicacies of the general poor, and the sympathies of that individual benevolence on which all their wants might safely be devolved, would be fully upholden.

We are quite confident that such a direction of the sessional means, if steadily persevered in, would at length carry the acquiescence both of the popular habits and the popular approbation. And if followed out, it might lead, and more especially in city parishes, to a most beneficial economy. There would be no harm in stimulating the liberality of a congregation for the support of a parish surgeon, who might be at the free command of the families. There would be no harm in thus supporting a dispensary for good medicines, or in purchasing an indefinite right of admittance to an hospital for disease. We specify these objects chiefly in order to demonstrate, how, without taking down the apparatus of Scottish pauperism, it might still be made subservient to blessings of a very high and unquestionable character, and without any of that injurious taint which ordinary pauperism is seen to bring along with it, on the spirit and independence of a population.

There are many other absorbents which might be devised for the surplus of the sessional income, that would be salutary as well as safe—and thus all public charity might in time be diverted away from the relief of mere indigence. We should count, as the effect of this, on a great abatement of all the sufferings of poverty, because, instead of being thereby abandoned, it would only be transferred to the guardianship of a far better and more effective humanity. And we should have pleasure in stimulating the liberality of a congre-

gation, when turned to a purpose that did not hazard the moral deterioration of the people. There is something ticklish and questionable in every dispensation under which a public distribution of alms is held out to the necessitous—and the perpetual tendency of our Scottish to pass at length into English pauperism, as has been abundantly manifested, both in our large towns and border parishes, is in itself a proof that somewhat of that unsoundness may be detected in the former, which has come forth so palpably upon the latter. To make the practice of the one country a model for the other, would be to commit back again the pauperism of England to that whence it might germinate anew, and so add one failure more to the many experiments which have been devised for its reformation. And yet the parochial charity of our land need not be extirpated. It is in the power of a wise and wholesome administration, to impress upon it a high moral subserviency—to turn it, for example, to the endowment of schools, or the establishment of parish libraries, or the rearing of chapels for an unprovided population; who, by one and the same process, could have their moral wants supplied, and be weaned from all that sordid dependance on charity, by which their physical wants have not been abridged, but rather aggravated, both in their frequency and in their soreness.

CHAP. XIV.

ON THE LIKELIEST MEANS FOR THE ABOLITION OF PAUPERISM IN ENGLAND.

It might be thought, that, as a preliminary to our views of English pauperism, we should again expound those principles of our nature on which we mainly rest the solution of this much-agitated problem; and in virtue of which, we deem it not only safe, but salutary, to do away all legal charity for the relief of indigence. But this is a topic on which we, by this time, have amplified enough in the course of our argument;* nor could we again recur to it, without laying upon our reader the burden and the annoyance of a reiteration, into which we fear that our anxiety for the clearest possible elucidation has already too often betrayed us.

But we not only forbear a recapitulation of those principles on which we rely for the eventual cure of English pauperism; we shall, furthermore, be studious of the utmost possible brevity in our narrative of facts, when adverting to the present and the actual condition of it. More particularly, shall we abstain from the unnecessary multiplication of instances, in proof of such affirmations as

---

* See Chap. X. p. 53—66.

are abundantly certain, and familiar to all who take any interest in the subject. This is a question on which we feel that we are addressing a conscious public, who need not to be awakened as to the existence of the evil, or made more intelligent than they already are, as to its leading modifications. It were a vain and idle parade to come forth with a copious induction of parishes, with a view to demonstrate the reality of any practice, or the flagrancy of any abuse, that is of undisputed notoriety in all parishes. There are many occasions on which there is a sort of common and recognised ground between the author and his readers—when much may be affirmed without proof, on the one side, because instantly responded to by a prior and independent knowledge, upon the other. It is of no use to overload with evidence, where there is already a settled and experimental conviction.*

---

* In the preface to a very able pamphlet on the Poor Laws, by the Rev. Mr. Davison, there are the following judicious remarks on the quotation of facts and examples:—

"All reasoning on the subject of the Poor Laws must be idle, which is not supported by a real knowledge of the state of things in the country, as it stands under these laws; and existing facts must shape the anticipated experience by which any given alteration of them is to be judged of. Instances and particular cases therefore, commonly make a figure in the publications which treat of them. The author of these remarks has his facts and examples in view, such as his opportunities of observation have afforded: but he has not brought them forward to justify his notions by them. He has declined doing it, as well because particular cases, unless they are strong and aggravated, make little impression in the recital, and, in proportion as they are aggravated beyond the common average, though they catch exceedingly the popular understanding, they are of less real value; and also, because his assumptions will either be justified by the general experience of

This supersedes much of that detail on which it had else been necessary to enter; but with this

---

those who may happen to read them; or, if they are not so justified, the facts from which they have been drawn would be equally met and opposed by the reader's own contrary experience."

In this work of Mr. Davison, which evinces both great taste and great judgment, there is about the nearest approximation to the true system of charity that we have yet met with, in any recent English writer who treats specifically on the subject of the Poor Laws. In some of our subsequent numbers we may take occasion to controvert one or two of his positions; and, more especially, that part of his argument where he contends for the necessity of a legal support in certain cases of helpless and hopeless indigence. We do not think that he goes far enough in estimating the power and the readiness of Humanity, to meet every occurring circumstance of necessity; and, thinking as we do, that Benevolence is paralyzed in her efforts, as well as stript of her essential character, when made the subject of a legislative enactment, we cannot but feel the utter erroneousness, while we admire the eloquence, of the following beautiful passage.

"The humanity, which it was designed, by the original text of the main statute upon this subject, to infuse into the law of the land, is a memorial of English feeling which has a right to be kept inviolate; and its just praise will be better understood, when it comes to be purified from the mistake which either a careless abusive usage, or an impartial and inexperienced policy in the extent of its first enactment, may have combined with it. It is the page of mercy in a book which has to deal much of necessity in severer things; and there is a spirit of Christian kindness in it particularly fitted to recommend the whole authority of law as a system framed for the well-being of its subjects. I would, therefore, as soon see the best clause of Magna Charta erazed from the volume of our liberties, as this primary authentic text of humane legislation from our statute book. And if, in the course of a remote time, the establishments of liberty and humanity, which we now possess, are to leave us, and the spirit of them to be carried to other lands, I trust this one record of them will survive, and that charity by law will be a fragment of English history, to be preserved wherever the succession of our constitution or religion shall go."

Had there never been any charity by law in England, charity by love would have both had less to do, and done her office with greater alacrity. The law has both augmented human want, and it has enfeebled human sympathy. After all, it has not so overtaken the field of indigence as to supersede the need of individual humanity, while, by its very nature, it has stifled the

reservation, that there are many facts so replete with inference, or in themselves, so characteristic, that, by a minute and circumstantial exhibition of them, we take the most effectual method both to prove and to picture forth the evils of the system, and the process by which it may be rectified.

And it is not the heavy expense of it* that we hold to be the main evil of English pauperism. We should reckon it a cheap purchase, if, for the annual six or eight millions of poor rate, we could secure thereby the comfort and character of the English population. But we desire the abolition of legal charity, because we honestly believe, that it has abridged the one, and most wofully deteriorated the other. Under its misplaced and officious care, the poor man has ceased to care for himself, and relatives have ceased to care for each other; and thus the best arrangements of Nature and Providence for the moral discipline of society, have been most grievously frustrated. Life is no longer a school, where, by the fear and foresight of want, man might be chastened into sobriety—or, where he might be touched into sympathy by that helplessness of kinsfolk and neighbours, which

---

principle of humanity. Had there been no law of pauperism, the unimpaired economy and relative virtues of the people, would, on the one hand, have kept the territory of want within its proper limits—and, on the other hand, would there have been a more alert and vigilant benevolence in society, for the discharge of that function, which the legislature has so unfortunately taken into their own hands.

* The whole money expended for the maintenance of the poor in England and Wales, on the year ending 25th March, 1821, was £6,958,445 2s.

but for the thwarting interference of law, he would have spontaneously provided for. The man stands released from the office of being his own protector, or the protector of his own household—and this has rifled him of all those virtues which are best fitted to guard and dignify his condition. That pauperism, the object of which was to emancipate him from distress, has failed in this, and only emancipated him from duty. An utter recklessness of habit, with the profligacy, and the mutual abandonment of parents and children, to which it leads, threatens a speedy dissolution to the social and domestic economy of England. And instead of working any kindly amalgamation between the higher and lower classes of the land, the whole effect of the system is to create a tremendous chasm between them, across which the two parties look to each other with all the fierceness and suspicion of natural enemies—the former feeling, as if preyed upon by a rapacity that is altogether interminable; the latter feeling as if stinted of their rights by men whose hands nothing but legal necessity will unlock, and whose hearts are devoid of tenderness.

This is not the doing of Nature, nor could it have so turned out, had not Nature been put into a state of violence. So soon as the violence is removed, Nature will return to her own processes—and a parish in England will then exhibit, what many of the parishes in Scotland do at this moment, a population where there is neither dissatis-

faction nor unrelieved want, and yet, with little of public charity. All that is required, is simply to do away that artificial stress which the hand of legislation has laid upon the body politic—and a healthful state of things will come of itself, barely on those disturbing forces being withdrawn, wherewith the law of pauperism has deranged the condition of English society. It is just as if some diseased excrescence had gathered upon the human frame, that stood connected with the use of some palatable but pernicious liquor, to which the patient was addicted. All that the physician has to do in this case, is to interdict the liquor, when without further care or guardianship on his part, the excrescence will subside, and from the *vis medicatrix* alone, that is inherent in the patient's constitution, will health be restored to him. It is even so with that disease which pauperism has brought on the community of England. It is a disease originally formed, and still alimented by the law which gives access to a compulsory provision—and precisely so soon as that access is barred, there is a *vis medicatrix* that will then be free to operate, and which, without any anxious guardianship on the part of politicians or statesmen, will, of itself, bring round a better and happier state of the commonwealth. There might an unnecessary shock be given by too sudden a change of regimen. There might be an inconvenient rapidity of transition, which had as well be avoided, by wise and wary management. This considera-

tion affects the question of policy as to the most advisable mode of carrying the cure into effect. But it does not affect the question of principle, either as to the cause of the disease, or as to the certainty of a good and wholesome result when that cause is done away. It is very true, that by a summary abolition of the law of pauperism, a sore mischief may be inflicted upon society—and yet it may be equally true, both that the alone remedy for the present distempered state of the lower orders, lies in the abolition of this law, and also, that there do exist, throughout the mass of English society, the ingredients or component principles of such a *vis medicatrix*, as would greatly alleviate the present wretchedness, and more than replace all those dispensations of legal charity which would then have terminated.

And surely it cannot be questioned, that all those principles of our Nature, which taken together, make out the *vis medicatrix*, are just as firmly seated, and would in fit and favourable circumstances, be of as unfailing operation in England, as in any other country on the face of the earth. There is much, no doubt, in its present system of legal charity, to counteract and disguise them. Yet even under this pressure, they are still to be detected in manifest operation. And they only need to be delivered from that artificial weight wherewith they now are overborne, in order that they may break forth, and be prolific of a most abundant compensation to families, when the supplies of pauperism are withdrawn from them.

For first, what malignant charm can there be in the air or in the geography of England, which should lead us to conceive of its people, that they are exempt from that most urgent principle of our nature—the law of self-preservation. There is certainly much in its public charity, that is fitted to traverse this law. Yet still, and in the face of this counteraction, manifold traces are to be found, even among the labouring classes, of a prudent and prospective regard to their own interests. These it is the undisputed tendency of pauperism to extinguish; and, therefore, any remainder of a prudential habit which may yet be observable, form so much the more decisive proof, that Englishmen are originally and constitutionally alike unto their other brethren of the species in this great characteristic of humanity. And, accordingly, in spite of their pauperism, and of its efficacy to lull them into a careless improvidence, do we find that the prudential virtues, even of the lower orders, are enfeebled only, and not destroyed. The Saving Banks, and Benefit Societies, which are to be met with in almost every district of the kingdom, are strong ostensible indications of a right and reflecting selfishness, which, if only kept on the alert, and unseduced from its own objects, by the promise and the allurement of public charity, would do more for the comfort of our peasantry than all the offerings of parochial and private benevolence put together. There is nought that would more revive or re-invigorate the impulse to accumula-

tion than the abolition of the law of pauperism. Saving Banks would be multiplied;* and this,

* It must be admitted, however, that there is something delusive in the returns made by Saving Banks, and that they may lead us to infer a much greater degree of an economic habit among the people than actually obtains. A very large proportion indeed of the deposits is made by household servants, and by contributors in easy circumstances. It were most desirable, that operatives could find their way in greater numbers to these institutions. Could they merely afford to slacken their work in a season of depressed wages, or to cease from working altogether, the overstocked markets would be far more speedily cleared away, and the remuneration for labour would again come back to its wonted or natural level.

The operation of public charity, in lessening the deposits, must be quite obvious. The following anecdote illustrates this. To prove it is not necessary. A poor woman at Clapham, near London, whose daughter had begun to put into the Saving Bank, said to her, "Why, how foolish you are! It is all a contrivance of the rich to save their own pockets. You had much better enjoy your own money, and when you want, they will take care of you." The daughter *did* withdraw from the Saving Bank. My friend Mr. Dealtry, who is rector of the parish, and from whom I obtained this information, adds, that the woman's remark did not apply so directly to the poor rates, as to a charitable fund, which was first raised by contribution, and then distributed in charity. But the principle is the same.

There is, perhaps, no parochial history in England that more demonstrates the inefficacy of poor rates, or that would better demonstrate the efficacy of an economic habit among the people themselves, than that of Darlaston, in Staffordshire. Its population in 1821, was 5585—and of its thousand and eighty families, one thousand and sixty were employed in trade, handicraft and manufactures. Comprehending only about 800 acres of land, it has almost no agricultural resources. So that the rate falls almost entirely on those householders who are not paupers themselves. The chief occupation of the people was mining, and the filing of gun locks, which latter employment failed them at the termination of the war. The distress began to be felt in 1816, at which time the poor rate amounted to £2086 15s. 7d. It was now, that the resource of a compulsory provision arrived at its limit—for the continued occupation of the land would have ceased to be an object, had the holders of property been compelled to provide for the whole emergency. All would have been swallowed up had the distress continued; and the householders who were liable to the rate, would, on a farther augmentation of it, have done what is often done in the heavily assessed parishes of

though the most palpable, would not be the only fruit of that sure and speedy resurrection that

---

England—they would have made their escape to a residence in some near parishes, that were less burdened. So that the grand legal expedient of England, was, in this instance, tried to the uttermost, and its shortcomings had just to be made up by methods that would be far more productive, as well as far less needful, were there no poor rate, and no law of charity whatever. Mr. Lowe, the humane and enlightened rector of this parish, succeeded, by great exertion, in raising the sum of £1278 14s. 8d. from the benevolent, in various parts of the country; besides which, there was the sum of £1157 10s. contributed by a society that was formed, we believe, in London, to provide for the extra distress of that period. In all there was distributed among the poor in 1816-17, the sum of £4523 3s. The parish workhouse was quite filled with them. Its rooms were littered down for the reception of as many as could be squeezed together. Some were employed at work upon the roads—and in the distributions that took place of soup, and potatoes, and herrings, the gates were literally borne off their hinges, by the pressure of the starving multitude. At length, after an interval of months, there was a return of demand for work. One American trade sprung up for another that had failed. A large East India order gave a great impulse on the occasion, and the idle hands were gradually absorbed into other employments.

Now it would appear from this narrative first, that the poor rate did not supersede the need of application to the benevolent, of whom, we may be assured, that on the abolition of legal charity, they would be still more prompt, and with ampler means too, on every case of emergency. But, secondly, and what is far more interesting, there is every reason to believe, that the total distress without a poor rate, would fall short in its amount of the surplus distress with a poor rate. The truth is, and to this we have the distinct testimony of Mr. Lowe, that it lay within the means of the people in good times, to have saved as much as would have weathered the whole distress. The prosperity of the place, was, in one respect, the ruin of it—and there is every reason to apprehend that the dissipation and improvidence which our public charities do so much to foster, make the same people who are insolent in the season of affluence, proportionably wretched and abject in the season of adversity. Mr. Lowe, whose judicious insight into all that can affect the economic condition of his people, is only equalled by his unwearied labours for their spiritual well-being, writes thus: "That previous savings might have enabled our manufacturing poor to meet the distress of 1816-17, I feel confident, from many who have been thus carried

should then take place of an economic habit among the people. There would, in the privacies of do-

---

through it, and risen above it, who, a few years before, were in no better, nay, even in worse circumstances than others, who were completely overwhelmed by it. For example, our present overseer is actually administering relief, even in the workhouse, to some once in better circumstances, but less provident than himself. On this account, I have been anxious to make my people acquainted with the benefits of Saving Banks, against which so strong a prejudice prevails, especially among their masters, that I have to travel more than 10 miles with the little I can induce them to deposit there. And I much fear, it will not be until they have been some time established in the *midst* of us, that any extensive good will be done by them."

What an antagonist is a poor rate to this philanthropic scheme for the comfort and independence of the lower orders! We shall attempt, in a future chapter, to point out its depressing effect on the wages of labour, and the opposite effect of an acquired capital among workmen, permanently to elevate their condition, by upholding the remuneration of industry at a higher, or, at least, more uniform level. We believe, that this result is not only viewed without dismay, but would be hailed by our more enlightened masters and capitalists, as a state of things most favourable to the interests of both parties. The jealousy which the latter have of Saving Banks, is rare and occasional, and very much confined to manufacturers of low education, and limited capitals. It is to be hoped that, among these conflicts and varieties of sentiment, the working classes will, at length, attain to a clear discernment of the truth; and come to understand that they who advocate the overthrow of legal charity, and the fearless commitment of human indigence to the resources and the sympathies of individuals, are indeed their best friends.

I may here add, that in the accounts which I obtained of various Saving Banks, by inquiring on the spot, I found that the habit of depositing was more with servants, and people in easy circumstances, than with labourers; in Worcester, Gloucester, Clapham, St. Giles, and St. George in London, Bury St. Edmunds, and Sheffield—that there were also very few deposits by the latter in Westham, Essex; or in Playford, Suffolk; or in Acton; or in Turvey, Bedfordshire; or in Bedlington, Northumberland—and that the most cheering statements on this subject were made at Portsmouth, Gosport, Spitalfields, Whitechapel in London, Coggeshall in Essex, Nottingham, Hull, and Leeds.

This, we admit, to be a very limited induction; yet a sound experimen-

mestic life, be other effects beyond the reach of sight or of computation. A thousand shifts and

---

tal impression may be arrived at on this subject, from the average of a few cases, taken at random, in distant parts of the country, and from neighbourhoods which exhibit the widest possible dissimilarity in the pursuits and circumstances of the people.

My friend Mr. Hale, of Spitalfields, who is well known in parliament for his vigilant and sagacious observation of the habits of the poor, has frequently affirmed, of those who have once been paupers, and been restored again to a state of sufficiency, in better times, that they almost never deposit in a Saving Bank.

We are apt to be carried away by too magnificent a conception of the good that has been done through the Saving Banks, when we read of the very large sums that have been deposited. In Worcester, for example, the total amount of deposits in June, 1822, during the four preceding years, was £84,279 8s. 4½d.; but then the number of depositors was only 2184, and of these there were not many mechanics, but principally servants, minors, and those of small limited capital.

Still, however, it cannot be doubted, that when a process for the extinction of its pauperism shall have been instituted in any parish, a Saving Bank might, under a right influence and management, become a highly popular institution. We do not think, that such a process should be attempted any where at the first, without a security for the present rights of all existing paupers, and a very full concurrence on the part of those householders who are not paupers, in an application to parliament against the legal necessity of providing for new cases. Now we cannot imagine the concurrence of a large majority, without a very sincere and zealous disposition in some, to do their uttermost in promoting every expedient by which the virtues and resources of the people might be rendered available to their protection from all the evils which are apprehended to accrue on the abolition of pauperism. And there is many a manageable parish in England, where one or two influential men could give a decided impulse in favour of a Provident Bank, operating as they would, in a community where the very general consent that had been obtained for their deliverance from a poor rate, would be the best pledge of a very general co-operation in behalf of an institution that was meant to supply its place. The consciousness of the people, too, that all right to a public or parochial aliment, was now surrendered, would be a powerful auxiliary on the side of all that tended to help or to husband their own independent means. And while we should look in the general for a wholesome effect on the habit and expenditure of fami-

salutary practices would come in place of the dispensations of pauperism. There would soon be a visible abatement in the profligacy of the land;*

---

lies, we should also expect a greatly more prevalent direction of labourers to the Parish Saving Bank, as one of the most striking and sensible manifestations of the good that is to be effected by the rescinding of the law of pauperism.

The parish of Ruthwell lies a very few miles from the English border, and its population of 1285, consist chiefly of husbandmen and the servants of husbandmen, with a few country artificers. There the inducement to economy is unimpaired by poor rates, and all the demands of indigence are met by an expenditure of forty-three pounds a year; a sum made up of free-will offerings at the church door, and small donations from non-resident proprietors. Its minister, the Rev. Henry Duncan, who is the patriotic inventor of Saving Banks, has fully exemplified, in his own neighbourhood, the efficacy of these institutions. In the Ruthwell Parish Bank the amount deposited is a fair experiment of the habit and capability of the lower orders; for it is by them chiefly, if not altogether, that the deposits are made. The total amount, on the first of June, 1821, was £1927 8s. 11d. and the number of depositors, at that period, was 134. It were questioning the identity of our Nature all over the globe, to doubt the possibility of a similar exhibition in any parish of like condition and circumstances in England; and if a process could be devised for the gradual deliverance of such a parish from poor rates, there can be no doubt that, by a single individual of ascendant influence, the doings of the parochial vestry might be altogether replaced by the doings of a parochial bank. This were possible, though not, we think, indispensable; for, apart from every public and institutional organ, we do believe, that by the private and unseen effect of a repealed pauperism on the habit of families, the parish would be in a more soundly economic condition than before.

* We hold it of great importance, in estimating the probabilities of any eventual reformation among the people, to distinguish between the virtues of direct principle, and the virtues of necessity. The former require a change of character: the latter may only require a change of circumstances. To bring about the one, there must either be a process of conversion which is rare, or a process of education which is gradual. The other may be wrought almost instantaneously, by the pure force of a legal enactment. It is thus that we feel disposed to meet the objection which is often urged against the reformation of English pauperism, as if the inveteracy of English

and, if there be any truth or steadfastness in Nature, there can be no question that, if legal charity were put an end to, this would at length be fol-

---

habits, and their total dissimilarity to the habits and character of the peasantry in Scotland, formed an insuperable barrier in the way of all amendment. There are many such habits that may be regarded as the immediate fruit of external circumstances, and that would quickly and necessarily give way when the circumstances were altered; and these are altogether distinct from other habits that essentially depend on the moral or the religious principles of our nature.

In the former class of habits, I should reckon all those to which we are prompted at the first, and in which we are led to persevere afterwards by the urgent dictates of self-preservation. It is thus that, with the decline of pauperism, there would be an instantaneous growth of sobriety; and we are further confident of a very great abatement in that species of profligacy which has deluged the parishes of England with illegitimate children. There is nought which more strikes and appals the traveller who is employed in a moral or philanthropic survey of our land, than not the gradual, but really instant transition which takes place in regard to this habit, when he passes out from the unassessed parishes of Scotland. The mischief done by the allowances of pauperism, is not merely that they hold out to crime a refuge from destitution, but that they, in a certain measure, shield it from disgrace. A family visitation, that would otherwise be felt as an overwhelming calamity by all its members, falls lightly upon their feelings; and one of the greatest external securities to female virtue is demolished, when the culprit, protected by law from the need of bringing a bane and a burden upon her relatives, is thus protected from that which would give its keenest edge of bitterness to their execrations. There can be no doubt that, if you withdraw the epidemic bounty which is thus granted to vice, you would at least restrain its epidemic overgrowth, which is now so manifest throughout the parishes of England—that you would enlist the selfishness of parents on the side of the purity of their own offspring. The instant that it was felt to be more oppressive, would it also be felt more odious: and as an early effect of the proposed reformation, should we witness both a keener popular indignation against the betrayer of innocence, and a more vigilant guardianship among families. As it is, you have thwarted the moral and beneficent designs of Nature—you have expunged the distinction that it renders to virtue, because you have obliterated the shame and the stigma affixed by it to vice—you have annulled the sanctions by which it guards the line of demarcation between them.

lowed up by a better succedaneum, in the improved habit and management of families.

But, secondly, the law of relative affection, in

Accordingly, in all parts of England, the shameless and abandoned profligacy of the lower orders is most deplorable. It is perhaps not saying too much to say, that the expense for illegitimate children forms about a tenth part of the whole expense of English pauperism. We do not deduct, however, the sums recovered from the fathers, our object not being to exhibit the pecuniary burden that is incurred, but, what is far more serious, the fearful relaxation of principle which it implies. Looking over the accounts that are before us at random, we find one year's expense of Sheffield, for this head of disbursements alone, to have been £1388 3s. 10d.; for Leeds, £1062 12s. 3d.; for Bedford, £141 2s.; for St. Mary's, Nottingham, £1043 14s. 2d.; for St. Mary le Bone, £2865 5s.; for Hulme £83 17s. 6d.; for Stockport, £764 5s. 6d.; for Manchester, £3378 5s. ½d.; for Salford, £761 7s. 2d.; for Liverpool, £2536 6s. 4d. But it may serve still more accurately to mark the dissolution of morals, that we present the number of such cases in certain parishes. In the parish of Stroud, Gloucestershire, whose population is 7097, there now reside sixty-seven mothers of illegitimate children, who are of an age or in circumstances to be still chargeable on a Poor Rate. In the In parish of St. Cuthbert, Wells, with a population of 3024, there are eighteen such mothers. In St. Mary's within Carlisle, a population of 9592, and twenty-eight mothers. In the parish of St. Cuthbert's Within, of Carlisle, there is a population of 5884, and also twenty-eight mothers of illegitimate children now on the parish. In Horsley, Gloucestershire, there is a population of 3565, and, at present, twenty-nine illegitimate children regularly provided for. In St. Mary le Bone, the number of these children on the parish is four hundred and sixty. But it were endless to enumerate examples: and perhaps the far most impressive evidence that could be given of the woful deterioration which the Poor Laws of England are now working on the character of its people, is to be gathered, not from the general statements of a political arithmetic on the subject, but from the individual displays that are afforded either in parish vestries, or in the domestic habitations of the peasantry; the unblushing avowals of women, and their insolent demands, and the triumph of an imaginary right over all the tremors and delicacies of remorse which may be witnessed at the one; and, in the other, the connivance of parents, and sisters, and natural guardians, at a prostitution now rendered creditable, because so legalized as, at least, to be rendered lucrative. Instances do occur, of females who have so many illegitimate

a natural state of things, we should imagine to be just of as powerful operation in England as in any other country of the world. We do not see how

---

children as to derive a competency from the positive allowance given for them by the parish.

There is a sensitive alarm sometimes expressed lest, on the abolition of legal charity, there should be no diminution of crime, while the unnatural mothers, deprived of their accustomed resource, might be tempted to relieve themselves by some dreadful perpetration. It might serve to quell this apprehension, and to prove how Nature hath provided so well for all such emergencies, as that she might safely be let alone, to consider the following plain but instructive narrative, from the parish of Gratney, contiguous to England, and only separated from it by a small stream. The Rev. Mr. Morgan, its minister, writes me, that "To females who bring illegitimate children into the world we give nothing. They are left entirely to their own resources. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that children of this description with us are more tenderly brought up, better educated, and, of course, more respectable, and more useful members of society, than illegitimates on the other side of the Sark, who, in a great many instances, are brought up solely at the expense of their parishes."

This comparison of parishes lying together in a state of juxtaposition, and differing only in regimen, proves with what fearlessness a natural economy might be attempted; not, we admit, in reference to cases which already exist, but certainly in reference to all new cases and new applications. The simple understanding that, in future, there was to be no legal allowance for illegitimate children in a parish, would lay an instantaneous check on the profligate habits of its people. The action of shame, and prudential feeling, and fear from displeased, because now injured and oppressed relatives, would be restored to its proper degree of intensity,—would be surely followed up by a diminution of the crime—and as to any appalling consequences that might be pictured forth on the event of crime breaking through all these restraints, for this too nature has so wisely and delicately balanced all the principles of the human constitution, that it is greatly better to trust her than to thwart and interfere with her. She hath provided, in the very affection of the guilty mother for her hapless child, a stronger guarantee for its safety and its interest, than is provided by the expedients of law. This is forcibly illustrated by the state of matters at Gratney, and might help to convince our statesmen how much of the wisdom of legislation lies in letting matters alone.

this can be denied, without mysticism. It cannot well be proved; for it worketh in secret, and does not flash on the public eye through the medium of philanthropic institutions. But it may very safely, we think, be presumed of this home principle, that when once free from disturbance, it will settle as deeply, and spread as diffusively through the families of England, as it is found, on an average, to do through the species at large. It is unfortunate for the character of its people, that the fruits of this universal instinct are not so conspicuous as are its aberrations. To meet with the former, we must explore the habitations of private life, and become familiar with their inmates. The latter are blazoned forth in the records of crime, or have a place in the registrations of parochial charity. The advertisements which daily meet our eye, of runaway husbands, or abandoned children, and those cases of aged parents who have been consigned, by their own offspring, to the cheerless atmosphere of a poor's house, mark not the genuine developments of nature in England, but those cruel deviations from it, to which its mistaken policy has given rise. There can be no doubt, that after this policy is reversed, nature will recover its supremacy. Those affections which guarantee a mutual aid in behalf of kinsfolk in every country of Europe, will again flow here in their wonted currency. The spectacle of venerable grandsires at the fireside of our cottage families, will become as frequent and familiar in this

as in other lands: And a man's own children will be to him the best pledges, that the evening of his days shall be spent under a roof of kindlier protection than any prison-house of charity can afford. Let pauperism be done away, and it will be nobly followed up by a resurrection of the domestic virtues. The national crime will disappear with the national temptation; and England, when delivered therefrom, will prove herself to be as tender and true to Nature, as any other member of the great human family.*

* We have not met with a testimony more universal throughout the whole of England, than that which relates to the perfect unconcern wherewith the nearest kinsfolk abandon each other to a poor's house. In most parishes, there is a great preference on the part of paupers for a place on the out-pension list, though it be only a partial maintenance which is afforded, to an entire support within the walls of the workhouse. I was informed, however, at Bury in Lancashire, that some very old out-pensioners, who had been admitted as inmates with the families of their own children, often preferred the workhouse, because, on purpose to get altogether quit of them, their children made them uncomfortable. This is very much of a piece with the general depositions that are to be had every where on the subject. We have seen whole columns of Manchester, and other provincial newspapers, filled with advertisements of runaway fathers, and runaway husbands, in which they are described with all the particularity that is employed for the discovery of felons, and outlaws, and deserters from the army. And yet we are not to infer from this an utter negation of all the relative feelings, on the part of these desperadoes. They know that their wives and children will not be permitted to starve—and in by far the greater number of instances, had this been the alternative, they would have remained at home. They do not leave them destitute, for they leave them in possession of a right to subsistence. The affection which they have to their own kindred, is still a rooted principle in their bosoms; and what might appear, at the first view, an act of unnatural cruelty, is often an act of collusion and good understanding between the fugitives and their families. The very prosecution by children, for a legal aliment in behalf of their aged parents, instead of being an unnatural surrender of duty on their part, is often urged

And, thirdly, who can doubt, from the known generosity of the English character, that nought

---

forward by the same filial regard that would prompt them to the defence or prosecution of any other legal interest which belonged to them. So that however unkindly the influence of pauperism is on the duties and affections of relationship, there is nothing exhibited in England which can lead us to deny to its people the same instinctive virtues that are to be found throughout the other tribes and communities of our species—and we may be well assured, of as good a constitutional basis there, as in any country of the world, on which all the charities of home, all the sympathies of blood and of kindred, might be reared.

We have already said, that the virtues of principle require to be nurtured by a slow process of education, while the virtues of necessity are of as immediate growth as is the necessity itself. Now this property of immediateness is not confined to those habits which are imperiously demanded by the urgencies of self-preservation. It is true, that a man who would not be lectured into an abstinence from intoxication, though subjected to the discipline of moral and religious advice for many years, might be starved into an abstinence from intoxication in a single day. And it is conceivable, that were a piece of money given to him, by which he might either purchase the bread for which he was famishing, or the liquor to which his propensity, in an ordinary state, is altogether ravenous and uncontrollable, he might deny himself the latter, by an act of preference that led him to the former. But it is just as conceivable, that he would make the very same sacrifice in behalf of his infant child in the agonies of hunger before his eyes. The truth is, that it might be as painful to the individual to deny a strong instinctive affection, as to deny a bodily appetite. And we have no hesitation in affirming our belief, that under a law not for the dismissal of existing paupers, but for the non-admissal of new ones, the habit of kindness among relatives would grow in England, with the growing necessity for its exercise; and that much of what should else be squandered in carelessness, or low dissipation, would have the wholesome direction of a virtue impressed upon it.

It is but fair to add, that in Gloucester we met with one testimony to the care and guardianship that relatives, even in humble life, continued to exert for each other, a still stronger in Portsmouth, and a slight one in Turvey, Bedfordshire. Mr. Hale, who is so singularly versant in the habitudes of workmen, vouches for two distinct classes, with equally distinct characters, and affirms, that he knows a number of instances, where the children of those who have never become paupers, will make a conscience of upholding their parents; and thus confer on them the most gratifying reward of their

but scope and opportunity are wanting, in order to evince both the force and the fruitfulness of that sympathy which neighbours in humble life have for each other. That this is greatly less apparent in England than in other countries, is altogether due to its establishments of legal charity. We are not to expect so prompt and sensitive a humanity among individuals in those parishes, where the cares and the offices of humanity have been devolved on a public administration. Nor will acquaintances be much more ready to stretch forth a helping hand to him who can present a claim of poverty at a court of supply, than to him who can present a claim of property at the bank, where a treasure of his own is deposited. Yet even as it is, that beautiful law of our nature, whereby a busy, spontaneous, and internal operation is up-

---

independence. "I have known," he writes, "very many instances, (among my own workmen and others) of the children of those who have never been paupers, making conscience of supporting their parents in old age—they will even submit to many hard and severe privations, (much more so than paupers will submit to) to maintain their resolution and their promises, that their parents never shall become paupers." On the other hand, it often happens, that even when parents are living under the same roof with their children, there is no community of aid or of interest betwixt them. Mr. Ranken from Bocking in Essex, writes, that "it is very frequent for young people to live under the same roof with aged parents, and leave them to be wholly provided for by the parish, while they are fully employed, and at good wages; although, until they have been able to provide for themselves, they, in common with the whole family, have been receiving parochial assistance. Such is the want of proper feeling, that the parents, as soon as the children have attained the age of manhood, in but few instances, under any difficulties, think of assisting them more; nor do the children, after they have been emancipated from their fathers, pay attention to the wants and difficulties of their aged parents."

held throughout every aggregate of human beings, is only weakened in England, by the operation of the poor rate, and not destroyed. Like the law of relative affection, it is not capable of being verified from the records or the registers of a general and combined philanthropy—and can only be witnessed to its full extent, by those who are thoroughly conversant with the habits of the poor, and have had much of close and frequent observation among the intimacies of plebeian fellowship. There is not one topic on which the higher orders of England have so crude and unfurnished an apprehension, as on the power and alertness of mutual sympathy among the working classes. This, in some measure, arises from its being in part stifled throughout the whole of their land, because in part superseded by their public and parochial institutions. But still it may be abundantly recognised. We have heard it more particularly affirmed, of those who have no legal right in the town or parish of their residence, yet who rather choose to remain, than be removed to the place of their settlement. These form a pretty numerous class in large towns; and, among the other virtues of industry and carefulness, and good management, which are ascribed to them in a superior degree, have we also heard of their mutual liberality as one striking characteristic which belongs to them. There can be no doubt, that this would break forth again throughout the mass of English society, on the abolition of pauperism; and that by the re-

vival of a great popular virtue, all the evils which are now apprehended of a great consequent distress among the people, would be completely done away.*

---

* I was so fortunate as to meet with a very good illustration of the principle affirmed in the text, in the very region of pauperism. I first learned of it at the house of Mr. Gurney, in Westham, Essex, who, in conjunction with his sister, Mrs. Fry, is so honourably signalized by his benevolent attention to the comfort of prisoners. He has politely answered my further inquiries on the subject, in the following words: "In our workhouse we have found it needful to order deprivations, as a punishment for its refractory inmates; and, amongst others, we have ordered that such females should be debarred the use of tea, which they much value. It has been continually so ordered, but it has always been reported as wholly nugatory, as the companions of such cannot see their neighbours without it, during their own enjoyment, and have always, in consequence, shared their small pittance with the delinquent. I use the expression of 'small pittance,' because we *so* distribute what we look upon as a comfort, and not a necessary of life. The same may, with nearly equal truth, be related in respect of the *men*, in their allowance of meat."

It is likely enough, however, that a spirit of hostility to the discipline of the workhouse, might be as active a principle here, as sympathy with those on whom the deprivation had been laid. But no man familiar with humble life, can at all question the strength of that mutual sympathy which obtains among the members of it; in whom it operates with all the power of a constitutional feeling, and is not dependent on a slow process of culture. There is no doubt, that it is in readiness for immediate service, on the abolition of pauperism, though it may lie dormant, so long as the imagination lasts, that under the provisions and the cares of a legal charity, it is wholly uncalled for. It is by no means extinct. It is only in a state of imprisonment; superseded, for the time, into a sort of inaction, rather than stifled into utter and irrecoverable annihilation. It is not dead, but sleepeth; and the repeal of the law of pauperism would effectually awaken it. The charity of nature would recover her old vigilance and activity, on the removal of that artificial charity which has so long kept her in abeyance. Next, perhaps, to the pain of hunger, is the pain of witnessing its agonies in another: and this, of itself, is a sure and sufficient guarantee for the dispensations of legal charity being replaced by timelier and better dispensations. There is not a neighbourhood where the horrors of extreme want would not be anticipated;

But this disposition of the lower orders to befriend each other, were of little avail, in this question, without the power. There must be a *materiel*, as well as a *morale*, to constitute them those effective almoners, who shall come in place of that legalized charity which we plead the extirpation of. On this point too, there is a world of incredulity to be met with;* and it is difficult to find

---

and with all the promptitude of any other virtue of necessity, would the instinctive compassion of our nature spring up at the moment, with the occasion of its exercise. We believe, that even though the present allowances of pauperism were to be suddenly withdrawn, there would, to meet the instant distress, be a breaking forth upon it of our compassionate feelings, with somewhat of the force and recoil of elasticity; and much more are we confident, that were a simple interdict laid on its future allowances, the consequent rate of unrelieved want that might arise, from one year to another, would be met by a corresponding rate of perennial and unremitting supply, from the then liberated sympathies of our nature.

* As a specimen of this incredulity, we offer another extract from the interesting work of Mr. Davison on the Poor Laws.

"It is not fit that the poor should subscribe for the relief of one another. Pecuniary charity is not their duty; it is out of their province. Their own real wants forbid the exercise of it; and they have not the feeling which such a sacrifice requires. In no way are they made for it. And to try to make them generous, when they have more necessary, and more attainable virtues to acquire, is to misplace the attention we bestow upon them. Benefit Societies, among the lower classes of the poor, are vicious on this account. These Societies profess to offer a mutual guarantee against the calamities and contingencies of life, as well as its more extraordinary wants, out of a property too small to be exposed to the risk of other men's fortunes. The poor man's endeavours can hardly extend any further than his family. His capacity of feeling and exertion fills his little circle; more is too much for him."

A full arithmetical refutation of these statements is perhaps unattainable. The produce of those plebeian associations which have been instituted for religious objects, gives only a faint and distant approximation to it. There is a busy, though unseen circulation of aid, and sympathy, and service going

acceptance for that arithmetic which demonstrates the might and the efficacy of those humble offerings, which so amply compensate, by their number, for the smallness of each individually. The penny associations which have been instituted for objects of Christian beneficence, afford us a lesson as to the power and productiveness of littles. Even the sums deposited with Saving Banks and Benefit Societies point to the same conclusion. But perhaps the most impressive, though melancholy proof that can be given of a capability in humble life, greatly beyond all that is commonly imagined, may be gathered from the vast sums which are annually expended in those houses of public entertainment, that are only frequented by people of the labouring classes in society. We are most thoroughly aware, that the abolition of pauperism in England will never act by an instanta-

---

on throughout every vicinity where an aggregate of human beings is to be found. Its amount is great, because made up of offerings, which, though small, are manifold—of rills, which, though each of them scanty, are innumerable, and constantly flowing. We are aware that pauperism has laid a freezing arrest on this beautiful economy of nature: yet even where she has wrought the greatest mischief, she has still been unable to effect a total congelation. And many are the poorest districts, in the most crowded cities of our land, where yet more is rendered to human suffering by the internal operation of charity within themselves, than by all the liberalities which are imported from abroad. We do not at present contend, however, for any thing being done to call forth their subscriptions; but we do contend for nothing being done which shall deaden or reduce their sympathies. These, in fact, amid all the parade and speculation of a more ostensible philanthropy, form their best securities against the miseries of extreme indigence. Their means are greatly underrated; and their feelings and virtues still more ungenerously so.

neous charm on the moral habits of her peasantry. But, however slow it is that the virtues of principle come forth to their full and practical establishment in a land, yet this is not true of the virtues of necessity; for these latter do arise promptly and powerfully, to meet every new occasion that has been created for their exercise. There is no legislative enactment called for to compel such an attendance on funerals, as to secure that all the dead shall be buried; but at the expense often of much time and convenience, we find this habit to be sustained, as the established decency of every neighbourhood. That any who die should be permitted to remain without burial, would not be felt as a more intolerable nuisance, than that any who live should be permitted to starve without food. There would just be as painful a revolt against the one spectacle as the other; and without the artificial regulations of law, men would have found their way in England, just as they have done in all the other countries of the world, to the sure defence of every neighbourhood against a catastrophe so horrible. Were the law of pauperism suspended in any parish or county of England, a greater liberality, both among neighbours and kinsfolk, would instantly spring up as a kind of epidemic virtue there: just as we fear that a cold-blooded indifference to the comfort even of nearest relatives, might now be charged as the epidemic vice of England, in reference to the other nations of the world. But this is altogether a forced and

unnatural appearance; and, were the causes of it removed, it is not to be doubted that England, on the strength of her people's native generosity, would nobly redeem the imputation that has been cast upon her.

The fourth and last counteractive against the evils that might be apprehended to ensue on the abolition of pauperism, is the freer and larger sympathy which would then be exercised by the rich in behalf of the poor. This we have placed last in the order of enumeration, because we deem it least in the order of importance. This, however, is a comparative estimate, on the soundness of which there might be the utmost diversity of opinion, while there can only be one as to the blasting effect of legal charity, on the warm and genial kindliness of nature. The door of the heart will ever remain shut against the loudest assaults of a legal or litigious applicant, while to the gentlest knock, from one who implores, but does not challenge, it will be sure to open. We have almost everywhere in England heard the farmers stigmatized as the most hard-hearted of men; and never, on the north of the Tweed, have we met with such a charge against them. But when once our farmers have become the administrators of a large compulsory poor rate in their parishes, then Nature, true to herself, in all quarters of the globe, will work the very callousness of feeling amongst us, that she is said to have done amongst our neighbours in the south. And yet, in spite of her

freezing, artificial system, how manifold are the liberalities of England! Even under her present bondage to a perverse and unfortunate policy, what an earnest does she give of those still nobler liberalities that might be confidently looked for, after that policy had been done away! How exhaustless are her devices and her doings for the good of our species! and how prolific in all sorts and schemes of a benevolence which, it would appear, that the poor rate has not wholly superseded. There are subscriptions and philanthropic societies innumerable. There is not a parish of any great note or population in England without them; and they prove how surely we may count on a kind and copious descent of liberality, over all those places from which the dispensations of pauperism shall be withdrawn.*

---

* It were quite endless to enumerate the local benevolent associations that have been formed in the various parishes of England, and which are in constant operation, such as Lying-in, and Dorcas, and Destitute Sick, and Stranger's Friend Societies, and many other institutions of the sort, which at once demonstrate the inefficacy of legal charity, and the readiness of spontaneous charity to suit itself to all the varieties of human wretchedness. Another proof of the same two positions, is the toleration of a sort of secret and underhand begging in many parishes, and the affirmative answer, given almost everywhere, to the question, whether, after all, there is not much of private benevolence resorted to by the poor, and actually discharged upon them by the rich. So that when the inquiry is made, How is it possible that we can do in Scotland without a poor rate? the obvious reply is, that we do without a poor rate, just by those very expedients wherewith in England they meet all that want and distress which, even with a poor rate, they are not able to overtake; and which surplus of unprovided want is, in all probability, as great as the whole would have been, had no poor rate ever been instituted.

There are two inferences which may fairly be drawn from this contemplation. First, it would

---

It has been imagined by many, that a poor rate is particularly called for in those manufacturing towns where the people are so exposed to ebbs and alternations in their circumstances. We may afterwards try to demonstrate, in the course of a separate argument, on the relation that subsists between pauperism and the wages of labour, that the poor rate aggravates all the inequalities to which a manufacturing population are exposed. But meanwhile, it is instructive to perceive, that so far from a poor rate being a sufficient remedy against vicissitudes of this sort, there never occurs a season of distressed trade, and reduced wages, when the heavily assessed towns of England have not recourse to the very shifts that are practised in other places, for meeting the adversity of the times, and when the symptoms of distress are not, in every way, as flagrant and appalling as they are any where in Scotland. In the calamitous winter of 1816-17, subscriptions were resorted to all over England—and soup kitchens were kept in busy operation —and urgent appeals were made to individual benevolence—and, in a word, as much of helplessness, under their ordinary regimen for the poor, and as much the need of a supplemental and extraordinary effort, were felt in the very centre of pauperism, as in those towns of Scotland where the compulsory method had scarcely begun to be acted on, or was altogether unknown. To quote examples were altogether superfluous. The thing was about universal in great towns, and very general even in populous villages. So that, in reference to the fluctuations of trade, pauperism has been also tried and found wanting; and that country which has tasted longest of its dispensations is, in seasons of commercial embarrassment, also put upon its shifts, and is on a perfect level with other countries, as to its distresses and its temporary plans.

Now it must be quite obvious, that though the necessity should be as great for an additional effort, in such a season of extraordinary distress, yet that the ordinary burdens of pauperism must affect very sensibly both the means and the disposition of those on whom the effort and the sacrifices are laid. But the worst circumstance attendant on these extraordinary subscriptions, is that they leave behind them a permanent addition of ordinary pauperism. In places where there is no legal charity, they may leave no permanent depravation of habit behind them. After the last shilling is expended, the people are all remitted back again to their wonted independence; and not till the recurrence of a similar visitation, do they look for the supplies of charity from abroad. But the uniform experience of places where there is a compulsory provision is, that in every instance of a sub-

appear that England has not, by her expedient of a poor rate, overtaken the whole field of human

---

scription made for the people, in bad times, there are so many thereby inured to the habit of receiving, and who thus find a readier way to the supplies of ordinary pauperism; and that there cometh thence a distinct accession on the poor rate, from which even the return of prosperous times never has the effect of altogether relieving them. So that nothing can be more unsuitably assorted the one with the other, than occasional subscriptions for seasons of extraordinary distress, and a regular pauperism at all seasons. Wanting the latter, the former might with greater safety be raised more frequently and more abundantly, and so as to meet the varying circumstances of the people: or, in other words, let there be no regular pauperism in a manufacturing town, and fewer obstacles would exist to that peculiar method which is generally resorted to, for meeting those vicissitudes in the condition of the working classes, to which it is peculiarly liable.

I feel very grateful to that distinguished philanthropist, Mr. Hale, for his permission to publish the subjoined narrative, relating to that magnificent subscription which was raised in 1816, for behoof of the distressed families in Spitalfields. The sum raised for this object amounted, I understand, to somewhere about £30,000; and I have Mr. Hale's distinct testimony as to its mischievous effect on the parish of Christ Church, which is one of the Spitalfield parishes, in having left there a permanently increased pauperism. The Committee of gentlemen who superintended the distribution of this money were of the greatest respectability. There was a numerous attendance of them every morning, during a great part of the winter, as early as eight o'clock. They were indefatigable in their exertions every day, devoting almost their whole time to its duties. They were unremitting in their investigations, from morning to night, to guard against cases of imposition. And in these circumstances, therefore, it is a most instructive lesson, of the vanity and perniciousness of all public charity for the relief of indigence, to know, that much of this money was given away to unworthy objects—that a great many of the applicants relieved were impostors—that many of Mr. Hale's own workmen, earning from 15s. to 20s. per week, received from this subscription, and that a great many of them had from 3s. to 4s. a-week from the fund—that, when this was discovered, the workmen alleged, in their vindication, that to get from this fund was a general thing—that discoveries like these induced the Committee at length to break up the distribution—and that, at this period, they had a surplus left of about £7000. A thousand pounds of this money were given to the "Spitalfields Soup Society," and the remainder, at various periods, to the "Spitalfields Bene-

wretchedness. There is a mighty surplus of unrelieved want which remains to be provided for;

---

volent Society;" and the money has only been got through about a twelvemonth ago.

Now, from this important narrative we not only gather the fact, that a subscription fixed many cases of permanent pauperism on the parish of Christ Church, where the burden of it is still felt—but we may learn what a world of delusion exists among the higher orders, in regard to the whole habits and capabilities of the poor. It might lead them to suspect, that after all there may be a great deal too much of machinery raised for the purposes of public and proclaimed charity; and, more especially, that the great national apparatus of a legalized pauperism, is, perhaps, a thing wholly uncalled for. More especially does it demonstrate how easy it is for a great general management to be led astray; and that the only way of proceeding with judgment and efficacy in the administration of relief, is through the medium of small independent jurisdictions. Were Spitalfields broken down into moderate parishes, we venture to affirm, that each could, on its own separate resources, uphold itself in comfort and independence through every season of fluctuation; and that there is no insuperable obstacle even there, in the way of committing the charity of law back again to the charity of nature.

We have been much gratified with the testimony of one so soundly experimental as Mr. Hale, in favour of the local system, and of its power, when once established and proceeded on, to resolve even the most difficult cases in the much agitated problem of pauperism. I find, from a publication of his about ten years ago, that he had then imbibed the very spirit of locality, and appreciated the importance of the principle in its application to questions of police. I wish much that he could be prevailed upon either to republish his pamphlet entitled, " Considerations on the Causes and Prevalence of Female Prostitution"—or, at least, that he would extend his valuable remarks towards the conclusion, on the power of the existing parochial machinery in London; and so give his thoughts to the world, on this part of the subject, in a separate form. It is highly creditable to the liberality of Mr. Hale, that though himself a dissenter, he has abundantly recognized the moral and economical benefits to which the territorial divisions of an establishment are subservient. There are some of his brethren in the north, who have manifested no small impatience and dislike towards this principle in the tactics of philanthropy—and who have chosen to interpret the explanation which has been given of it, into an affronting reflection against themselves. It is the more refreshing, to witness in Mr. Hale so

and the charity of law has fallen so far short of her undertaking, as to have left the same ample scope for the charity of love, that we behold in other countries where pauperism is unknown. This, if any thing would, might open the eyes of our statesmen to the utter insufficiency of a legal provision; and might demonstrate to their satisfaction, that let pauperism stretch forth her allowances, and widen her occupancy as she may, there will constantly, over and above the whole extent of her operations, be as interminable an outfield as before for the duties and the services of a gratuitous philanthropy. The question is thus forced upon us, What service has been rendered to humanity by the poor rate? It has obtained for England no discharge from the calls of a benevolence, which might even have had a lighter task to perform, had no such economy been instituted.

But, secondly, the task would not only have

---

thorough a practical devotion to it—and, while not a member of the church of England, that nevertheless he goes hand in hand with the most zealous of its functionaries, in working along with them at the established mechanism of one of its parishes.

I shall only add, that the testimony of Mr Hale, in regard to the effects of the Spitalfields subscription on the ordinary pauperism, is corroborated by Mr. James Holden, relieving overseer of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, who states, that "when the relief by the subscription ceased, a number of those who had been partakers of it, became paupers on the parish, who had not before applied for parochial relief," and that "he believes it had the effect of increasing their pauperism."

It is also found in St. Giles, that these occasional subscriptions bring on an increased pauperism, which they are never able afterwards to reduce.

been lighter, but there would have been greater ability and greater alacrity for the performance of it. It is unnecessary to expatiate on a topic so obvious, as that without a poor rate the means of benevolence would have been less exhausted. But what is of more importance, its motives would have been greatly more animating. As it is, benevolence meets with much to damp and to discourage her; and, more especially, in a certain hardness and unthankfulness among its objects, which it is the direct tendency of the reigning system to engender. That the good will of the one party be kept in vigorous play, it would require to be met by the gratitude of the other—but how often is this utterly put to flight among the people, by the shrewd imagination, that all which is done for them by the rich, is only done to lessen the burden of the poor rate—or, in other words, that what is rendered in the shape of kindness to them, is only to relieve themselves from the weight of their own legal obligations. This whole business of charity never will be put on its natural foundation, till the heterogeneous ingredient of right be altogether detached from it—till a distinct and intelligible line of demarcation be drawn between the two virtues of justice and humanity—and this is what the law of pauperism has done every thing to obliterate. While that law subsists, every nascent feeling of generosity on the one side, is in constant danger of being stifled by most galling and ungenerous suspicions on the other—and

not till the *right* of the poor to relief be taken away, will the humanity of the rich be in fair circumstances for the development of all its fruit, and of all its graciousness.

It is out of these various elements, then, that on the abolition of pauperism, we would confidently look for a sounder and happier state of the commonwealth. At first sight, it might appear that were a legal provision swept away from the face of English society, it would leave a fearful territory of helpless and unrelieved misery behind it. But there would first be a mighty abridgment upon this territory, by the resurrection that would ensue of providential habits among the people: and secondly, by the revival of their kindred or relative duties: and, thirdly, by the new excitement that would be given to those mutual sympathies which operate to a vast and unknown extent throughout the mass of the community: and, lastly, by the generosities of the affluent, who, going forth spontaneously, with ampler means, and on a field of charity now rendered more manageable, by all the antecedent limitations, would, at the same time, earn the reward, and be upheld by the encouragements of charity, in the gratitude of a people, then divested of legal jealousy, and of all that bitterness wherewith the imagination of a rightful claim has tainted the whole of this ministration.

And it would be wrong to conceive, that ere there could be any sensible approach to such a

state of things, we must wait the tardy and laborious culture of many generations. The principles which guarantee a much quicker recovery of the nation to this state, are not instilled, however much they may be strengthened by a process of education—but rank with the strong and uncontrollable instincts of our nature. They are now, it is true, in part overborne by an artificial stress—but, on its simple removal, they will rapidly, and as by an elastic spring, assume a tone and vigour that shall give them instant efficiency. Even under the whole weight of those adverse and chilling influences, whereby the law of pauperism has so greatly enfeebled the antecedent laws of Nature in the human constitution, yet are the laws of self-preservation among individuals, and of sympathy among relatives and neighbours, still in manifest activity. They are cast down, but not destroyed—and when again set at liberty from their present unnatural bondage, they will replace all the dispensations of pauperism, with a tenfold blessing on the comfort and virtue of families.*

---

* Mr. Davison says well, that, "the actual progress of the harm, in contaminating the hearts and habits of our people, is, I am persuaded, very far short of all that overflowing measure of it which might have been let in upon us if it had not been powerfully resisted: and, if this persuasion be well founded, there is the firmer hope of our being able to retrieve ourselves, and make a successful turn, under those better energies, when they shall be more left to their own action, and disengaged from the counterpoise which has been hung upon them. The harm not yet produced, shows they have been strong at the bottom; and it is, therefore, a most substantial encouragement. The soundness of the constitution has been tried by the malignity of the poison, which has not proved mortal to it. For that a great de-

It might seem somewhat ridiculous to hold a lengthened and laborious argument—and that, for the purpose of showing that the people of England have the same urgent appetite for the interest and preservation of self with the rest of our species; and that withal, there may be further detected in their hearts the same instinctive affection for offspring and kinsfolk—the same prompt sympathy with the wants and sufferings of their fellowmen. But, they are the parliament of England who first set the example of this strange incredulity. That act of Elizabeth, which has been extolled as a monument of English feeling, and

---

gree of the bad influence of this system has not yet made its way among our people, is, I think, most apparent. We have examples among our lower classes, of sobriety, diligence, good conduct, and patient contented labour; many cheerful, thriving, independent working families, though they have been pitched upon the very edge of the precipice which the law has cut away under their feet; and every such example is in derogation of the natural tendency of the mistaken method in which they have been treated. Perhaps, the sketch of our history is this: that a religious, free, active, and enterprising people, have a depth and solidity of resources within them, not easy to be exhausted. Even the poor laws have not exhausted them. For had we not stood on some such ground of more than ordinary strength; had our people not had a conscience, a spirit, and a staple of honest feeling within them, to withhold them from accepting with unchecked avidity, the corrupting overtures of eleemosynary maintenance, and to qualify the partial and constrained acceptance of it to which they have yielded; had they not had a sober religion continually recalling them to their obvious duties; and a breed of character naturalized among them, by the greater virtue and efficacy of many of our other constitutional laws themselves; what is there in the nature of these parochial laws, as they are now applied, which could have saved us from the degeneracy and degradation of having become one great national poor-house, overrun with the infection of a Spanish or Neapolitan leprosy of mendicancy?

"The evil, however, must be expected to be progressive, &c."

English wisdom, is a monument of the legislature's fears, that neither feeling nor wisdom were to be found in the land. It is, in fact, the cruellest reproach which the government of a country ever laid upon its subjects. It is an enactment founded on a distrust of the national character—or, an attempt to supplement by law, an apprehended deficiency in the personal, and the domestic, and the social virtues of Englishmen. And never did an assembly of rulers make a more unfortunate aberration across the rightful boundaries of the province which belongs to them. Never did legislation more hurtfully usurp the prerogatives of Nature, than when she stretched forth her hand to raise a prop, by which she has pierced the side of charity, and did that with an intent to foster, which has only served to destroy.

Before that we state, and attempt to justify our own opinion of the best way by which a retracing movement might be made, we shall shortly consider the two leading expedients—one of which has been partially acted on; and the other of which we shall advert to, not for the purpose of urging its instantaneous adoption, but to prepare the way for arguing those modifications upon it, which we shall venture to recommend. The first of these expedients is a more strict administration of the law of pauperism—the second is the abolition of it.

There has, of late, been a decided impulse felt, in many parts of England, towards a more strict

administration of the law, founded both on the distress of the times, and on the unexampled height to which the expense of pauperism had arisen. And a very important facility has been rendered to this undertaking, by the Select Vestry Act, whereby the power of the justices, in summoning overseers to show cause why relief should not be granted, has been greatly limited or impeded—and the whole matter has been placed more absolutely than before under the discretion of the Parish vestry.* There are many towns and parishes in England, where this act has been proceeded on, and a good many more where of late paid and permanent overseers have been

---

* The act referred to in the text, is that of 59 Geo. 3. c. 12, and is better known by the name of Sturgess Bourne's act. England is much indebted to this enlightened senator, for the attention that he has bestowed on far the most interesting question in her domestic. policy. He has, perhaps, done as much as human wisdom can possibly effectuate for arresting the mischief of a compulsory provision in behalf of indigence. But there would appear to be an inherent mischief in the very principle of such a provision, which baffles every expedient that falls short of extirpation. In the meantime, however, legislators must feel their way as they can, through the prejudice and the practical obstinacy that might still withstand the application of a radical cure—and so it is, that the parliamentary measure which has been devised and carried by any individual, might not be a fair exponent of his whole mind and principle on the subject to which it relates. The greater number of those philanthropists who restricted their endeavours, in the first instance, to the abolition of the Slave Trade, were, at heart, and from the very outset, the determined enemies of all slavery. It is natural to expect, that all palliatives and superficial treatments shall be put to the proof, ere the method of amputation is resorted to—and it does appear pretty evident, from a Report, drawn up with admirable judgment, of the Committee of 1817 on the Poor Laws, to the House of Commons, that the necessity is at length becoming obvious of a change far more systematic and fundamental than any which shall ever be achieved by a mere improvement in the way of administration.

employed, who soon acquire a habit and an experience that qualify them for the business of rigid investigation. The expedients which have been used either to reduce the claim of the applicant, or to repel him altogether, are exceedingly various —and certain it is, that under the energy of a far more active and watchful regimen than wont to be exercised, there has been a very marvellous reduction of expenditure in many parts of England.*

---

* We are not aware, whether the supplemental appendix to the Report from the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 15th July, 1822, has yet been published. This will exhibit the sum expended for the relief of the poor in every parish of England, for each of the six years which follow the 25th of March, 1815; and from it, therefore, we shall gather a precise estimate of the reductions that have been accomplished in those places where select vestries, or assistant overseers, have been appointed. The immediate appearance of such an authentic document as this, supersedes the necessity of any details that may have been collected on the short and rapid survey of an individual. It might, therefore, be enough to say, that very great reductions have been made in St. Mary's Within, Carlisle, Liverpool, Manchester, and the township of Pilkington in its neighbourhood, Salford, Stockport, Birmingham, Worcester, Minchinhampton, Wells, Westham in Essex, many of the London parishes, and Nottingham. In general, the reduction has been greatest in those towns or populous parishes, where there was the greatest command of an agency for strict and careful management—and this has proved available in many intances, where a select vestry has not been adopted at all.

In St. Mary's Within, Carlisle, the expenditure of the year 1819-20, was £3039 19s. 6d.; and in 1821-22, was £1436 1s. 11d. Its select vestry was established in June, 1820. There must be a sum of from two to three hundred pounds deducted for other expenses than those of mere pauperism; but this rather increases the proportion of the saving on that head of expenditure. At all events, the reduction in two years was considerably below the half of the cost for the poor in 1819-20.

In Manchester, the whole expenditure of the money raised, in name of poor rate, was, in 1816-17, £66,525 18s. 6d. and, in 1821-22, was £39,044 6s.; but, of this latter sum, more than £15,000 was for other

In some instances, it has suddenly subsided to one third of what it was before—and in far the greater

---

purposes than those of pauperism: and should a similar deduction be made from the former sum, the expenditure, for the poor alone, has been reduced more than one half in Manchester, in the space of five years.

Mr. Marriot writes me, that in the township of Pilkington, of the parish of Prestwich, near Manchester, "the gross disbursements, under the poor rates, were from five to six thousand pounds; they are now reduced to about twelve hundred." This is one of the most remarkable cases that we have met, of a great reduction having been effected by a firm, yet mild, and friendly, and, on the whole, popular administration.

In Stockport, the whole expenditure, in 1816-17, was £11,377 12s. 1d. and in 1821-22, it was £5,446 4s. 9d.; and the cost, for the poor alone, has been nearly reduced to one third.

In Worcester, the reduction has been very great, as may be seen from the following statements. The highest sum paid by the Worcester house of industry to the out-poor, was in February 1817, when the weekly allowance was £83 11s. 4d. The lowest sum paid to the out-poor, in November, 1822, per week, was £20 2s. making a reduction of one fourth, in this department. And again, the amount of one week's maintenance for the poor, in May 1817, was £54 2s. 5d. and in November 1822, was £12 16s. 8d.; which is as great a reduction in this second department.

Mr. James Sherrin, the assistant overseer of the In parish of St. Cuthbert, in Wells, writes that the poor rate there has declined, in three years, from £1,820 to £900, and the expenditure from £1,830 to £795; being considerably more than a half.

In Minchinhampton, the number of inmates was very soon reduced from sixty to twenty-eight, and that, by unremitting exertion on the part of the overseer to get work out of doors for them.

In the parish of St. Peter, West Cheap, London, the expenditure has been reduced from £478 19s. 4d. in 1818, to £161 10s. ¾d. in 1822.

In St. Vedast, which is now under the same excellent management of Mr. Twinch, as the former, the rate has been reduced from 1s. 6d. to 9d. in the quarter. In 1815-16, the expenditure, for the poor alone, was £1022 1s. Mr. Twinch began to act as overseer the year thereafter, which was the one of heaviest expenditure all over England. Yet under him, the cost of the poor was reduced to £790 12s. 2d. and has since been gradually brought down to £566 16s. 10¼d. This is one of the small city parishes, and its population is only 398.

From the parish of Westham, Essex, Mr. Gurney writes, that "the rate

number of cases that were investigated by us, the saving has been ascribed to the improved manage-

---

in 1818, for one whole year, was 8s. in the pound, amounting to £11,846, at which our expenditure may be reckoned, or very nearly so; and that, in the year 1821-22, the rate amounted to £5,818, with our expenditure equal; and that the reduction is mainly due to strict and judicious management."

The following is extracted from the last Report of the Select Vestry for that parish:—

"The Select Vestry having now finished the third year of their labours, and the new system having been fairly tried, the present seems a favourable occasion to point out some savings which have occurred under their management. In the year, ending Lady-day, 1819, the year previous to the appointment of the Select Vestry, (in April, 1819,) the payments made to the out-door poor amounted to..... £4,652 0 9
In the year ending Lady-day, 1820, being the first of the Select Vestry, to..... 3,406 9 7
In the year ending Lady-day, 1821, being the second of the Select Vestry, to..... 2,988 2 10
And in the year ending Lady-day, 1822, being its third year, to 2,788 8 3
Making the expenditure of 1820 less than of 1819, by..... 1,245 11 8
And that of 1821, less than it by..... 1,663 17 9
And that of 1822, less than it by..... 1,863 12 6
Making a saving, in three years of £4,773 1s. 11d. or £1,591 0s. 7d. per annum; and this in the department of out-door poor alone. And in the expenses of the workhouse establishment, a very great reduction has also taken place; for while, in 1818-19, its expenditure was £3,201 4s. in 1821-22, it is only £1,534 17s. 1d."

In the parish of Broadwater, in the county of Sussex, the expenditure on account of the poor, was, in 1817, £3,383 19s. 5d. At the end of this year, a Committee was appointed to assist the parish officers, and, under them, the expenditure has been so far reduced as to have amounted, in 1822, only to £1,641 8s. 2d.; and the rate in the pound was reduced from 14s. to 5s.

In the parish of St. Mary's, Nottingham, the occasional relief for the year 1819-20, amounted to £7,032 5s. 11d. and its permanent, to £2,242 9s. In the next year, the occasional was reduced to £4,240 12s. 1d. and the permanent to £1,763 7s. 6d. This is a great reduction in one year.

The following narrative not only presents us with the amount of the reduction effected, but also explains to us the means by which it was brought

ment more than to any improvement which may have taken place in the circumstances of the people.

---

about. It is the copy of a letter from the overseers of Walcot Parish, in reply to another from the parish of Chester, requesting a statement of the plan of economy they pursued, by which an actual saving was made of £4,025, in the year's expenditure, beginning March 25, 1820, and ending March 24, 1821. The extract is from a newspaper, and it may be right to state, that in a written account from that neighbourhood, the saving in one year is only represented to be £2,650 16s. 3½d.

"*Walcot Workhouse, Bath, April* 16, 1821.

"GENTLEMEN,—In answer to yours, requesting some information concerning our improvement in the management of the Poor for the last year, I have to inform you, that in the first place, when we came into the office of Overseers (March 25th, 1820), we began by closely adhering to the principles laid down in the Act 59 Geo. III. cap. 12. commonly called the Select Vestry Act; that is, strictly to inquire and "examine into the state and condition" of all our paupers—about 925 families, besides 186 bastard children, and 98 individuals in the poor house; and this was done by our visiting them, every one at their own habitations, and inquiring into the means they possessed, and their ability to contribute to their own support; also by an inquiry in the neighbourhood, of those persons who were best acquainted with them and their circumstances; then striking off the book all those who could support themselves without parochial assistance, and providing work for all who were in any way capable, but who complained they could not get it for themselves. Though the work was unproductive *(as work)* to the parish, it was the means of getting rid of numbers from the books. As we paid but low wages, the paupers soon got employment for themselves; for we made it a rule never to give relief but by work (except in cases of sickness, extreme old age, and infancy); and on all new applications for relief, the same system of inquiry and work is pursued, and we find numberless instances of a downright refusal to do our work; and if accepted, two or three days is in general the longest time we have to employ them, before they quit and provide for themselves; we thereby prevent the increase of our pay list, which has been, and is now, decreasing every week, instead of increasing weekly, as it had done for years past. Next, with regard to bastard children, all cases where the reputed fathers were dead, or absconded (which last is generally the case with us), if the mother is in service, or other employ, we refuse her all assistance from the parish, considering it nothing less than giving a bounty from the poor rates (by giving her any

It was most gratifying to learn, that even after the many dismissals, and reductions of allowance,

---

thing) for the encouragement of prostitution, vice, and wickedness of every description, and laying contributions on the honest and industrious, for the support of the licentious and profligate. In cases where the mother is in bad circumstances, and, perhaps, the father also, and where he is absconded or is dead, we never allow more than 1s. or 1s. 6d. per week, and by calling on the Magistrates to commit some mothers (who have had two or three bastards) as lewd women, we have greatly reduced this head of expenditure; and although in some cases an order of filiation had been made on the reputed father to pay the overseers 2s. 6d. per week in relief of the parish, we very seldom pay the mother so large a sum, but place her on a level with other illegitimate mothers; we being determined never to give encouragement to prostitution. But the above system has not been carried into effect without the greatest opposition being made to it by the paupers, which was only overcome by the firmness and determined resolution of the overseers. In the beginning, we had almost insurmountable difficulties to encounter, as you may well imagine. The paupers left no manœuvre unpractised—no scheme untried—no art, which they were capable of, unattempted—no source unapplied to, which had the smallest chance of giving success to their object, namely, obtaining *money without working for it.* They had constant recourse to the select vestry, to the Magistrates, and to Ladies or Gentlemen, who, they thought, were humane, to get them to advocate their cause; this was followed day after day, and week after week; but the manner in which they were met by the select vestry, and the Magistrates in general, reflects the highest credit on the good sense, discernment, and determination of those Gentlemen to stop the progress of vice, prodigality, improvidence, and idleness. We have no doubt, that if the same system were pursued through the whole kingdom, the expenses of maintaining the poor would soon be reduced to a very inconsiderable sum, and the number of prisoners confined in our gaols lessened; for nothing tends more to encourage crime, than giving money to keep persons in idleness, while industry promotes health, competency, and happiness.

"Thus, Gentlemen, we have given you a brief outline of our plan of management, by which the most happy effects have been produced; and with pleasure we state, is still likely to operate to the general benefit of the parish, not only in the reduction of the poor rates, but in checking the growth of pauperism and crime.—I remain, Gentlemen, Yours, respectfully,

"(For J. Allen and J. Wilkinson, Overseers,)

"JOHN CURRY, Assistant Overseer."

which had taken place, the people were, to all sense, in as great comfort and sufficiency as before. This

---

We shall conclude this lengthened detail by the following notices of what has been recently done in the parishes of Bingham and Southwell, in the county of Nottingham, extracted from a pamphlet on the management of their poor, by an overseer:—

"The money collected for, and expended in aid of the poor, in the parish of Bingham, in the year ending at Lady-day, 1818, was £1,206; and it had been considerably more in some preceding years. This enormous expenditure among a population, ascertained at the last Census to amount to 1,574 persons, a considerable portion of whom are employed in agricultural pursuits, has, by judicious management, been lessened in the last year, 1821-22, to the sum of £400 1s. 9d. The total expenditure for the preceding year, 1820-21, amounted to £495 10s. 4d.

"In the year 1817, there were fifteen bastard children supported entirely by the parish of Bingham, at a weekly expense of £1 14s. 6d. Now, the sum of 2s. only, is paid weekly by the parish towards the support of two bastard children.

"No allowance from the parish of Bingham is now made to labourers in aid of wages.

"Should it be asked what effect this important reduction in the amount of the poor rates has had on the general appearance and conduct of the inhabitants of Bingham, I am authorized in stating, that here too, the result is precisely what accurate reasoning would have led us to expect. The people appear to be more happy, more comfortable, more respectable, than they did, when such large sums were disposed among them, in the form of relief; their attendance at church is more regular; they are more industrious, orderly, and sober, than they were before; in short, the parties who have been the greatest, if not the only losers by the change, are the publicans, with whom a considerable portion of the money, which used to be paid to the poor by its parish, was spent.

"The means by which all this good has been accomplished at Bingham consisted chiefly in the provision of a poorhouse, into which all persons belonging to the parish, who could not, or who would not maintain themselves, were received and maintained: but then, the regulations which were formed for this poorhouse, or workhouse, by the magistrates, (conformably to the power given them by the 50th of Geo. III. c. 50.) were so strict; there were so few indulgences permitted in it, and so small a portion of those comforts, which but too frequently serve to lure people into such abodes, were found within its walls, that its inmates were generally glad to

is a fact pregnant with inference. Every negation of a claim, and every abridgment that is made

---

quit it, and return to a reliance on their own endeavours, after a very short stay; and they were, moreover, observed to exert themselves afterwards with redoubled energy, rather than expose themselves and their families to the danger of again encountering its privations and restraints.

"The amount of relief actually disbursed to the poor of Southwell was, for the year 1820-21, £2,069; its population being 3,051. The amount of relief disbursed in the year just ended, at Lady-day, 1822, has only been £1,311.

"In cases of bastardy, wherever the parish is actually put to expense, by the parents not maintaining their illegitimate offspring, lists of the father's and mother's names are publicly exhibited, and showing the sum that each is in arrear to the parish. On every second offence, the overseers apply for the committal of the mother to the house of correction; and even for a first offence, if it be attended by circumstances glaringly offensive.

"A residence within the walls of the workhouse at Southwell, is now regarded as an evil by the lower orders; and they will speedily find that the readiest, indeed the only way, to avoid this evil, will be for them to become industrious, sober, and economical."

Besides these, there are numerous testimonies to the effect of an energetic administration all over England. Most of the select vestries which have been formed, have entered upon their duties with a spirit, and been rewarded with a success, that for a time has suspended the desire of all further reformation. Those who have long been accustomed to a yoke, will, on the removal even of a small part of its weight, feel an ease and a deliverance, that might serve to reconcile them to the existing laws, and lead them to look no further than to a right and vigorous administration of them. Accordingly, it is not to be disguised, that, to the question, Whether the reformation wrought by select vestries, and permanent overseers, had lessened their desire of a still more radical reformation, and served to reconcile them to the existing laws? the reply was very frequently an affirmative one. And we instance this more particularly of the following places, where, in the triumphs of their recent success, and the confidence of still greater achievements in future, there was a decided conviction, on the part of able and intelligent men, that no change in the law of pauperism was requisite:— Kendal; Liverpool; Bury in Lancashire; township of Pilkington; Salford; Birmingham; Leamington; Wells; St. Peter, Westcheap, London; and Sheffield.

on a former allowance, is, in fact, a commitment of the people back again, either in whole, or in

---

On the other hand, an utter hopelessness of any permanent good under the present system, or, at least a desire for its radical abolition, was expressed in Darlaston, Gloucester, Bristol, Portsmouth, Mary le Bone, Clapham, Westham in Essex, and generally, though not universally, in the agricultural parishes.

To Christopher Wilson, Esq. of Abbothall, near Kendal, I have been much indebted for the valuable facts and suggestions wherewith he has furnished me upon this subject. The expedient of a select vestry has been carried into beneficial effect; even in some of the smallest country townships of that extensive parish. And in reply to the apprehensions which I expressed, lest *in defect of a good and vigorous agency, the measure would be* altogether fruitless in the agricultural districts, he writes, that " in his opinion the country townships will be better managed than the others; because, there the select vestry will nearly be permanently composed of the same individuals, some of whom born in the township, and occupying their own lands, will be intimately acquainted, even from their infancy, with the character, conduct, and habits of almost all those who make application to them. Whilst the probability is, that in large towns the select vestry will be changed annually, and the habits of the applicants, in a dense population, cannot be so well known.

" The wisdom of the people of Scotland in rejecting all legal interference towards the maintenance of their poor, cannot be sufficiently admired, when we see the misery resulting from such provisions enacted in this country. May we copy your example by retracing our steps. The first step has been taken by the legislature, by removing (through the select vestry act) the interference of the magistrates."

It is our part respectfully to wait the evolutions of time and of experience upon this subject—though we still feel strongly persuaded that by no device and no modification whatever, the mischief which lies in the very principle or system of a legal charity, can be effectually stemmed. The right of maintenance from a public and compulsory fund, will be sure to create a pressure of demand upon that fund, and a certan degree of resistance must ever be held up for the purpose of causing it to recede, or even of keeping it stationary. Now, our fear is, that the requisite energy for this is not to be found in all places, nor that we can count upon its continuance in all times. It may subsist with the impulse of the occasion which called it forth. And though both in towns, where an agency is to be had, and even in rural districts, where some individual of power and of patriotism happens

part, to the antecedent resources of nature, whether these resources should lie in their own thrift and industry, or in the kindness of relatives and neighbours towards them. It is of no consequence to the reasoning, what the instrument has been by which they have been displaced from the region of pauperism, and either their entire or partial support has been devolved on capabilities which exist elsewhere. It may have been an obstinate refusal on the part of the vestry.* Or it may have been a decision of theirs, founded on a strict investigation, that may have led to the discovery of means of which they had not been previously aware. Or it may have been the offer of work, which the applicant disliked.† Or it may have been the threat

---

to come forward, we may have the guarantees for a strict and efficient administration, yet do we much apprehend, that in reference to the whole empire, there will be found, after perhaps a slight temporary reflux in the amount of pauperism, as oppressive a load of it as before on the resources of the country, and fully as injurious a blight along with it on the happiness and virtue of families.

* It of course often happens in the higgling that takes place between a pauper and the vestry, or even between a pauper and the justices, that the refusal is altogether arbitrary, a determined commitment of him back again to his own resources, without any clear or specific apprehension of what these resources are. We have been credibly informed, that of late, when young men without employment, have applied for relief to magistrates of the western division of the county of Suffolk, they have refused to succour them, telling them that in times like these, they must provide for themselves. They have gone away in consequence, and when thus put upon their own shifts, did not find it necessary to repeat the application.

† It was so, the reader will perceive, in Bingham and Southwell; and it is so in many parts of England. The workhouse is often employed as a scarecrow, by which to distance or to deter applications. Is this fair treatment

of an exposure, that he would have been ashamed of. Still the conclusion which may be drawn from

---

of a people? first, to instil into them the imagination of a right to subsistence, and then to counteract this by associating terror or disgrace with the prosecution of it? Does not the very necessity of thus assimilating an eleemosynary house to a Bridewell, prove that there is a fundamental error in the whole system? Would it not be better, if instead of first giving a wrong impulse, and then devising a force of resistance by which to neutralise it, that both the one and the other were dispensed with? Or, in other words, that instead of first granting a right, and then guarding against it by the severities of a prison discipline, that both the grant and the guard were withdrawn; or, in other words, that the legislature would disencumber the land at once from the invasion which itself hath made, and the defence which itself hath provided.

We recommend the following passage from Mr. Davison upon this subject, to the attention of our readers:—"I know that many persons consider the terror of the workhouse to be a salutary check upon the poor; and are not unwilling to press the alternative upon them of receiving their subsistence in such an asylum, or of receiving nothing. The degradation of the asylum is to deter the approach to it. The hardship of it is to be the security they would keep in hand against importunate claims. There is a certain policy, no doubt, in this virtual correction of the wide and excessive engagement of the law to take care of every body. And whoever considers the growth of heavy demands upon the parish, to be wholly independent of the constitution of the law, and believes it is to be ascribed solely to the misconduct or the misfortune of the applicants themselves, neither originating in the public system, nor encouraged by it, he may vindicate the policy on grounds of justice as well as expediency. But another who thinks that the public system itself is, in some measure, a source of the evil which is subsequently to be checked by such intimidation, must consider the law as visiting its own mistake upon those whom it has misled, when it first makes a promise of relief, and then tenders the relief in such a form as may forbid the acceptance of it. For my own part, believing as I do, that the Poor Laws themselves (in their practice, however, much more than by their original enactment) have actually favoured the growth of pauperism, and that they have loosened the motives of frugality, sober labour, and personal exertion in the country, I derive no satisfaction from the sight of those equivocal establishments, intended to play off a double meaning of invitation and repulse, of protection and abandonment; but would much rather see the laws gradually retract the erroneous principle upon which they have proceeded, than pretend to make it good in so exceptionable a manner."

a great and sudden contraction of the pauperism, in those places where a strict management has been entered upon, remains unaffected—and more especially, if there be the same visible aspect of sufficiency as before. There was much of the former pauperism wholly uncalled for. The sufficiency of the natural resources had been underrated, and there had been a delusion as to the need of a sup-

---

Nevertheless the Bingham experiment is a highly instructive one. It proves, that if instead of counteracting the law of poor rate by the discipline of a workhouse, both the law and the workhouse had been swept away, at least two-thirds of the existing paupers would have found refuge in the sufficiency of their own proper resources, and only one-third remained to be provided for. We do not plead, however, for any such summary abolition as this, but only for the withdrawment of the legal right from all new applicants. And if only one-third would have been behoved to be provided for on the event of an immediate extinction of the poor rate, we may be sure that a greatly smaller number than these will become destitute under that gradual process of extinction which we recommend—fewer by all who in a natural economy of things, will have the foresight and the frugality of which a poor rate had bereft them—fewer by all who shall be cared for by relatives, that would else have abandoned them—and, at last, so few, as that individual benevolence shall be delighted to succour and sustain them.

It is right to add, that in many parts of England, workhouses are regarded as by far the most odious and intolerable part of the whole system—and that such is their actual management both in single and incorporated parishes, as to have brought down upon them, in not a few instances, the reprobation of the wise and the good. But the very tendency of these establishments to corruption, is of itself an argument against them as a specific for the distempers of pauperism.

In seasons of commercial distress, the utmost benefit has accrued from work held out to those who allege a want of employment. It has proved a test by which both to ascertain the honesty of the application, and to get rid of unworthy applicants. Subscriptions will ever be had for providing such work on emergencies like these, and much more after the country is emancipated from pauperism, than at present. The offer of work, instead of money, has been known to effect marvellous reductions in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, and many other places.

ply from the resources of artificial pauperism. So that, in some cases, the expenditure was three times greater than it ought to have been—and the discovery of a delusion to such an extent, might well lead us to suspect that, perhaps, could all the channels of aid, and employment, and sympathy, be traced throughout the mass of society, with all those hostile influences by which public charity has done so much to close or to obstruct them, then it might be found, that there exists a still deeper and more subtle delusion than has yet been ascertained.

We will lay no disguise on the whole amount of our convictions upon this subject. Under a lax administration, it would appear that instances have occurred of an expenditure three times greater than was afterwards found to be necessary. Or, in other words, the dispensers of legal charity were so far misled as to overrate, in this proportion, the call which existed for it. But even under a strict administration of pauperism, and when there is no misleading of the dispensers at all, still there is a most grievous misleading both of the recipients, and of society at large. The very existence of a public charity has misled them. It misleads many annual thousands from their own economy, who otherwise would never have been reduced to a dependence on charity at all. It misleads parents and children, and remoter kindred, from the exercise of their relative duties. It misleads the benevolent, of all ranks, from that

sympathy they else would have felt, and that liberality they else would have exercised. On the part of the dispensers, the discovery of their error has occasionally been the saving of two thirds to the legal charity—but the correction of that error on the part both of the poor and of the public, into which the very existence of a legal charity has blinded them, would greatly more than cover the remaining one-third. Or, in other words, the good of the wholesome re-action that must ensue on the abolition of pauperism, would greatly overpass all the apprehended evils—and were the legal charity for indigence utterly swept away, there would be less of suffering, as well as less of sin in our borders.

But, it may be asked, if, under the operation of existing acts, the cost of pauperism really admits of so great an alleviation, might not the whole evil of it be reduced in the same proportion? And ought we not to be satisfied with this, rather than hazard a radical change of system throughout the land?—and see what can be done with a good administration of the laws that we have, ere any further innovation shall be thought of?

The select vestry act has been proceeded upon only in 2145 instances. There has no such vestry been formed in about six-sevenths of the English parishes. The number of permanent overseers, too, is only 1979.* The truth is, that in the country,

* And it proves how slowly the formation of select vestries is making

it is extremely difficult to find materials for the formation of an efficient vestry—and in this way the benefit of the act has been very much confined to towns. Throughout the great majority of the land, the business of English pauperism is moving on in its wonted order—and there is as strong a practical sense of its oppressiveness in the kingdom at large, as at any former period. The agricultural interest, in particular, was never more heavily burdened with it than at this moment—and were the whole present poor rate of England translated into quartern loaves, or estimated according to the price of the necessaries of life, it would be found, that in no past season of our history, has so much of the effective wealth of the country been expended upon its pauperism.*

---

progress, that though the Act for them passed in 1819, and on the 25th of March 1820, 2006 parishes had constituted select vestries, yet through the whole of the succeeding year there was only the small fractional addition of 139 to this number. From a possible misunderstanding of the question which regarded permanent overseers, it is not clear whether their number increased or diminished during that year. Certain it is, that the formation of a select vestry has been attempted without success in many parishes—that in some it has been given up after it had been established for a few months—and that there is the apprehension in some more of a speedy dissolution. In Darlaston and Ilkestone they are laid aside—and it is found that in Bedlington the very feeling of the relief which has been effected has induced a sort of unconcern. They are apt to think that they have done enough—and, should they let down their posture of vigilance, matters may soon revert to their old condition again.

* The reduction that has taken place in distinct parishes, and some of the most striking instances of which we have already quoted, is generally to be estimated from 1817-1818, which was the year of greatest expenditure all over England. We find that, in particular cases, the cost of the

And there is reason to fear, that even in those parishes where a select vestry has been most successful, there may be a speedy recurrence to the same lax and careless style of administration as before. There were a vigour and a strenuousness at the first which may, perhaps, subside with the novelty of the undertaking. Even the very relief that has been achieved, might lead to a satisfaction and a repose, that would soon call back as great a host of applicants as ever—for it is in the very nature of pauperism, that, at all times, there is the pressure of a tendency from without, which will

---

pauperism was brought down to a sum three times less than its maximum. But while this proves how much may be done by a very strenuous administration, it is of further importance to know how little has been done by this over the whole country. Through England at large there has not been a decline by the fraction of an eighth part from its maximum expenditure on the poor rates—that of 1817-1818, having been £7,890,148, and that of 1820-21, £6,948,445.

In reference to the present state of the agricultural interest, the burden of the pauperism has increased greatly beyond the proportion of the means, and that too in parishes where it were possible to state the thing in such terms as to impress the belief of a great reduction. Mr. Morton of Pudhill, in Gloucestershire, writes me, that "in 1811 the poor rate in Horsley, a parish in that county, was 12s. in the pound—(the nominal rent in Horsley was then two-thirds of the actual or rack rent);—that in 1821 it was 7s.; and in 1822 it was 6s. in the pound. But the rack or real rent of the parishes, as well as of all the neighbourhood, being reduced at least one-third of what it was in 1811, and the rate in the parish-book standing the same, the 6s. in the pound paid in 1822 is on the rack or real rent, and not on a nominal rent as in 1811. The 12s. in the pound on the nominal rent of 1811, was in fact only 8s. in the pound on its real rent. So that the whole amount of the reduction estimated in money is only from 8s. to 6s. on the real rent. But further, the price of wheat in 1811 was 14s. per bushel, and in 1822 only 5s. Though the farmer, then, has only one-half of the money to pay for the poor that he had to pay in 1811, he has to pay more in wheat, and that in the proportion of 14 to 10.

instantly force admittance, so soon as there is the slightest relaxation from that vigilance, wherewith its approaches have been guarded.

The marvels which have been of late effected by a strict administration, have suspended, in some places, the desire that was at one time felt for a radical change of system in the public charity of England. But we do not think that this can last long, and have no doubt, that after various expedients have been tried and found wanting, the final result will be a stronger experimental conviction than ever, of something wrong in the principle as well as in the practice of the poor laws. There is, we believe, a possible rigour in the execution of them, by which, if put into operation, two-thirds of all the paupers now in the country, might be thrown back upon their own resources, and yet be landed in a state of as great comfort and sufficiency as, with their present allowances, they at present enjoy. This has been exemplified in some parishes, and we do imagine, that it might be exemplified throughout the vast majority of the land. But then this requisite degree of rigour will, in the first place, not be adopted in most parishes; and, secondly, in those parishes where under a strong temporary impulse it has been resorted to, and with great immediate success, it will not be persevered in. The very success will lull the administration into its old apathy. The pitch and the tension to which it has been wound up,

will relax again.* The very humanity as well as indolence of managers, will gradually and insensi-

---

* It is not to be denied, however, that where there is a firm and consistent administration, the labour of it will come, in time, to be very much reduced, by the very hopelessness of success on the part of unworthy claimants. Lister Ellis, Esq. of Liverpool, who has conducted, for some time, the affairs of its pauperism with great energy and intelligence, tells me, that the whole attention which he now finds necessary, does not occupy more than two hours in the day.

And it is also true, that in those rare and occasional instances, where a gentleman of respectable station, and, withal, of humane, and conciliating, and kind manners, undertakes the labour of reforming the pauperism of a parish, he may not only at length reduce very much his personal trouble, but even earn a popularity, and a gratitude, from the objects of it.

Mr. Marriot, that active and intelligent magistrate, in the neighbourhood of the township of Pilkington, writes me, that "the extreme burden of the poor's rate then did bring forward very successful exertions on the part of the occupants, in the collection, as well as distribution of the rate." "The undertaking of retrenchment, and economical distribution, may, in the outset, have been attended with some degree of odium: at this time, I think, all parties are aware of the service that has been rendered to the ley-payers, as well as to the paupers. Mr. Weston, of Stand, has had a principal share of the merit, in the very great benefit his surrounding neighbours have experienced.

"In the years 1816 to 18, I had considerable trouble in attending to this part of duty. I acted a good deal in the capacity of superintendant overseer of the poor. I sat one day every week from ten till three, and sometimes near four o'clock; for Pilkington only, I have sometimes heard seventy pauper cases in a morning. I had a most cheering satisfaction in my labours: the poor were invariably respectful and thankful for a very moderate relief, and the superior inhabitants viewed my exertions in a manner most flattering to my feelings. At this time, I sit one morning in a month, and am seldom detained one hour by my duty."

We entreat that the reader will observe here:—First, how soon a consistent mode of treating the poor will lead them to accommodate their habits to the spirit of the system by which they are governed; and, if that be a spirit of retrenchment, how readily they learn to forbear their applications. And, secondly, how an economical administration may, at the same time, become a popular one, if conducted with a patient and obliging attention to the cases that are submitted to it.

bly lead them to admit of successive mitigations—and nature, at length, tired out of that strenuousness which was assumed at the outset, will subside into her old inertness. This has been the history of many a philanthropic establishment, and more especially, of many a parish workhouse. They set out with amazing vigour and efficiency, but at length relapse into the tame and ordinary style that is averaged all over England. There must ever be an equilibrium in pauperism between the pressure of demand from without, and the force of resistance from within. We hold it possible so to increase that force as to throw back the pressure of at least two-thirds of the demand, which has actually been yielded to. But we do not think it probable, however, that such an increased force of resistance will either be summoned into action at the first, or upheld afterwards. And so soon as it is again slackened to what it originally was, will

---

This experience of Mr. Marriot's is in perfect harmony with that of Mr. Ashworth, of Turton, near Bolton, who affirms of the poor, that they are very easily managed, if one treat them with civility, and *with a reason for it*. It is very clear, that in the hands of intelligent men, and especially, of those who add the influence of rank, to that of worth and talent, a great deal may be done, *during the time* of their personal superintendence, to neutralize the mischiefs of a system that is inherently and essentially vicious. It were not to be wondered at, though the gentlemen now quoted, should all feel inclined towards the side of the existing laws. But it must be recollected, that it was the pressure of a heavy expenditure which first aroused these various neighbourhoods to a more active management; and that, in many, we fear, the most of instances, this management might almost insensibly slip back again into a state of laxity, till the expenditure shall again accumulate, and the impulse be renewed as before.

the equilibrium be again adjusted by the re-admittance of as much pauperism as before.

But even though the force of resistance from within, was kept up in the utmost possible intensity—yet we cannot imagine a state of things more injurious to the virtue and peace of the commonwealth. Even though the discipline of a workhouse should at length be perfectly assimilated to the discipline of a gaol, we fear that like many other of the legal scarecrows which have been devised, its only reaction would be in working down the taste and character of the people to its own standard. In proportion as the law multiplied its severities, would pauperism acquire a stouter stomach for the digestion of them—and those regulations which at first might deter, will, at length, be got over, because of a now fiercer, and hardier, and more resolute population. We have, at all times, exceedingly doubted the policy of those expedients which are meant to operate *in terrorem*—and have ever thought of them as most fearfully hazardous experiments on the principle and feeling of the lower orders. They may repel some of those who are of a better and finer temperament than their neighbours; but, in by far the greater number of instances, will they blunt the delicacies which are thus handled so rudely; and the very instrument which they thought to lay hold of for driving applicants away, will vanish before their grasp. After a temporary subsidence of pauperism from this cause, there will be a reflux of it in its old force

and abundance; and worse than the heavy expenditure which it brings back, shall we behold throughout the country a deteriorated *morale*, the hard-favoured aspect of a more sullen and impracticable population.

This holds eminently and conspicuously true of one set of expedients—those by which pauperism is made as affronting as possible. Every thing has been tried this way, and often with great temporary, but never we believe with permanent success. It is indeed a most mischievous ordeal—and never fails ultimately to degrade the poor, without any saving to the wealthy. The badges, and the publication of names, and the posting of them in conspicuous places, may all work a recoil from pauperism for a time, but only to come back with accumulated force, and with a more sturdy and unmanageable character than before.* This, in

---

* At Liverpool, the names of the paupers in each district are posted in the streets, near or at the places where they lived. This method has been recently adopted, and Mr. Cropper, who informed me first of the prodigious reduction that had taken place in the expenditure, ascribes much of it to this publication of the names.

The following extract of a letter from Mr. Sherrin, the assistant overseer at Wells, blends with information on this point, some other articles of importance. We give it entire, as the plain testimony of a practical man, whose narrative affords a very fair specimen of English pauperism. It is a series of answers to the subjoined questions.

"1*st Question.* Has not the poor rate of the In Parish declined, in five years, from £1800 to £900?

1*st Answer.* The Poor Rate has declined in five years from £1820 to £978, and the expenditure has declined from £1830 to £795. There was collected last year £183 more than was expended, which sum was turned over to the present overseers.

fact, is one of the many demonstrations how tick-lish the ground is on which the law of pauperism

---

2*d Q.* Is not this more due to a proper attention, than to the improved circumstances of the people?

2*d A.* It certainly is: and in the five years past that I have filled the office of Assistant Overseer, I have had many difficulties to encounter: but, in the last three years, I have found great assistance in the select vestry that has been formed.

3*d Q.* Do you not think the people who have been dismissed from parochial relief are now better off, since they have been thrown upon their own industry?

3*d A.* They are: and much better labourers and mechanics.

4*th Q.* Was it not by the offer of work chiefly you got rid of them?

4*th A.* It was partly, and partly by publishing their names.

5*th Q.* Did not the more careless management of former overseers give rise to much drunkenness and dissipation among the paupers?

5*th A.* It did: and I have been creditably informed, that many of the paupers were in the habit of spending the Sabbath-day in drunkenness, and then sending their wives with a large cloak on to the vestry, for more pay; and they generally succeeded: the payers not then attending, and but seldom more than one overseer at the vestry-room, and he only serving for the year, would give them relief to get rid of their abusive tongues.

6*th Q.* Has not the publication of the names of paupers a good effect in chasing away many applications?

6*th A.* It has: and when we published their names at first, a great many who were receiving pay, but not deserving it, came to the pay-table, and gave it up, and threatened to bring an action against us if we ever put their names again in the list of paupers; although they stated before the publication, they could not do without parochial relief."

At Wells, too, the practice of publishing the names is of very recent adoption, and is still of efficacy. But it had been tried earlier in other parts of the country, and is now, I understand, given up. I have now a paper before me, printed by order of the vestry, and containing the names of the poor belonging to the parish of Minchinhampton, in the county of Gloucester, with the sums by which they have been relieved, from March 25, 1817, to March 25, 1818, exclusive of house rents. The cases of illegitimate children are expressly specified—and at the head of the catalogue there is put down the following: "Whoever may see any of the persons in this list living idly, when work may be had, or drinking in public-houses, is requested to inform the overseer, who will report to the magistrates the

hath placed the whole of English society. It, in fact, may be regarded as a compound of temptations on the one hand, and of severities on the other; and with the latter it has awkwardly attempted to neutralize the mischief of the former. The practical effect of the whole has been to form two distinct classes or characters of population, which stand more widely and remotely contrasted in England, than they do, we believe, in any other country of Europe. The one is a pure, and a noble, and a high-minded class, who, of course, would be revolted by the severities of pauperism. The other yield to her temptations, and, by weathering the brunt of her severities, their meanness and corruption have only been rendered more inveterate. The spirit of education and of moral enterprise that is now abroad in England, must extend the one class. But while the law of pauperism continues, the other class too must increase and multiply. They are the in-field gipsies of the land; and they transmit their habit to their descendants; and this is the reason why pauperism is so apt to fix, as if by a hereditary settlement, in families. There is thus a mass of corruption, that never will be got rid of but with the extinction of

---

names of the publicans who harbour them; or who suffer this paper to be defaced or torn down, without applying for another, or who refuse to put it up in their kitchens."

We have since heard from the neighbourhood that this is not now attended to. And the overseer of Horsley, a contiguous parish, informs me, "that the publishing of the names had a great effect at first, but they soon became dead to it."

this boasted charity by law. Until a blow be given to the root of the mischief, it will be found, in the long run, that there is a noxiousness in its antidotes, as well as in its bane. Its severities, in fact, are alike hurtful with its temptations. It is not by playing the one against the other, that any substantial or abiding reformation will be gained. There must be a way devised by which to cancel both.*

---

* We have little doubt that ultimately this expedient will not lessen the expense of pauperism; while this serious addition will be added to its other mischiefs—that of being landed in a more hard-favoured population than before.

In a recent conversation with Baron de Stael, who appears to inherit the talent of his mother for observing the features and the discriminations of national character, we were much struck by the remark, that no where in Europe did he ever witness a people where the extremes of vice and virtue, of profligacy and good principle, stood out in bolder or more prominent relief than in England. Such a chasm in the scale of character is certainly not at all discernible to the north of the Tweed, where the gradation is filled up between the opposite extremes, and the extremes themselves not stretching far in either direction, leave a sort of decent and uniform mediocrity for the general habits of our Scottish population.

This may explain the reason why such contradictory answers are given by different individuals, to the question that relates to the improvement or decline of character among the people. From justices of the peace we should expect, and have gotten, an altogether opposite reply to that which is given by clergy or Sabbath school teachers. They come into contact with the two opposite species of character. At Stockport we had most distinct testimonies to the fact of pauperism settling in particular families; and in every place where the activities of Christian and philanthropic zeal are most abundant, may we recognise a marked separation of two classes in the widest possible diversity from each other. Mr. Lowe of Darlaston writes, that "here, more than in most places, are to be seen two entirely distinct classes of population, rendered so among the adults partly by the cause above pointed out, but principally by the influence of the Gospel; the reception or rejection of which divides my population into professors and

Still the fact of so great a retrenchment in the expenditure of certain parishes, goes far to enlighten the question of pauperism. If the applicant for relief shall swear an inability for his own maintenance, the burden of the refutation of his plea lies upon the parish—and such often is the difficulty of the proof, that, rather than undergo it, his claim is admitted without the due investigation. The severities of a stricter administration bring this matter more closely to the test—and accordingly we have seen, that, as the fruit of inquiry and discipline, a parish has sometimes been relieved of two-thirds of its expenditure, or the pauperism has shrunk into one-third of its original dimensions. But, under a gratuitous system of relief, the net amount of the distress would have lain within still narrower limits. Much of it would have been anticipated by the higher economy of the people themselves—and much of it been met by a higher sense of relative duty among the families of the land. There is not a parish, where the remainder of unprovided want would not have found an ampler and a far kindlier asylum in the charity of good will, than it now finds in the charity of law. Indigence would not have been treated as a crime—nor humanity been so strangely transformed out of its proper and original charac-

---

profane, with very little intermixture indeed of the devout or pharisaical. But the distinction is especially observable among the rising generation, to which, if I mistake not, your inquiry especially relates, and is the effect of the introduction of general education."

ter. Each of its ministrations would have helped to sweeten the whole breath of society, and to cement more firmly together the materials of which its fabric is composed—instead of being so conducted, as to widen every year the disruption that now obtains between the higher and lower classes of the commonwealth.

Believing then, as we do, that no general or abiding good will ever be effectuated by a stricter administration of the law of pauperism, we feel our decided preference to be for the gradual abolition of it. We have no doubt, that greatly less of poverty would be created in the absence of a compulsory provision, than that which now comes forward and pleads a right and an interest therein. And we have as little doubt, that all the unavoidable or genuine poverty which might then be found, would be more fully, and far more gratefully met by spontaneous charity, than it now is by a legal dispensation. We even think, though we are very far from desiring it, that though a present and sudden arrest were laid on all the existing allowances of pauperism, there would be no instances of starvation throughout all our borders—but that, on this sudden transition to a natural state of things, nature would evince the strength and the promptitude of those better securities, which she herself hath provided against all the extremes of human wretchedness. But we again repeat, that confident as we feel in the sufficiency of nature, this is not the way in which we should

like that sufficiency to be proved—and that, however desirable the transition to her better economy may be, it is not *per saltum*, but by successive steps that the transition ought to be made. It is our firm conviction, that England may thus be made speedily to emerge from her present state of pauperism; and that after its last vestiges have disappeared, she will bear upon her surface a better and a happier people than before. The greatness of this result has led many to assign a spectral or visionary character to the whole argument. Yet surely it is not impossible, both that a result may be great, and that there may be a smooth and practicable avenue which leads to it.

It is only to mitigate the apprehension of serious evils which might ensue, even on a gradual abolition of pauperism, that we affirm our belief of human society being so well founded on its own native and essential principles, as that, without any appalling calamity, it were able to stand the shock of an instantaneous abolition. And we rest this affirmation on an experience which has been recently verified, and is still in process of verification all over England. By the Act of the 59th of Geo. III. c. 12. which was passed only in March, 1819, power was given to the overseers of parishes to follow up each application from a native of Ireland or Scotland, by the removal of him to his own country. This power has been very extensively acted on. But the way in which it has

operated, is, that the great majority of Irish who had been in the habit of receiving parish allowance, on perceiving that each new application was followed up by a removal, simply ceased to apply, and remaining where they were, betook themselves forthwith to a dependence on their own shifts and resources. This act empowering their removal, either on their abiding, or on their proposing to become paupers, was virtually, in reference to them, an instantaneous abolition of pauperism. And yet, did a very small fraction of them indeed consent to be removed—but the interesting fact is, that, generally speaking, of the vast majority who remained, and who had been suddenly dismissed from their wonted parish allowance, there was the same aspect of comfort and sufficiency among them as before. They contrived to do without it, and, to all appearance, did as well. They were thrown, and that with a sudden hand, upon their own expedients—and these availed them for all of which they had been bereft. We doubt not, that all the four counteractives against the mischief of a repealed pauperism were pressed into the service on this occasion, and that these discarded Irish drew more from their own industry, and from the aid of relatives, and from the sympathy of acquaintances, and, lastly, from the liberalities of the affluent, than they else would have done. At all events, they have found their compensation—and so most certainly would Eng-

lish-born paupers too, if the same bold experiment were made upon them.*

---

* This remarkable fact with regard to Irish paupers first met us at Manchester, where the weekly amount of relief rendered to their families, at the beginning of 1817, was £275 13s. 6d.—and through the year ending March 25, 1822, was only £17 10s. 1d. Though under no legal obligation to aid or to maintain any Irish, yet they do from humanity still expend upon them about five hundred pounds a year. At one time the number of Irish upon their poor fund nearly approached to one-half of the whole. Very few of them were relieved—and of these a great part returned, while the great bulk of them remained, and are not sensibly worse off than before.

From Stockport I received, by the kindness of Mr. Marsland, who is a magistrate there, the following distinct statement:—"The number of Irish families chargeable to the township of Stockport, at the time of passing the Select Vestry Act, (March 1819,) was 53, only 5 of which were passed to Ireland; the remainder were willing to maintain themselves rather than be removed."

Mr. Hale of Spitalfields writes, that "there are many Irish paupers since the last act for facilitating their removal, fallen off from parochial aid, and who still remain with us. And there is to all appearance as much sufficiency among them as before. In this parish, (Christ Church, Spitalfields,) when the act was first passed, we sent home from five to six every week; and now we do not pass home an Irishman once in two months. Before the last act, our average of casual Irish paupers was from twenty to thirty in a week; and now we do not relieve above two in a month—and yet we have as many Irish constantly residing in the parish, and they are in more comfort, because they are now more economical. The parishes of Whitechapel, St. George in the East, and All Saints, Poplar, being near to the side of the Thames, have by far the greater number of Irish. Neither of the above-mentioned parishes have now so many Irish who apply for relief, or to be passed home, as they had when the act was first passed, but still they have as many Irish residing among them."

It should be observed, that the Irish who are passed now, are not, in general, those who at one time were on the lists of regular pauperism, but those who having occasion to travel back again to their own country, take this method of having their expense paid. They are aware that an application for relief will be followed by a removal—and it is the removal, and not the relief, which they want. It is thus that they have learned to serve themselves of the act. For instance, from the united parishes of St. George and St. Giles, London, they had to remove 250 Irish families upon

Yet we recommend no such experiment. We only would draw from it the benefit of an *argu-*

---

one occasion within ten days. They apply in hundreds, and especially when returning home from the hay harvest.

Mr. Gurney of Westham, however, thinks that this new act has increased the distress of the Irish in his particular parish, though it has certainly checked their disposition for dissipation and excess.

The general testimony on this subject is very much at one with those testimonies which relate to the English paupers whom a stricter administration had thrown back upon their own resources. On this last topic we omitted the instance of Worcester, from which place William Sprigg, Esq. writes, "that, as far as his observation goes, the poor ejected from parish relief, and obliged to provide for themselves and families, are better off, and appear more cheerful and comfortable."

The number of poor in its workhouse in November 1817 was 306—and the number in it in August 1822 was 128.

It seems to have been little adverted to in Scotland, and, more especially, by those who have discovered an inclination for the establishment of the English poor rate amongst us, that, after all, this has not proved so unfailing a specific for human want, as to have, in the least, superseded the very processes of charity, which are resorted to in a country where poor rate is unknown. We shall, therefore, before concluding these Notes, lay before the reader a few of those articles of information, upon this subject, which happen to be within our reach.

In seasons of great distress, the voluntary efforts of charity are found to keep pace with the increase of the assessment: so that, in many places, the begging is at its highest where the poor rate is at its highest, and the year of heaviest expenditure by the vestry is also the year of largest subscription in the parish.

We have no other vouchers beside us, than the notes of conversations on the spot, for the facts, that, upon occasions of this sort, there have been subscribed, in one year, at Leicester, the sum of about £2,000; at Bury, in Lancashire, from £800 to £1,000; at Salford, £1,000; at Birmingham, about £3,000; at Minchinhampton, upwards of £200; in the small parishes of Rodborough, £50, and Woodchester, between £70 and £80; at Bristol, from £2,000 to £3,000; at Wells, from £150 to £200; at Clapham, £300; in St. George's, London, £2,000, beside a distinct subscription of £1,800, for the united parishes of St. George and St. Giles; at Westham, £600 or £700; at Bocking, £300; at Loughborough, £400; at Nottingham, £1,000; at Leeds, from £2,000 to £3,000, chiefly for soup; and, at Newcastle, the same sum for employment to the poor.

mentum a fortiore in behalf of that gradual emancipation from pauperism, which we hold to be so

---

These are given roundly, because given at the time, on a mere general remembrance. The one at Leicester is distinct from the great and peculiar subscription that took place there. We bring these forward merely to show the universality of gratuitous expedients for relief, in England, to meet that surplus distress, which their boasted poor rate either could not, or did not overtake. The sums now given are only for one year; but these efforts are of frequent recurrence. It is remarkable that the largest subscription of the kind at Portsea, was not connected with the great transition from war to peace, but arose out of such necessities as were general all over the neighbourhood. In Portsmouth, too, there has been a subscription of from L.500 to L.600; and, without specifying them, they are common at Gosport, Halstead, Mary le Bone, and Coggeshall, where I was told that the subscriptions are highest when the poor rate is highest.

In Kendal, they have had large additional subscriptions in particular years. They preferred this to an increase of the rate, because it would have been hard on the poorer of those who pay rate, and it gave an opportunity of larger charity to those whose wealth exceeded the measure of their leviable property. In 1800-01, there was subscribed L.732; in 1809, L.400; and in 1817, L.400. The subscription for the Lying-in charity is L.43, and for the sick poor, by a female society, L.82. The latter attend to all, whether legal residents or not, and whether on the poor rate or not. In the years of extraordinary subscription for indigence, there was also a great increase of poor rate, and a permanent increase of pauperism afterwards.

The information that follows is more precise, and is taken either from written or printed documents which happen to be within our reach.

"In Leicester, the greatest subscription for the poor, in one year, was in the winter of 1816-17, where a subscription was made amounting to L.2130 8s. 9d. of which the sum of L.763 8s. was raised by an Association of ladies, and consisted of subscriptions from ladies alone, a committee of whom distributed it in articles of clothing, I believe, entirely; the remaining L.1,367 0s. 9d. was distributed in provisions, the whole to all the parishes in Leicester indiscriminately."

"The subscriptions made for the relief of the necessitous poor in Manchester, during the winter of 1816-17, amounted to the sum of L.6810 10s. 7d."

"The largest sum ever raised in the town of Stockport, by voluntary subscriptions, is about L.500."

"There was a great deal of begging around us, (at Darlaston) when times

practicable, and which has succeeded with ourselves in a way that has greatly outstript our fond-

---

were at the worst, when the improvident part of the population of the most distressed parishes, were scattered over the adjoining country, to the distance of many miles."

" Amount of voluntary subscriptions for the relief of the poor in the city of Gloucester, the whole expended in the months of January, February, and March, 1817, £600; 1820, £832; 1821, for coals, £28; 1822, for coals, £24."

The following is an extract from the report of the Benevolent Society at Westham, from October 1819, to October 1821:—

" The poor of the parish, however, are so numerous that the committee have to lament their inability to afford relief in very many cases of urgent distress. They therefore feel compelled to press upon their benevolent neighbours the great advantage which would result from a more enlarged and general subscription, and the experience of four years enables them to speak with confidence of the beneficial tendency of the plan; which affords an opportunity to relieve the really necessitous, at the same time that it renders it more easy to detect imposition, and discourage the system of begging from door to door."

Where hath been the efficacy of a poor rate, if the call upon the benevolent remains as urgent, as we find in other places where no poor rate is in operation?

" The following are the particulars of the sums raised at Liverpool, by voluntary contribution, at two different periods, for the relief of the distresses of the poor. They were considered, in both instances, the result of a stagnation of trade, which threw a number of labourers and others out of employ, and of very severe weather.

" Total Receipts, between Dec. 1816, and March 1817				£8914 4 0
Expended in Mattresses, given after being first legibly inscribed, to prevent their mis-appropriation	£229	10	0	
In Potatoes and Herrings, given	1040	11	0	
Bread, do.	1720	1	0	
Between Jan. and Sept. loss by gifts, and sale of Soup below Cost price	5120	4	0	
Sundries	446	0	0	
				£8556 6 0
Balance				357 18 0

est anticipations. Let every existing pauper continue to be treated as he would have been though

---

" Receipts from Jan. 1820, to April, including Balance of former contributions.....L.1841 4 4

Expended from 21st Jan. to 28th April, 1820, in Soup, sold at reduced prices..... L.629 5 3

From 22d Jan. to 21st March 1821, in do. 220 9 2

Invested in government Securities..... 1000 0 0

1849 14 5

" In this period there were 280,366 quarts sold at ½d. per quart."

The following evidence, that after all which the poor rate does, it still leaves much to be done, (as much, we think, as if there had been no poor rate,) is taken from an account of the Worcester Institution for the Relief of the Poor, in the year 1819. There may also be seen from it, how the poor rate may fail of its endeavours to overtake the growing distress of a country, by at length, reaching its limit.

" At the close of the last war, the labouring poor of this country, in many instances, totally deprived of their accustomed means of support, were *entirely* dependent upon parochial relief for subsistence, whilst, in others, they were either restricted to a small portion of work in the week, or their wages were so materially reduced, as to render their utmost exertions inadequate to procure even a scanty supply of the cheapest necessaries of life: hence then, poor rates progressively increased, till, in many places, they became absolutely insupportable, and no longer commensurate to the demands upon them. Local subscriptions for the relief of the distressed were resorted to, and the liberality of the public, on these occasions, was eminently displayed; but as the manufacturers, and persons in the middle walks of life, were themselves involved deeply in the difficulties of the times, it was not to be expected that these resources would be sufficiently ample, in parts where the calls for assistance were the most urgent.

" To meet this deficiency, a society was formed in London, open to the bounty of the opulent in all parts of the kingdom, for the express purpose of relieving the distresses of the poor in the manufacturing and commercial districts: to these districts large sums were occasionally remitted, as their necessities, on strict and judicious investigation, appeared to require."

At Worcester, it is said, that " the expectation of a large subscription was not sanguine"—" the ordinary calls on the public being heavy." But it is gratifying to find, that workmen who were in employ " vied with each other in their contributions to the general fund; and the domestic servants

the present system had been left untouched—and let all that is new in the improved system, be

---

in several families, who were themselves strangers to the prevailing distress, manifested a commendable disposition to relieve those, who were the peculiar objects of commiseration. By these accumulated means, the committee had the satisfaction to find the sum of L.2,333 13s. placed at their disposal."

Who does not see, on the one hand, that the poor rate, which formed by far the heaviest of the ordinary calls, tended to restrain the subscription; and, on the other, that in spite of poor rate, and therefore, much more in its absence, there is a prompt and a powerful sympathy for all actual distress, felt by workmen, and servants, and the very humblest of society, which, in itself, is a better guarantee for a nation being conducted in safety, even through the darkest seasons of vicissitude and suffering to which it may be exposed?

This sum was expended chiefly on Coals and Soup, the preparation of which latter article will be deemed a curiosity in this part of the kingdom.

The following is the receipt for 1650 quarts, being the largest of the daily distributions:—

	lbs.	*oz.*		*lbs.*	*oz.*
Beef	360	0	Parsnips	26	0
Pease	244	0	Salt	28	0
Scotch Barley	92	0	Pepper	2	0
Rice	56	0	Celery	24	0
Onions	56	0	Powdered Ginger	0	9
Leeks	22	0	Flour of Mustard	0	9
Carrots	26	0	Dryed Mint	0	6

The Scottish reader will be somewhat surprised at the manifold ingredients of a composition dealt out in public charity, and, perhaps too, a little amused with the statement, that "a more convincing proof of the estimation in which the soup was held by the poor, cannot be adduced, than the circumstance mentioned in the report, that although the summer was considerably advanced, the demand for it was greater the last day than on any preceding one."

Doubtless, the quality of the soup is perfectly sufficient to account for the applications being so well kept up; but what we should fear is, that the same thing may be observed of any gratuitous ministration whatever.

It is a great mistake, however, to suppose that the surplus of distress, over and above what the poor rate provides for in England, is only occasional, and created, for short and recurring periods, by some political or commercial change in the circumstances of the country. There is, in fact, a

made to bear exclusively on the new applicants. The former of course preserve their right of ap-

---

constant surplus, which we verily believe to be as large as the whole would have been without any legal charity at all. There is a certain portion of the face of English society taken up by pauperism—and, beyond its margin, there is a belt, and a very broad and extended one too, that is occupied by suffering still unrelieved—and this is the ground on which private and free benevolence has to expatiate. In other countries there is no space corresponding to that which exists within this margin; and there, too, there is unrelieved suffering. But we imagine, that there is not a well-habited, or a well-educated people in Europe, where the whole of this suffering put together is not less in the amount, than that which occupies the outfield of wretchedness, to which the provisions of the legal charity have not extended: or, in other words, the poor rate of England has left her more to do, and that, too, after abridging both her means and her inclination for the doing of it.

The following we deem a very interesting survey along the margin of pauperism, almost with one foot upon this margin, and another without it. It is when so employed, that one finds the best materials on which to judge of the real efficacy of a poor rate. The extract is taken from a pamphlet, by Mr. Rutter of Shaftesbury, entitled "A brief Sketch of the Poor, &c." of that town.

"As the recital of individual cases of distress would be tedious, and does not appear to be absolutely needful, we shall confine our description to the visits recently paid by some inhabitants of this town, to two large houses occupied by a number of poor families and individuals. The rent of both these houses is paid from the parish funds, and they may be considered, in some measure, as the existing poor houses.

"In one of these houses, No. 1. Is an upstairs room, inhabited by a woman eighty-four years of age, bed-ridden and almost blind, and who receives four shillings and sixpence per week from the parish. The general appearance of this room is wretched, and the floor and staircase are falling in. No. 2. A tolerably decent room, with good floor but bad ceiling, inhabited by a man and wife and one child, who receive no parish pay. No. 3. A double garret, not inhabited; window out, scarcely any flooring, and that little falling in; the rain comes in through the naked tiles, upon the inhabitants in the room below. No. 4. A small room upstairs, completely in ruins, not inhabited, but a nuisance to those below. No. 5. In a little better condition than most of the others, inhabited by a man and wife and five children, who receive no pay from the parish. No. 6. On the ground floor, a room tolerably comfortable, inhabited by a widow and two children,

plication to the vestry, and their right of appeal to the magistrate till death. It is with the latter

---

who receive no parish pay. No. 7. By far the most comfortable room in the house, inhabited by a husband and wife and eight children. No. 8. A miserable hole, with part of the floor falling into a common sewer, inhabited by two women and a girl, who are nearly naked, and much emaciated; they have no bedding, and only one blanket to cover them; their general state was excessively wretched and revolting.

"On the whole, the appearance of the inhabitants was marked by extreme poverty and filth, and the place has long been notorious as a scene of great wickedness. The premises were almost entirely untenantable and require a thorough repair; and the yard was filthy beyond expression.

"The visit to the other house may be thus described. We ascended an insecure staircase, to a room, which for the sake of distinction we shall call No. 1. Inhabited by a man and wife and daughter, and two others, who were much distressed for want of food and firing in the winter, but received no parish pay. We perceived three bedsteads in the same apartment, covered with ragged great coats instead of blankets; the roof was open to the tiles, and every part hung with cobwebs, and darkened by smoke. This description was pretty fully borne out by our after observation, and would be correct if applied to the other apartments, but as some shade of difference existed, we prefer giving our observations as we proceeded. No. 2. A small apartment on the ground floor, about eight feet by ten, inhabited by a man and wife and four children, who have only one bed in a small room adjoining. No. 3. Upstairs, ceiling open to the rafters, one miserable bedstead, scarcely any bed or covering, inhabited by a widow and five young children, and by a man and wife, all in one room! The children are almost naked, never taste any animal food, and were much distressed in the winter. No. 4. A miserable upstairs room, with a partially stopped hole through the wall, just opposite an ill-covered bedstead, inhabited by a man and wife and child, which appeared almost starved; they receive two shillings per week from the parish, and live upon one meal of potatoes per day. No. 5. A small miserable smoky room, inhabited by a man and wife, the former sixty-eight, and the latter eighty-three years of age; no sacking to the bedstead, and potatoes once a day. No. 6. On the ground floor; is inhabited by a man and wife, a son about fourteen, and a young child. The mother and child appear extremely ill; the bed on which they sleep has ropes instead of sacking, and the lad sleeps on the bare floor; they receive one shilling a week. No. 7. Is one shade more comfortable; inhabited by a man and wife and five children, two of whom have the hooping cough and no attendance; they receive no parish pay. No. 8. A small room upstairs, *with a*

alone, that we would try not the charity of law, but the charity of discretion—and all our surest

---

clean floor; the rain comes in through the bare tiles, and there is only one bed for the mother and her grown son! Such are the scenes which inquiry and personal inspection have opened to our view.

"It may perhaps be almost unnecessary to remark, that it is only in *recent* times, that these buildings and their inhabitants have fallen into this extreme state of decay and misery, arising from various general and local causes. Amongst these may be enumerated, the want of adequate employment,—the high price of provisions,—the present law of settlement,—the increased depravity both of individuals and families,—*and he moral impossibility of regulation by any other means than a radical change of system.*"

Mr. Thomas Richardson of Bristol, the friend and intimate of the benevolent Reynolds, will forgive me for adverting to the very important testimony upon this subject, wherewith he has kindly favoured me in a recent communication. It relates to those families who are hovering around the margin of pauperism, without having entered it.

"It is indeed a matter of astonishment, how so many families who are suffering the greatest privations, owing to the want of employment, or to extreme low wages, and often from their chief support being laid aside by sickness, many of whom furnish a picture of wretchedness of which no one can furnish an adequate conception, but those who have been spectators; I say, it is wonderful how such families can bear up under such burdens, and can forbear from making applications to their parishes for relief. It is to this spirit of independence that we are alone to attribute, that our parochial rates have not grown more rapidly than they have done, amidst causes so powerfully operating. Instead of its being a matter of surprise, that the poor rates should have attained their present amount, it is to me much more so, that pauperism should not have extended its baleful influence very far beyond its present enlarged bounds. I will advert to your remark respecting the extent of the surplus of unrelieved poverty: I have no doubt but that this surplus always marches ahead of whatsoever relief is afforded; and I think we see this in Bristol, where, I believe, it is generally admitted that the amount of the various sums, raised for the Infirmary, Dispensary, &c. together with what is contributed to various public objects, and given in private benevolence, exceeds the amount raised for the maintenance of the pauper poor."

So truly it has been said that the poor rate of England has not lessened the misery of its people, but only transferred it, and that, too, after having gone far to exhaust the means, and to deaden the spirit of benevolence.

and strongest convictions are utterly belied, if it be not found, that without the raising of one compulsory sixpence in a parish, there shall be more of contentment, and greatly less of unrelieved want in it than before. Ere we enter on a more detailed exposition of the process, it will, at least, be perceived, from this general outline of it, that the existing pauperism of our land, instead of being forcibly put an end to, is suffered to melt away by the operation of death—that no violence is done to any individual who is now upon the roll—and that it only remains to be seen whether they who would eventually have constituted the next generation of paupers, are not better served and better satisfied, under another treatment that we shall venture to suggest for them. But the question now resolves itself into two parts. There is first the parliamentary treatment of it—and then the parochial treatment of it, after that the legislature has done its office. These two things are perfectly distinct the one from the other. The one is in contact with the law of the question, and the other with the human nature of it.

There is a stubborn incredulity, which, however widely it may appear to differ, is, in some respects, very much at one with sanguine Utopianism. It is true, that the same magnificence which captivates the latter, is that which is regarded by the former with derision and distrust. So that while the one is easily lured to a chimerical enterprise, and just because the object of it is great, it is

this very greatness which freezes the other into hopeless and impracticable apathy. Yet both agree, in that they take a direct and instantaneous impression from the object itself, and are alike heedless of the immediate means by which it may be accomplished. It is thus, that the splendid visionary is precipitated from his aerial flight, because he overlooked the utter pathlessness of that space, which lay between him and the impossibility that he aspired after. But it is also thus, that the fixed and obstinate practitioner refuses to move one single footstep, because he equally overlooks that continuous way, which leads through the intervening distance, to some great yet practicable achievement. But give him time—and the mere length of a journey ought not to repel the traveller from his undertaking—nor will he resign the advantage for which he looks at its further extremity, till you have demonstrated that one or more of its stages is utterly impassable. In other words, there is a blind infidelity, as well as a blinded imagination—and it is difficult to say whether the cause of philanthropy has suffered more from the temerity of projectors, or from the phlegmatic inertness of men, who, unable to discriminate between the experimental and the visionary, are alike determined to despise all and to resist all.

CHAP. XV.

ON THE LIKELIEST PARLIAMENTARY MEANS FOR THE ABOLITION OF PAUPERISM IN ENGLAND.

A GENTLEMAN who is now bestowing much of his attention on the poor laws, when informed of the speed and facility wherewith all its compulsory pauperism had been extinguished in a certain parish, replied, that it might be easy to effect the deliverance of one parish, but that it was not so easy to legislate for the deliverance of all England. But if an easy and applicable method can be devised for the parish, what is it that the legislature has properly to do? Simply to remove the legal obstructions that may now stand in the way of the method in question. Simply to authorise each parish that so wills to avail itself thereof. And should many, or should all of them at length go forth upon the enterprise, and succeed in it, then the extinction of this sore evil over the country at large, instead of being immediately referable to the impetus of that one blow, which has been struck against it by the lifting up of the arm of parliament—should be referred to a cause that is far more commensurate with the vastness of the achievement, even to the power of those multiplied energies that have been set at work, throughout the land, each of which, however, has only its own separate and limited object to overtake, and

each of which acteth independently of all the rest.

However obvious this may be, yet we have often thought, that the overlooking of it, is one main cause of that despair and helplessness, which are felt by many of our legislators, on the subject of this great national distemper. There are many of them who would feel no difficulty, but for certain legal obstacles that stand in their way, in working off this nuisance each from his own little neighbourhood; and are confident withal, that after this was done, there would, over the whole space which had thus been cleared away, be more of comfort among the families, and a higher tone of character than before. Now, this feeling is precisely that of thousands besides, each of whom, if free from one unfortunate restraint, could clear the mischief away from his own local territory, and thus contribute his own quota to the deliverance of the empire. But he who has a place and an authority in the councils of the empire, takes a wide and extended survey over the whole of it—and by a sort of fancied ubiquity, he brings himself into contact with all the struggles and difficulties of all the parishes—and he somewhat feels as if the weight and the labour of what is indeed a very operose concern, were wholly accumulated upon his own person—and, instead of regarding pauperism as that which can only be put to death by inches, and with the help of many separate hands, he sees it as standing forth in single com-

bat, a hydra of dread and direful encounter, at the sight of whom every heart fails, and every arm is paralyzed.

And akin to this delusion, is the imagination on the part, we believe, of many, that the only way of proceeding against pauperism is by imperative enactments, which behoved to be instantly, and simultaneously followed up by a change of administration all over the country. It must be at once seen, that in this way of it a disturbing force would be immediately brought to bear upon each and all of the parishes, that all would feel aroused to a strong, because a practical interest in the measure—and that out of a conflict and variety of sentiment thus spread over the whole land, there might be formed a hostility greatly too fierce and formidable for the safety of the nation. It were the method for bringing into play the elements of a mighty agitation; and spreading out the question on an arena wide enough, and conspicuous enough, for the great master demagogues of the land. Those writers who live upon the discontents of the people, would instantly seize upon it as the fittest topic for keeping up that fermentation, in the whirl and briskness of which all their prosperity lies. And so it is, that an attempt on the poor laws, is dreaded by many as the sure precursor of a revolution—nor is it seen what the possible way is, by which this question can be prosecuted with the same wisdom, and withal in the same calmness, and with the same happy re-

sults, as have oft been experienced in the treatment of other questions, and that, through a long era of peaceful and progressive improvement in the domestic policy of England.

We should, on this account, hold it to be highly advisable, that any enactment which might be made on the subject of pauperism, shall not be one that brings a certain force upon all of the parishes, but simply one that allows a certain freedom to any of the parishes—not one that puts forth a law, but one that holds out a leave; and a leave, too, only to be granted on such a free and extended concurrence of householders in the application for it, as to be itself a guarantee, that however odious a general movement against pauperism may be over the country at large, yet that each particular movement is, within the limits of its own separate parish, abundantly popular.

The process might be illustrated by the way in which the commons of England have been appropriated. There are general and public acts, not by which parishes are required to divide and enclose their commons, but by which they are empowered each to petition for a local act, or a separate enclosure bill, authorising the division of its own commons. In the general acts, the principles are laid down and defined, on which the local acts are to be granted. The consent of the parties interested, to the bill being passed into a law, is signified by the subscription of their names to it. And, though there is no fixed rule in this respect,

yet it may be proper to state, that the consent of four-fifths of the proprietors in number and value, is expected by parliament.

Thus parliament has not made it imperative on parishes, to turn their commons into private property. But they have struck out a path by which this transition may be effected, and left it to parishes to make the movement if they will. Had so mad an impolicy been conceivable as that of attempting to overbear parishes into the measure, by a positive enactment, there would have been the reaction of a loud clamour and discontent all over the country—nor would any government have braved so formidable an encounter; and that, for the sake of a reform principally intended for the benefit of those local districts where it was carried into effect. It was far wiser to break down the mass into fragments; to do the business piece-meal, and to make the improvement of this branch of our domestic economy a successive process, and not a simultaneous one. The thing has now been in progress for years, and a great national improvement is going surely and quietly forward. Parliament has done its part by opening a practicable door—and it wisely leaves the country to do theirs; and that, not by any general movement, but by the separate movements of separate parishes. And we do hear occasionally of a little parochial effervescence. But it is not such as to fill or to agitate the public mind, or to bring into slightest hazard the tranquillity of the state. A parish in the depths of

Cornwall or Yorkshire, will be all alive, of course, to the interest of its own local arrangements; but it is wholly unfelt by the public at large; and it is well that what might have been food and fuel for the politics of a nation, has been thus frittered down into distinct portions of aliment, for the politics of its thousand remote and isolated hamlets. The violence is dissipated and disposed of, which might else have gathered into one wasting volcano. The march, upon the whole, has been as peaceful as it is beneficent—and a measure which, under one form, might have called forth a great popular insurrection, has under another been carried forward with sure and silent footsteps over the kingdom. It has, for the time at least, depressed the value of agricultural produce, and so lessened the income of the landlord, who, perhaps, counted on being the chief gainer by it. But it has also, for the same time, cheapened the necessaries of life, and so added to the comfort of the labourer, who perhaps felt himself to be the chief sufferer by it. Meanwhile, it is clearing its way through all the near-sighted and nugatory apprehensions of the various classes—and whatever be the temporary evils that are charged upon it, its undoubted effect is to add to the abundance of the country, and to make of it a wealthier and more flourishing land.

Now, this we conceive should also be the order

of attack upon pauperism.* It is thus that this common, now a defenceless prey to the inroads of vice and idleness, should be gradually reclaimed, and placed within the secure limits by which all property ought to be guarded. We know it to be still a prevalent impression, that this were making an outcast, and an unprotected orphan of human misery; and though we hold this to be erroneous, yet it is an impression that ought to be most tenderly and respectfully dealt with. The benevolence of Englishmen must be satisfied; and it says much for that noble people, that burdened as they are, and mighty as the deliverance would be, could the

---

* It might serve to reconcile us the more to the process which is now recommended, that it is in the very order by which previous reforms on the poor laws have been attempted by Parliament, and responded to by the country at large. By the Select Vestry Act, or the act of 59 Geo. III. c. 12. it is declared, "that it shall be lawful for the inhabitants of any parish, in Vestry assembled, and they are hereby empowered to establish a select vestry for the overseers of the poor of such parish." And so of the Act 22 Geo. III. c. 83. commonly called Gilbert's act, which does not pass into effect in any parish, till called for by two thirds in number and value of the owners or occupiers according to their poor rate. Thus, under the authority of a general act previously passed, and by which leave is given to parishes on the consent of a certain number of qualified owners or occupiers to adopt certain arrangements, under which the affairs of the poor may be forthwith administered—parishes come forward, and on presenting the concurrence that is required, these arrangements are carried into effect. It is thus that Gilbert's Act has made a certain progress throughout England, and Sturgess Bourne's Act is still in progress. The Appendix to the Report of July last, from the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns, contains many testimonies in its favour from the parishes that had adopted it. This, of course, will extend the range of its operation still more widely; and thus it is that facts are multiplied, and experiment passes into experience.

poor rate be done away, yet the conviction must first be done away, that the poor are not to suffer by it. This surely is not a feeling which ought to be rudely handled; and, therefore it is, that throughout the whole business of reform, there should not merely be the utmost tenderness to the lower orders, but the utmost tenderness to the humanity of those who feel for them.

There are three distinct objects that should be comprehended in the provisions of the General Act, and each of which may be regarded separately. The first relates to the act of concurrence that should be required of any parish, ere that parish shall be empowered to make a radical change in its management of the poor. The second relates to the nature of the change. And the third, to the way in which the Parliament and people of England are to be satisfied, both at the outset, and through all the subsequent stages of this retracing movement, that its effects are so beneficial, and more particularly to the poor themselves, as to be altogether worthy of a humane and civilized nation.

I. To grant allowance for the enclosure of a parish common, parliament expects the consent of four-fifths of the proprietors, in number and value. To grant leave for the new-modelling of its pauperism, we should not object to the consent of a larger proportion than this of all the parish householders, who are not paupers themselves, being

required by Parliament.* It is obvious, that the larger the consent is that shall be required by the

---

* Gilbert's Act requires the consent to it of two-thirds in number and value of those who pay poor rate. Sturgess Bourne's Act requires a majority of the inhabitants assembled in vestry; or, in other words, a majority of those who are present, and pay the rate—it being provided by 58 G. III. c. 69. "That no person who shall have refused or neglected to pay any rate for the relief of the poor, which shall be due from and shall be demanded of him, shall be entitled to vote or to be present in any vestry of the parish for which such rate shall have been made, until he shall have paid the same."

We think that a larger concurrence than this should be required, ere a parish shall have leave to adopt a change of system still more radical and entire than that which is allowed by the acts either of Gilbert or of Sturgess Bourne. A very large proportion indeed of all the householders who are not paupers, should signify their previous consent to it—and the following are my reasons for believing that even though their unanimity were held by the first general act to be indispensable, still there are some parishes that will be found to satisfy a condition, which wherever it can be realised, will evince the utmost popularity of the measure, at least within the place where it is to be put into operation.

The two opposite interests which are felt on the subject of the Poor Laws, are the first by those who pay the rate, and the second by those who receive from it. Now, practically, these two classes do not share between them the whole population of owners or occupiers. There is, in many places, a very large intermediate class, who neither give nor receive; but who so far from being neutral upon this question, will, of course, have a leaning towards that compulsory provision, from which most of them perhaps look for some eventual benefit at one time or another to themselves. Even apart from this expectation, their natural and generous inclination will be towards the system as it is, so that in all places where this intermediate class is a very numerous one, a very large concurrence of householders who are not paupers, may be next to impossible.

But it is to be remarked, that strictly and legally there is no exemption from the rate, even for paupers themselves. The law is, that the rate shall be made on every inhabitant who is an occupier either of houses or lands—and so may it be carried down to the very margin of pauperism, nay, even be brought within it, in either of which cases there could be no neutral or intermediate class whatever. These exemptions from the rate are altogether at the discretion of those who make it, and accordingly the practice

general act, the fewer will be the parishes who can avail themselves of its provisions. It were far

---

varies exceedingly in different parishes, and different parts of the country. From out of twenty thousand assessments in Liverpool, for example, there wont to be about 13000 struck off; whereas, in Bury, in the same county, they stop the rate out of the pay of the pauper; and at Pilkington, the poor rate is levied on those whom even the overseers relieve at the same instant. In Manchester, the intermediate class forms nearly three-fourths of the whole population—there being 12,000 exempted of about sixteen thousand who are liable by law. I am informed from Stockport, "that none is exempted from paying of rates, not even the paupers themselves." The overseers are there made chargeable for all the assessments, while at Salford about 1,500 may pay the full rate, and about a thousand a portion of it through the landlord, a considerable number being still left, who neither pay nor receive. At Birmingham, there were at one time about fifteen thousand out of nineteen thousand, who did not pay; though the intermediate class there too is constantly diminishing. It were quite endless to enumerate all the arbitrary differences that take place in various parishes and townships. But certain it is, that the tendency all over the land is to carry the levy downward as far as it is practicable—and we should say, that the neutral class is perhaps narrowing into a more limited space and smaller number every year.

There is one clause, however, in the Select Vestry Act, by which this tendency has been counteracted. It is that by which a power is granted to rate the owners of certain houses, instead of the occupiers. Such houses as are let at a rate not exceeding £20, nor less than £6 by the year. We believe, that virtually this carries in it no relief to the occupier—for had the levy been exacted from him, he would have had his compensation for it in the diminution of his rent. We have no doubt, that the landlord is indemnified by a higher rent, for all that he must now pay to the poor rate; but the occupier is ostensibly freed from the burden of the rate—and thus may there always be kept in the intermediate class the tenants of such houses, as are occupied by industrious tradesmen, and well-conditioned operatives, and, in a word, all those who, taken together, form the better and more influential part of our working population.

We, therefore, on the whole regret this clause. There is substantially no relief yielded by it to the tenants; but it has withdrawn them from that ostensible place, in which, if they had been permitted to remain, they would have felt the hostility of a personal interest to the poor rate, and so have given additional force and power to that direction which even the popular mind of the country was beginning to take against it.

more difficult to obtain the requisite number of householders in a large and populous town, than in a small and manageable country parish; and it is therefore to be expected, that any movements which shall be made under the general act, will be made first in the agricultural districts of England. At the outset then, the more unwieldy parishes will have no interest in this regress from a legal to a free system of charity, unless in so far as they shall be the interested spectators of what is going on,—looking intently on the whole way of those adventurers who have slipt cable before them, and

---

Still, however, it is a matter of discretion to charge the rate either on the owners or the occupiers. Indeed it is more to facilitate the levy by laying it upon the one class, than to grant even the semblance of relief to the other, that this enactment is proceeded upon. On the whole, there is a far greater number of the community enlisted into the opposition against poor rate, than wont to be at former periods, and not a few are the parishes, therefore, where a nearly universal concurrence might be obtained for a radical change of system, on the part of all the householders who are not paupers themselves.

Before closing this note, it may be right to advert to the very great expense of a local act, obtained for a parish under the authority and according to the provisions of a previous general act. It would not be necessary, for the purpose of giving effect to the new legislative measures upon pauperism, that a parish should be at this trouble, or incur this expense. A simple certification to the justices assembled in quarter sessions, of any parish, having approven of the provisions of the general act, and being desirous to adopt them, might, from that time, entitle them to proceed upon it. It is precisely so gone about, for example, when a parish comes under the benefit of Gilbert's Act. By the 33 Geo. III. c. 35. § 1. "Whenever two-third parts in number and value, as required by the said act, of such qualified persons only as actually attended, or may hereafter actually attend at such public meeting, held in pursuance of the directions of the said act, have there signified or may hereafter there signify, their approbation of the provisions in the said act contained, and their desire to adopt them, such approbation and desire so signified, or to be hereafter so signified as aforesaid, have been and shall be a sufficient compliance with the said act."

perhaps waiting their arrival at a safe and prosperous landing-place, ere they shall have acquired the courage to think of an imitation. It is because we should like the whole process to be gone about surely and experimentally, that we should like, at least the first general act, to require a concurrence so very large in each parish, as that the number of parishes which it may actually set a-going, shall be indeed very small. It were well that this act was loaded, on purpose, with a condition that is not easily satisfied; and thus the trials will be restricted, in the first instance, to a few of the easiest and likeliest of the parishes. We do not want the whole of England to be thrown adrift, at the bidding of a yet untried hypothesis. But we want England to put herself to school. We think that she needs to go to school; and when looking attentively to those trial parishes, she is, in fact, learning the first lessons, and acquiring the sound rudiments of a sound education. Those parishes will be to her the alphabet, whence she may venture forward to achievements that are still more arduous; and at length be able to master those more complex and difficult results, which now lie far removed, on a distant and impracticable back-ground, from the eye of her understanding.*

---

* It gave me great pleasure to receive a letter from an English clergyman of talent and energy, and who has paid great attention to the management of the poor, in which the very idea that we have attempted to develop, is briefly but distinctly brought forward. "If power," he writes, "by a general bill, was given to vestries to make experiments and adopt mea-

There are many distinct advantages, in a very large concurrence of householders being required at the outset, ere any parish shall have liberty to enter on the new system of pauperism, and a few of these we shall barely announce, without expatiating on them.

First, it confines the operation of the proposed act to those parishes where the experiment is most popular; and so removes it altogether from those regions, where its very obnoxiousness to the community at large, would be a serious impedient in the way of its success. And it is evident, that the larger the requisite concurrence is made, the more effectually will this object be secured.

But, secondly, a large concurrence in favour of the new method, is our best guarantee for a resolute and powerful agency to carry on the execution of it. We should not despair of a most efficient vestry in any parish, for conducting aright the business of its gratuitous charity, where there had been nearly a unanimous consent to the abolition of its legal charity. There is no fear of any parish which has thus singled out, and made a spectacle of itself, that it will not acquit itself well, and at length demonstrate to all its neighbours, that without a poor rate, and without any painful

---

sures suitable to themselves, some materials might be furnished for a universal principle. I know a case or two, where the whole property of a parish is in the hands of one person, and that a person who saw and determined to meet the growing evil; and the poor rate has been reduced to a mere nothing, and that instantly. There is a case you may see of Mr. Estcourt, in the Report for Bettering the Condition of the Poor."

sacrifice at all, it can boast a happier and a better population than any of those who are around it. We prophesy a success to their undertaking that will be quite marvellous, even to themselves; and that they will very soon find, how nought is wanting but an energetic outset, to ensure the transition, both to the people's contentment and their own repose. But there is a better chance for the energetic outset where there has been a very extended concurrence—a surer warrant of success, where there is a wider responsibility. It is for this reason, that we would not have parishes to be selected for the experiment, by parliamentary commissioners, or any constituted body whatever. We would have parishes to offer themselves; and the single event of their doing so, with that full complement of names and signatures which the general act shall require, is, of itself, the best ground on which the selection of experimental parishes can be made.

And, thirdly, although the provision of a nearly unanimous concurrence on the part of householders, should, at the very commencement of this process, restrict the trial to a very small number of parishes, this does not eventually exclude the great body and majority of England from the proposed reformation. It only prepares the way for it. The truth is, that should so few as twenty parishes come forward, under the first general act, and should their experiment prosper, it will do more to assure the hearts and the hopes of the

people of England than a thousand dissertations. It will be like the finishing of the first lesson that parliament has dealt out to the country, and will prepare both the teachers and the taught for a second. The next flight will be a bolder one; or, in other words, a second general act may be passed, whose conditions it shall be easier to satisfy, and under which as many hundreds may now come forward, as before there were tens of parishes. The success, in fact, of the first set of parishes will both embolden parliament to widen the door for succeeding parishes, which it does by lowering the terms of admittance, and it will also embolden these parishes to a readier, and more confident imitation. The simple expedient of reducing the extent of the concurrence would effectually answer. If upon the terms of an application from seven-eighths of the householders, so few as twenty parishes did adventure themselves on a yet untried project, and succeeded therein, then we may be sure, that upon the terms of a similar application from four-fifths of the householders, it is not too much to expect that two hundred parishes will soon feel encouraged to follow them. It is thus that by a series of general acts, as by a series of stepping-stones, England may emerge out of all the difficulties of her present pauperism. The very first footstep that she takes is on a firm basis, and all along she moves by a way that is strictly experimental. Throughout every inch of her wary progress, she never needs to abandon the light of observation;

and on the whole of this interesting walk over her provinces, and, at length, to her great cities, till she reaches her own mighty metropolis in triumph, is she guided from one achievement to another, and by the way that she best loves, because the way that is most eminently congenial, with the sober and the practical character of her undertaking.

II. In regard to the nature of the change, we should leave untouched the condition and the rights of all who, at the time of its being entered upon, are permanent paupers. There should be no dismissal of any who would not have been dismissed under the old regimen. It is, of course, quite fair to scrutinize their means and resources to the uttermost; and on any discovery of their being adequate to their own support, or on any actual improvement that may have taken place in their circumstances, by which they are enabled to provide for themselves, it is perfectly right that their names should be expunged from the roll. But this, in fact, is what always takes place under the present system, and should, therefore, take place under the new one: and ere they can be discarded, they may appeal, as now, to the magistrate,—a right which they should only forfeit, by the act of their being ejected beyond the pale of the existing pauperism. All, in short, who are actually paupers in any parish, at the time of its entering upon the new system, should, while paupers, have the very rights and securities which they now enjoy;

and the change of treatment, whatever it may be, should apply exclusively to those who apply for parochial relief, either for the first time, or apply for it anew, after they have been made to do without it for a period. In this last clause, a special reference is had, not merely to those who once, perhaps, were regular paupers, and were afterwards excluded, because of their means having grown better, or been better ascertained, but also to those who, alternate upon the parish from summer to winter, and, in general, those who, being neither the inmates of the workhouse, nor regular weekly pensioners on the out-door list, pass under the denomination of casual poor, or occasional poor.*

---

* We are aware that this might expose a trial parish to considerable trouble at the outset, for, in many instances, the casual poor form a very great proportion of the whole population; and, in some instances, there is a prodigious alternation of the pauperism from summer to winter. This might be remedied by the suggestion of an English clergyman, who proposed that all who had received, in any shape, from the poor rate, through the year preceding the time when the parish began to act upon the new system, might be treated as old paupers; and that those alone should be treated as new applicants who had never, prior to that, been in contact with the poor rate. This would certainly lighten, at the outset, the work of the parochial administrators, while it would only retard the ultimate accomplishment of an entire deliverance from the burdens of the old pauperism. For my own part, I do not think that, in the first instance at least, any such extended definition of the old cases is at all necessary. The trial parishes would be only those which were not encumbered with any appalling difficulties at the commencement of their undertaking; and ere the imitation parishes come forward, the legislature would have felt its way to all those nicer adjustments that might be deemed expedient. If a parish feel so oppressed either with its casual poor, or the fluctuations which they undergo from summer to winter, as that it could not adventure upon them with a gratuitous fund, it were better that it should wait the experience of such parishes

The first change then that we should propose in the parochial system, for the management of the poor, is that in reference to every new applicant, the special power of justices to order relief, should be altogether taken away. The parish vestry would, in this case, be the ultimate and the only place of application; and their decision, both as to relief, and as to the amount of it, would be final. There would, forthwith, cease all summoning by a justice of parish overseers, to show cause why relief should not be given. The thing, in fact, would be confided, as it practically is throughout the greater part of Scotland, to the humanity and discretion of the parochial court; and the thing to be ascertained in the trial parishes, is whether there would not be less of unrelieved poverty, as well as less of all profligacy and disorder under this regimen, than under the one that is now in force.*

---

as may have entered before it upon the new system; and we feel confident that this experience will be altogether encouraging. There are a thousand fears and difficulties in pauperism which vanish before the touch of personal intercourse; and, more especially, when that right has ceased on which the people wont to depend, and by which they wont to regulate their habits and their expenses.

* The following testimonies, however sound as to the evils which arise from the interference of the justices, must be taken with allowance, in as far as regards the personal worth and talent of an order of men, among whom are to be found many of the most exalted and estimable characters in our land. "First, the appeal to justices is a bad enactment. They are often weak men—men uninformed, and knowing little or nothing of business. They do not feel the burden they impose, but, on the contrary, a love of

The second change that we should propose relates to the fund out of which the new applicants

---

popularity and other passions often induce their determinations—and even when this is not the case, it is impossible they should know a pauper's real wants. His oath is received—the *onus refutandi* lies on the parish, who often submits to imposition rather than take the trouble and expense attending the necessary proof. I know the Select Vestry Act has put the power in other hands—still with an appeal to justices. This is wrong. Is it to be supposed ten or twenty respectable inhabitants in a parish *all* want humanity? If they do, they have a character to sustain, and gross acts of oppression would soon find their way to the public ear. If, then, the power was solely in a select vestry, it being made imperative on the clergy and a competent number of respectable inhabitants to form that vestry, I am persuaded immense good would immediately be seen."

"Your statement respecting clerical magistrates is perfectly correct. They universally favour paupers."

"I am thoroughly satisfied that the interference of magistrates does much harm. It encourages the lazy, who are always thrown out of employment and most clamorous, and often puts the good and bad upon an equal footing. Overseers might, no doubt, sometimes be severe and even unjust—but they are far the best judges of those immediately under their care—and parishes would not submit to any flagrant acts of injustice towards a pauper."

The Select Vestry Act has done much, in those parishes where it has been adopted, to check the evils of this interference. That Act may be regarded as a partial homage, to the sufficiency of the parochial court within itself for doing its own business—and it were well, if the homage was at length rendered complete and conclusive, by a progressive abolition of the power of the justices in matters of pauperism throughout the land. There are adequate securities, in every parochial community, for the wants of the poor being provided, and humanity attended to. It were at least well to submit this to the test of experience.

On a recent excursion through England, however, we find a growing disposition on the part of magistrates, to make common cause with the parish overseers against the demands of idleness and profligacy—and the heaviest complaints that we met against them, were in some parts of Dorsetshire and Leicestershire, and in some of the London parishes.

"A great deal of vexatious interference on the part of magistrates."

"Many summonses, and the magistrates generally favourable to the paupers."

shall be met. Of course, the poor rate, levied as it is at present, upholds the fund out of which all

---

"You ask, Do not the magistrates often refuse to listen to the plea of character, alleging they have to do with the plea of distress? Answer. Yes. On one occasion I relieved a woman, who had an illegitimate child, with 2s. per week, when she summoned me before a magistrate, who ordered her 7s. per week; and I refused to comply, and sent her into the workhouse, when she discharged herself and child the next morning, and she did with the allowance of 2s. a-week as before."

We in Scotland were approaching lately to this state of things, in some parts of the country, where the practice had crept in of an appeal, on the part of the applicants for relief, from the Kirk-Session to the Sheriff of the County. There has, however, been a recent decision against this, and the appeal now lies from the Parochial Court to the Court of Session in Edinburgh—the analogous process to which in England, would be that of obtaining against the decision of the Parish Vestry, a mandamus from the Court of King's Bench. The apprehension is, that the poor might starve before the court should determine—and, therefore, it is that in England a nearer place of appeal is preferred to a distant. In Scotland the more remote and operose method of redress has been preferred—and the experience is, that the poor are never permitted to starve, and most assuredly never would, though both the near and the distant places of appeal were alike withdrawn from them. On this account we regret the failure of Mr. Kennedy's bill in Parliament.

It might be interesting to our English readers to perceive how it fared with two parishes within a few miles from their own borders—first, when our system was likened to theirs during the period of a nearer appeal by the pauper to the sheriff, and afterwards when the right of appeal by its being shifted to a distant court, was made so operose as to become practically void.

The Rev. Mr. Morgan of Gratney writes, "To avoid the expenses of litigation, we have now and then judged it prudent to grant a trifling weekly allowance. But since Lord Pitmilly's decision in an appeal case, relative to the jurisdiction of sheriffs on cases of pauperism, we have not been so pestered with letters and summonses. We have, however, managed so well hitherto as to incur no legal expenses, which has not been the case in a neighbouring parish. Owing to our vicinity to England, our poor imagine that they have a right to be treated in the same liberal way, as their English neighbours; but our heritors and kirk-sessions have not allowed this idea to have any weight with them. In this parish, consisting of a population of

the expenditure of the old pauperism is defrayed, —an expenditure that lessens every year by the

---

1945, for some years past the poor on our roll have averaged about sixty, and our subscriptions for their relief, for we have had no assessments, have not at any time exceeded two hundred pounds or guineas annually. At present they scarcely reach the half of that sum. We relieve the aged and infirm ones, who have no funds or relatives in ability to help them."

We likewise offer the following very instructive communication from the Rev. Mr. Monilaws of Kirkpatrick-Fleming, a parish, by the last census, of 1696 individuals.

"The amount yearly of the funds for the poor, before the assessment was resorted to, was about £30. This arose from collections. Inconsiderable as these funds were, I never heard a complaint from the poor, and their quarterly proportions of the above sum were received with thankfulness. An assessment was first imposed in 1813, for the support of a friendless young man who had lost his sight. The heritors sent him to the asylum for the blind in Edinburgh, and supported him there by a weekly allowance. The amount of the assessments during the years 1813, 1814, 1815, was about £10 10s. per annum for the support of the above individual; when after that period, in consequence of his being able to maintain himself by his own industry, he ceased to become a burden upon the parish. In the year 1817, in consequence of the almost total want of employment, among the labouring poor, the heritors saw the necessity of aiding this description of people, and assessed themselves to the amount of £114 for that year. Immediately thereafter, and about the month of July, a great number of other indigent people, seeing with what facility the labouring poor had obtained relief, and encouraged by writers, threw in their claims also for parochial assistance. Some of these claims were admitted, and the others refused, but the heritors being threatened with prosecutions before the sheriff, and actually in one case subjected to the expense of above £50, listened to the petitions of most of these claimants, and assessed themselves to the amount of £42 for their support also, for that half-year.

"In the year 1818,	the amount	of assessment was.....	£135
In the year 1819,	do.	do. was.....	149
In the year 1820,	do.	do. was.....	160
In the year 1821,	do.	do. was.....	140
In the year 1822,	do.	do. was.....	116

"It being found by a decision of Lord Pitmilly, that the sheriff is incompetent to revise the decision of the heritors and kirk-session regarding the application of persons to be admitted to parochial aid, has had a most bene-

operation of death on the old cases. Now we hold it essential to a sound and abiding reformation of the pauperism, that no fund should ever be raised in this way, for the new pauperism—that the power which the church-wardens and overseers have of *making a rate*, either with or without the concurrence of the inhabitants, for the purpose of meeting any fresh applications, shall henceforth cease—and that, if any fund be judged necessary, in order to provide for new cases, it shall, under a public and parochial administration, be altogether a gratuitous, and in no shape a legal or compulsory one. For the purpose of constituting such a fund, the minister and church-wardens may be empowered to have a weekly collection at the church doors; or what is now gathered

---

ficial tendency indeed—for we have not been served with a summons to appear before the sheriff by a poor person, for two years past; whereas in 1818, 1819, and 1820, we had many citations. Nor has a new applicant appeared at any of our meetings of heritors, for eighteen months past; and I sincerely hope that this system of assessments will be abolished altogether, when the poor on our present list dies off. I have only further to add, that the sum arising from collections, has never been mixed up with the above assessments, but has been managed by the kirk-session as formerly, and applied to the relief of a different set of poor, whom our kirk-sessions have always been in the habit of supporting."

We could not desire a better exemplification of the way in which pauperism advances under one system, and may be made to recede again under another. Could some such voluntary fund be provided in an English parish, as that to which the pauperism of Kirkpatrick-Fleming is now under the process of being recommitted, we have no doubt that the pauperism of the former too might at length be conducted to a similar landing-place—and that, simply by the operation of death on the old cases, and an uncontrolled treatment of the new cases on the part of the vestry.

in the shape of sacrament money, may be made over to it; or donations may be received from individuals—in all which ways the revenue of a kirk-session in Scotland is mainly upheld. The fund could be still further, perhaps, reinforced in England, by an act of parliament, empowering this new destination to those charitable donations which abound over the whole country, and to the extent of nearly half its parishes. We do not think this indispensable, though it might give a little more confidence at the outset, of a prosperous result. We think that many parishes might venture on their new cases without it; and we have no doubt, that under a kind, and moral, and, withal, an uncontrolled administration of the vestry, there would, from the free-will offerings of the parish alone, be found a landing-place, quite broad enough for the accommodation of the new pauperism, after that the old pauperism, and its corresponding poor rate, should have wholly disappeared.*

---

* We hold it nearly as indispensable, that the power of raising money by assessment, on the part of those who administer the parochial fund, should be taken away, as the right of an appeal to magistrates on the part of those who apply for relief from it. There are many parishes of England where, by local acts, this right is very much abridged, and yet the pauperism is often as oppressive with them as in other parishes. In those parishes of the south of Scotland too, where there lies no appeal from a pauper, but to the Court of Session—but where the practice of assessments has been introduced, there is, generally speaking, a very rapid progress of expenditure on the poor. The truth is, that the indefinite power of raising money has often as bad an effect on the dispensers, by slackening their management,

The third change that would be required, should be in the constitution of the vestry. Now, it is a certain amount of charge or assessment for the poor rate which entitles to a vote; and that, on the principle of those who pay the money having a voice and power in the administration of it. Perhaps it would not be deviating very widely from this principle, if, in respect of the annual sum yielded by the church-door collections, or the sacrament money, the ministers and church-wardens were made members of this vestry; and were the church-wardens of a parish only a more numerous class, there would, at this point, be a very near resemblance between the parochial courts of distribution and supply in England and Scotland. And when the old charitable donations of a parish have been transferred to the new poor's fund, it may be further right, that the legal guardians, or

---

as it has on the recipients, by corrupting them into habits of dependance. This is more especially the case, where the men who practically administer the fund, contribute very little towards the formation of it, as with the kirk-session of an assessed parish in Scotland; or, as it might often happen with the vestry of an English parish. We much fear that nothing will effectually stay the contagion in Scotland, but a law by which it shall be declared incompetent to raise a compulsory fund in behalf of any who shall apply for parochial relief after a certain specified date. This would both limit all new applicants to the kirk-session, and also limit the kirk-session to its own proper income—and we have the confident belief, that when both parties were so limited, there would, from the more moderate expectations of the one, and the more vigilant dispensations of the other, ensue a far more comfortable system of relief, than could possibly be attained with an ample command of means, and an appetency for absorbing them that was equally ample.

administrators of them, might be also members of vestry. And if a constitution still more popular were required, then the contributors of a specified annual sum might, for each year of such a contribution, be members. But we shall venture no farther upon such details of regulation; though we are quite sure that there are sound and obvious principles upon which, under the new system, a suitable constitution for parish vestries might be framed.

We are aware of the demand that there is for a *gradual* amendment of the pauperism, and that the change now recommended is of such an entire and revolutionary character, as might appear to be at utter variance with this wise and salutary principle in the practice of legislation. But it should be remembered, that there are two ways in which a process of improvement might be gradualized; either by a series of successive approximations, in the general law, to a state of it that shall at length be perfect and unexceptionable; or by the application, at once, of the best possible law, to a few of the simple and manageable parishes, and thence, the successive adoption of it by the larger and more unwieldy parishes. Now, our preference is for the latter way of it. Rather than experiment at large with a defective principle, we hold it better to seize, at once, on the right principle, and experiment with it on a few select and favourable territories, whence the light of experience may break forth, and gradually spread itself over the

land. We should far rather behold a sudden change in the jurisprudence of the question, followed up by a gradual operation among the parishes, than a creeping and timid progress in the former, but at each step of which there behoved to be a general movement among the latter. The law which enacted the abolition of all legal aliment to the mothers of illegitimate children, or in aid of defective wages, would raise a far greater ferment in the country, and cause a more hurtful and hazardous jolt in the career of amelioration, than the law which empowered the abolition of all legal aliment whatever, but on conditions that would ensure that safe and gentle progress, which should not outrun the prejudices or the fears of any neighbourhood. In one view of it, the process that we recommend may be charged with a speed and a suddenness. But then this speed and suddenness are all confined to the statute-book, where we should like if there could be recognized at once the true principle and philosophy of the subject. Practically, there would be no inconvenient suddenness. In the inner department of legislation there would be a gigantic stride, but there would not in the outer department of the kingdom. There, the march of improvement would go on most smoothly and progressively; and far better were it, therefore, that instead of feeling our way, through a series of successive enactments, to the pure and the rational principle, we should lay hold of it *instanter*, and then find our way

with it through a series of successive parishes, till it was carried into full and practical establishment over the whole empire.

III. But what is this rational principle? Have we a right to fancy it, and to go abroad with the phantasy over the land? Is it not possible that after all, it may be a wrong outset that we make; and how are we to know, that under the operation of this boasted panacea, we might not add to the number, and sorely aggravate the wretchedness of our suffering families?

Now, to meet these questions, we affirm of the process, that it is strictly a tentative one. It is not the dictatorial imposition of a method on the part of one who bids an implicit acquiescence therein. It is the confident recommendation of a method, on the part of one who asks that it may be submitted to the touchstone of experience, and who is willing to submit himself to the guidance and the correction of this safe schoolmaster. There is all the difference in the world between rashly presuming on the truth, and respectfully feeling our way to it. A very few initial attempts will decide the question and set it at rest. It is a question between the free or gratuitous, and the compulsory or legal systems of charity. The latter has been tried all over England and found wanting. Let the former be fairly and fully tried, in a few parishes of England, and abandoned if they become sensibly worse, and do not become sensibly better. It is our own belief, that every year will

witness an addition to her trophies and her triumphs—that she will accumulate her credentials, by each footstep that she takes along the varied line of her perambulations, and, at length, be welcomed as an angel of deliverance in all parts of the kingdom. But should her career not be a prosperous one, she will share the fate of her many predecessors,—she will vanish, with other expedients, into oblivion; and the parliament of England can withdraw its sanction, when the people of England have ceased from their demand for her.

It is on this account, that to watch the progress of this new system, there ought to be parliamentary commissioners, not for the purpose of receiving appeals on the question of relief; for this would be reviving the present system in another form—but for the purpose of noting and reporting how it is that those parochial communities really do thrive, where the parochial managers have been left to their own unfettered discretion—how it now fares with the families—and whether the charity of law be so replaced by sobriety among the poor, and sympathy among the rich, that the charity of nature is more than enough to meet all those apprehended deficiencies which, in the distance, look so big and so fearful. If they can report any abuse more flagrant in the trial parishes than now occurs on the average throughout the parishes of England—if they can quote instances there of

shameful neglect and cruelty, which under the present style of administration, would not have been realized—if they can speak adversely of the scheme, either because of the particular evils of it which it shall be in their power to specify; or, because of that darker aspect of misery, which stands visibly out on those parochial families that are under its operation—then let such a testimony to the effects of the gratuitous system be its condemnation. But if, instead of this, they can allege, as the fruits of it, an increased contentment, and cheerfulness, and good-will; a more manifest kindliness of heart on the part of the higher orders; and this returned by a confidence and gratitude on the part of the lower orders, that had been before unknown; a more frequent intercourse between the various classes of society; and withal, such an impulse on the side of popular education, as to be sensibly raising the mind and the habits of the peasantry; if they can further attest, that never had they been called to witness the spectacle of distress left to suffer for a season, except in the cases of guilt or of idleness, when it was wise that nature should be left to her own correctives, and her own cures; and that even then starvation was a bugbear, which, with all their most diligent search after it, they had in no one instance been able to embody—surely, if such shall be their testimony, the voice of parliament will soon be at one with the voice of the people,

and both must unite in stamping their acceptance on a system so fully tried, and so nobly vindicated.

It is not wrong to demand proof for the soundness or efficacy of any expedient—but surely it is wrong to refuse the demand of him, who seeks that a proof shall be led. There is no error, but the contrary, in the paramount value that is set upon experience. But how can he be said to value experience, who obstinately shuts out the light of it? And every experiment lands in experience. An experiment may be just as instructive by its failure, as by its success—and if there be parishes in England that are sanguine enough to encounter its difficulties, or willing to brave the hazards of an eventual disgrace—on what possible grounds of reason, or of expediency, should the opportunity be withheld from them? It interferes with nothing. It hinders nothing. Those who desire it not, are not disturbed by it—and each corporation, whether of parish or township, is left to the repose of its own settled prejudices, till the light of ocular demonstration may chance to awaken it. Even the most incredulous may, at least, consent to the trial. And they who hold it in uttermost derision, should be the first to cheer it forward to the field of exhibition, that they might hold their delicious regale upon its overthrow. Meanwhile, all the other devices of reform and regulation, might go on as busily as before. This one does not elbow out any of the former from the parishes

by which they are preferred. The act of Mr. Gilbert has been tried. The act of Mr. Bourne is in progress of trial. Other suggestions, we doubt not, will be made, and, perhaps, adopted for the purpose of mitigating the load of pauperism; for the purpose of arresting, and perhaps, turning the footsteps of this mighty destroyer. There is just one more that we should like were added to the number of them. We should like a radical change of principle, combined with a progressive operation—an entire revolution in the system of management, but carried into effect in such a way as should bring none of the anarchy or uproar of revolution along with it—a process no doubt, chargeable with the stigma of being altogether new, and which, therefore, should not be permitted to range over the land, till it has earned a credit by its actual achievements; and a process, whose speed regulated only by its tried and ascertained safety, shall give no disturbance to other experimental processes, and bring no danger to the commonwealth.*

And nothing, it appears to us, can be more simple, than how to suit the law of settlement to a parish which shall come under the new system. A stranger acquires no right in such a parish, though he should fulfil all those conditions on which a

---

* Should even the number of parishes that applied at the outset, be deemed too great by the Commissioners, they might have the power of limiting and selecting, and thus, of checking for a time, those parishes where there seemed to be a smaller likelihood of success, or a less degree of humanity and information among its householders.

settlement is acquired in other parishes. He may, or he may not, share with the other parishioners, in the gratuitous ministrations of the vestry; but neither he nor they should have any right to relief, after that the care of human want had been devolved on the free sympathies of our nature. It is thus, that a trial parish would not import any burden by the influx of strangers from the country at large, and the fair reciprocity therefore is, that the country should not be burdened by any efflux from the parish. As there can be no right acquired by one removing to a trial parish, neither should there be any right acquired by one removing from it. And let us not, therefore, look upon him as an unprivileged outcast from the securities of civilized life. He moves at his own choice, and with his eye open to his circumstances; and he is richer far by trusting to his own resources, and by knowing that he has nothing else to trust to, than he, who, along with the rights, has also the temptations of pauperism. Such a man will find his way; and it, on the whole, will be a way of greater sufficiency and comfort than any which law provides for the nurslings of her artificial charity. The emigrants from a trial parish into any other part of England, will exemplify the general habit of those who have acquired no settlement in the place of their residence, yet choose not to leave it—a habit, it has oft been remarked, of greater industry and virtue than is averaged in the mass of the population.

CHAP. XVI.

ON THE LIKELIEST PAROCHIAL MEANS FOR THE ABOLITION OF PAUPERISM IN ENGLAND.

THE first obstacle in the way of entering upon a process for the extirpation of pauperism in any parish, is, that the difficulty of it will be greatly overrated. The present and the palpable thing is a large annual sum that needs to be levied for the support of the existing generation of paupers—beside the very ponderous establishment that has been raised, and which continues to be required, for their accommodation. It is quite obvious what an unwieldy concern it would be, were the assessment forthwith to cease, and provision to be made on the instant for all those actual poor, from whom their accustomed supplies had thus suddenly been withdrawn. There is scarcely a body of parochial managers in England, that would not shrink from such an undertaking—and without reflecting for a time on the real difference that there is between this undertaking, and the one which we have suggested—they look upon both with the same kind of fearfulness, and almost with nearly equal degrees of it. They measure the weight and labour of the enterprise, by the weight of the present pauperism that is now before their eyes; though, in fact, there is not one fraction of it, with which

the new system has necessarily any thing to do. The pauperism that has been already formed, so long as any part of it exists, may be upheld just as it wont; and as it gradually melts away by death, the levies will gradually decline, till both the poor rate, and the poor who have been admitted upon it, shall have altogether ceased to be. Meanwhile, it is only with new applicants for relief that the new system has any task to perform—not with the full-grown pauperism of the present generation, but with the embryo pauperism of the next. There are many parishes, and more especially if you rank all who have been casual poor with the old cases, where the fresh applications do not come in at the rate of one every month, and in the treatment of which, therefore, you can calmly and leisurely prosecute every right expedient for the right disposal of them. There can be no overwhelming labour at the outset of such an undertaking. With the management that provides for the existing pauperism, there is much business to attend to. But with the management that is set up to meet and to anticipate the eventual pauperism, the business comes on gradually. At first, there is none. It does not begin but with the first applicant who offers himself—and he finds you at perfect leisure to attend to him—to take up his case, and most thoroughly to investigate it—to calculate his means and his facilities—to make inquiry after his relatives—to ascertain what work might be provided for him—to arrange perhaps

some method with a neighbour, as cordially disposed against pauperism as you, for taking him into employment, and making his industry available still to his maintenance—to shift away his application by some temporary aid from the purse of unseen charity—in a word, to ply every expedient for disposing of him better, than by admitting him upon the roll of your new pauperism, under that new economy which it is now your earnest concern to administer well. After the first has been disposed of, a second comes at a longer or shorter interval, and he finds you still better prepared for him than before; more skilled in the treatment of such applications; more intelligent about the resources of humble life; more able to acquit yourselves prudently and even popularly, by every new act of intercourse with the poor; more rich in experience and knowledge; and withal, more dexterous in the talent, not of so shifting the request away from you, as that your petitioner shall starve, but of so shifting it away from you as that he shall be in better condition than if he had been made a pensioner of yours. Let this be persevered in for a little—and if one regular pauper was admitted upon the list every month under the old regimen, one will not be admitted every half-year under the new regimen. The thing which now looks so formidable in the distance, will, on the actual encounter with it, dwindle into a very moderate and manageable affair. Both the facility and the success will very

much astonish yourselves—and by the time that the pauperism on the poor rate has all died away, you will find it replaced by a pauperism both so mild in the character, and so moderate in the amount of it, that out of free-will offerings, and of these alone, all its expenses will be cheerfully borne.

And there is a very important difference between the old and the new administration, the practical operation of which you are not able to appreciate now, but in which you will soon experience that there is really all the might and marvellous efficacy of a charm. What is now demanded as a right, will then be preferred as a request. It is just the difference between the claiming of a thing, and the asking of a thing. Now, the use which you ought to make of this difference is not to bid any one parochial applicant sternly away from you, because now you have the power; but to give courteous entertainment to them all. When a fellow-man comes into your presence, and tells you of want or of disease in his family, you are not to "hide yourself from your own flesh." It will always be your part, and more especially at the moment of transition to a system of charity which is yet untried, patiently to listen to every case, and calmly to investigate, and mildly to advise, and to mix up the utmost civility and temper with your wise and firm prosecution of the matter which has been submitted to you. Now it is when so employed, that you will come to feel,

and that very speedily too, the breath of another spirit altogether in your intercourse and dealings with the poor, than that by which they wont to be formerly animated. At present there is a jealousy between the two classes, upholden by a sense of right upon the one side, and by a dread of rapacity upon the other. But very soon under the new regimen, will the one party come down from their insolence, and the other party from that distant and defensive attitude which they now think it so necessary to maintain. This single change in the law will act, and that instantaneously, with all the power of an emollient between them—the poor ceasing to distrust the rich, and the rich forthwith ceasing to be afraid of the poor. It will give a wholly different complexion to the proceedings of the parish vestry—who now left to their own discretion, will use it discreetly; and who, in proportion as they feel relieved from compulsion, will resign themselves the more to the influence of kindness. They will soon discover, that a harsh and imperious manner to the poor, is not at all necessary for their own protection. It will be quite enough for their security, that they investigate, that they advise, that they suggest expedients, that they offer their friendly interposition with relatives, who might aid, or with neighbours who might employ them—that, on the discovery of a vicious or expensive habit, they address them in a tone of remonstrance which is at once meek, and moral, and affectionate. It is not known how soon

the poor would be moulded and transformed into another habit, under the power of a treatment like this; and how, when once the imagination of a right was done away, the old ministration of charity, as if delivered of the wormwood that law had infused, would instantly take on its native temperament of love and liberty. The rich would have a comfort in being kind, when what they did was recognized as kindness. The poor would have a pleasure in being grateful, when they saw, in the attentions of the wealthy, the spontaneous homage of that sympathy, or that reverence which is due to our common nature. There would no longer be a jaundiced medium between them. The hearts of the affluent would not revolt, as they now do, from that misery which, instead of calling for pity, loudly challenges redress. And the plebeian mind would not fester, as it does now, with untrue and ungenerous imaginations of the upper classes of society. With such an improvement in the materials of the parochial community, would it become greatly more manageable than before; and the body of management, the vestry, the parochial court of influential men, to whom the public charity, now rendered wholly gratuitous, had been committed, would soon find such an adequacy in the better and previous resources that either their own strict investigation had disclosed, or their own active influence had created, as to demonstrate that public charity, in this best form of it, could

either be most easily upheld, or even was very much uncalled for.

And it should be adverted to here, that agreeably to the scheme which we have ventured to recommend, no parish at the first can embark on this retracing process from legal to gratuitous charity, without a very large concurrence of householders in its favour; and that this, of itself, is the guarantee for an outset which shall be altogether safe and prosperous, and, at least, for several years being passed over without any oppressive weight of applications. For whence are these applications to come? Not from the old paupers, on whose condition or on whose rights no change, by the supposition, has been made—not surely in very great number, from the families of those who, by their concurrence in the new system, have expressed a hostility against pauperism, which is the best security for such sentiments and habits as will keep them permanently above it—and therefore, only from that small body of dissentients who were not paupers at the time of the new system being adopted, or from the descendants of the old generation of paupers. The applications which do come from these quarters will come very gradually: and there will be ample leisure for discriminating between the real or the deserving want, and that which is either pretended, or is the fruit of vicious indulgence; and it will be found a work of perfect lightness and facility, to devolve most

of those cases which ought to be attended to, on other resources than those of public charity. So that the remainder, which must be taken on the parochial fund, will be met and upheld at an expense that is indefinitely small, or, at least, that bears no comparison with the poor rate, which, by this time, shall have nearly disappeared. And, as this old burden melts away, the new resources will be every year becoming more productive. With the *morale* of private benevolence, now more free and energetic than before, its *materiel* will be also more abundant. There will be more both of power and willingness among the rich. There will be less both of need and of expectancy among the poor. The vestry, in fact, might very easily so manage, as at length to find, that even their office, as the administrators of the parochial fund, shall be well nigh superseded; and that in regard, at least, to the affairs of parochial indigence, the whole economy of a parish can be well and prosperously conducted, not only without any legal charity, but without even the semblance of it, in any public charity at all.

But another fear is, that however sufficient the means may turn out under the proposed system, the management will be so very laborious, as to leave no room for hoping, that it can long be persevered in. Now, this too is a bugbear—and if possible, a still more airy and unsubstantial one than the former. The only strenuous management that is at all required, will be at the outset,

where each case ought to be fearlessly met, and sifted to the uttermost; and every right expedient bethought of and tried, that, if possible, it may be shifted aside from the parochial fund, and devolved in a better way on the thrift and labour of the applicant himself, on the duty of his relatives, or on the charities of private benevolence. Let this method be acted upon but for a month or two—and here is the way in which it operates. When the people come to perceive, that this is the way in which their applications are met, they simply, in by far the greater number of instances, cease to apply. They who are conscious of means which they know that it is in the power of a careful scrutiny to detect, will forbear to offer themselves. They who are idly disposed, will shrink from the hazard of having their plea refuted by some employment being put into their hands, which they would rather decline. Some who have kind relatives or neighbours, will rather continue to draw from them in secret, than subject their private matters to the inquisition of a vestry. There are many securities against the vestry being overwhelmed with applications. Some they will have—and each of them it is their part to follow up, by the most elaborate process of examinations and expedients. But they may rest assured, that in proportion to the labour bestowed on each one, will be the smallness of the number of them. Their business will at length be very much confined to the relief of such unquestionable and genuine dis-

tress, as they shall find it a delight to succour and sustain—and often a matter of perfect ease to find enough of benevolence for taking it off their hands. It is thus, that from an outset of strenuousness, they will, at length, be conducted to a state of permanent repose. This style of administration acts by a preventive influence upon the people. Its genuine effect is, to keep each man in his own place—and many whom the old system would have seduced to the door of the parish vestry, will "study to be quiet, and to do their own business, and to work with their own hands, rather than be burdensome." Many who would have brought aged relatives there, will learn to show piety at home, and to "requite their parents." Many who would have thrown their children upon a poor rate, will in the absence of this ruinous temptation, "provide for their own, and specially for those of their own house." That fermentation of hopes, and appetites, and busy expedients which might be witnessed now in every parish of England, where so many families have been thrown agog by the very existence of a legal provision, will speedily subside, when such a provision ceases to be administered; and with the greater speed, that the vestry are more dexterous and diligent with their investigations. The people will, at length, settle down into a habit of most manageable quiescence—and the vestry, after having marvelled at the end of the first year, because, after strict inquiry, they have had so little to expend, will still more marvel at the end

of their second year, because of the very few inquiries which they shall be called upon to make.

Now no investigation, however rigid, or however persevered in, under the present system, will ever conduct the population to this state. It may repress, for a time, the appetite for public relief, but will not extinguish it. If the right shall remain with the people, they will be on the watch to recover it—and on the first moment of relaxation by the vestry, there will be a set in of the pauperism as before. And besides, a vestry liable as they now are to the control and interference of magistrates, will often prefer a compromise with an applicant, though they know him to be unworthy of relief, to the labour, which is often impracticable, of proving this to the satisfaction of others. The right may be looked upon as the principle that gives all its elasticity to pauperism, which by an external force may be compressed within narrower limits, but which, on the removal of that force, will suddenly expand again to its former dimensions. Let the elasticity be taken away, and the compressing force will not be long necessary. All that is ungracious in charity will at length be done away. When freed from constraint, it will assume its natural character; and under its reign, we shall shortly behold a better served and a better satisfied population.*

---

* There is one way in which, even under the present system, an exemplification might be afforded of some of those principles which have been

Having now fully considered the fears which might restrain many parishes at the first from the

---

adverted to in the text. Let an upright and benevolent magistrate, aware of the mischiefs of pauperism, and anxious to reduce them, assume all that care and superintendence which we have supposed, in the vestry of a trial parish—and he, even under all the disadvantage of a conscious right, on the part of the people, and a large existing fund that lures them from their own resources, will still, as the fruit of his steady perseverance, greatly reduce both the expense and trouble of the management—and earn, if at all kind and reasonable in his dealings and conversations with the applicants, even a certain popularity among them.

The experience of Mr. Marriot of Prestwich, at p. 278, is quite in point. He accomplished very great reductions on the pauperism of the township of Pilkington—and that, by a strictness and a patience of inquiry which ultimately reduced very much his own trouble. It tended gradually to relieve him, from the load of unworthy and unnecessary applications—insomuch, that the hours spent by him in this business, at length, were twenty times fewer than they had been at the outset.

Now, this will do so long as the township of Pilkington has the rare advantage of a magistrate in its neighbourhood, who has the ultimate power of decision in the cases of its pauperism, and who uses that power intelligently and popularly. But suppose this advantage to be removed. The right of legal relief remains—and an indefinite fund is leviable for the purpose of satisfying it; and out of these elements, there will, at length, be a reflux of the pauperism, which may speedily recover all the force and magnitude that it ever had.

But suppose again that instead of thus acting in the capacity of a magistrate, one were to act in the capacity of an active and ascendant member of a parish vestry, upon the new system—that the poor rate, and its corresponding pauperism, were suffered gradually to melt away; and that the new cases were to be met with the charity of free-will offerings. Who does not see, that the very same result, of a quiet and satisfied population, would ensue; and this inconceivably heightened, by the jealousies and heart-burnings of an imagined right being detached from the whole ministration. With the new habits of a new race, there is a moral certainty of a parish in these circumstances being conducted, in a few years, to a state of quiescence, that will then be permanent under every change of administration—for with the present law of pauperism abolished, in reference to that parish, there will be nothing to seduce the people from those peaceful and primitive habits to which they have been recommitted.

adoption of the new system, let me advert to the mistakes and mismanagements which might be incurred in the prosecution of it.

First, then, if the experiment shall prosper, it will not be because of the great supplies which are raised, but because of the great care which has been observed in the administration of them. We should not hold it to be a happy conclusion of the enterprise, if the vestry, under the new system, enabled by the liberality either of the collection at church, or of private donations, were to expend as much in the relief of indigence, as it did under the old. This is not the way in which we should like compensation to be made for the loss of the poor rate. A far better equivalent would be, in the improvement that had taken place on the industry, and sobriety, and self-respect, and virtuous habits of the population. Let there be as profuse an expenditure as before, and there will be no-

---

There may be detected, in this little narrative from Pilkington, the operation of a principle which never, under the present economy, can have its fair or full development in England—and that is, the effect of a kind and patient attention on the part of the higher orders, in conciliating the affections of those who are beneath them. The poor rate creates a heavy deduction from this benign and beneficial influence; and, therefore, what good may be anticipated from it in a trial parish, when even now we see it exemplified. We should imagine that this must often have fallen in with the experience of those gentlemen, who have taken an active part in the business of select vestries. We are persuaded, that many of them will have found the poor much easier to deal with than they at first apprehended; and that their observation will agree with that of Mr. Walker in Bury, Lancashire, who takes a principal share in the now stricter management that is there set up, and has met with less grumbling than was anticipated.

thing to foster these habits, in the new change that has taken place, from the system of a poor rate, to the system of free-will offerings. Now, if this be not adverted to, there might be a grievous error at the very commencement of the undertaking. The truth is, that even though there should be moderate supplies, yet for the first months there may be a rapidly accumulating surplus in the hands of the vestry, from the very gradual onset of the new applications. Hence a temptation to liberal allowances, which might afterwards land them in an embarrassment—for even on the principles of a friendly society, they ought to husband well their capital at the first, that they may be prepared for the full weight of those cases, which shall not for several years have attained their maximum. But independently of this, the charity that is administered by the new vestry is public charity; and this ought always to be held out as the worst, and, therefore, as the last resort of human suffering. The whole management should be conducted upon this principle as its basis. To have one's name enrolled in the lists of a parochial almonry, should be regarded as a humiliation, from which there ought to be felt an anxiety that the humblest and poorest of the community should, if possible, be protected. Let this principle be acted upon in the spirit of truth and friendship, by the upper classes of a parish, and it will soon be caught, and spread itself, as if by sympathy, among the lower classes. Ere an applicant shall become a pensioner

on the parochial fund, every right expedient of prevention ought to be tried, and it is, in fact, the successful prosecution of these expedients wherein the great moral and economical good of the new administration lies.

But, secondly, though the private liberality of the rich in a parish to its poor, ranks as one of those expedients, and is much to be preferred over that open and visible distribution, that is so fitted both to corrupt and to degrade the objects of it—yet may the rich also be, to a certain degree, the instruments of the very same mischief, that we have now charged on an incautious public administration. They ought never to forget, that the best economic gift which can possibly be rendered to the lower orders, is a habit of self-respect and self-dependence—and for this purpose, they ought not to disdain a free and frequent intercourse with them. This of itself will go far to elevate the mind and the manners of our peasantry; and it is a very great mistake, that the visit of rank or affluence to a poor man's cottage, is not welcomed, unless it be followed up by some beggarly ministration. Wherever a case of obvious and ascertained distress meets the philanthropist on his walk, it is his part to approve that his benevolence is real, by "willingness to distribute," by "readiness to communicate." But he should recollect, that there are also other topics than those of mere almsgiving, upon which he might most pertinently and most profitably hold fellowship with his humbler breth-

ren of the species; and shortly earn the confidence and regard of all his neighbourhood. The education of their families; the good order of their houses; the little schemes of economy and management in which he requests their co-operation; the parish bank, for which he has to solicit their agency and their contributions; the counsel, the service, the little presents of courtesy, by which he does not sink but signalize them; the cheap and simple attentions by which the cottage children can be made happy, and their parents grateful; those thousand nameless graces and benignities, by which the accomplished female can light up a moral gladness, in the hamlet which she has selected as the theatre both of many duties, and of many friendships—there is a way of prosecuting all these without alimenting the rapacity or the sordidness of our labouring classes—a way that is best learned in the school of experience; and after, perhaps, the many blunders which have been committed, and the many mortifying disappointments which have been sustained, by the young practitioner in the art of well-doing. It is not by money alone that he is to manifest his kindness. There are innumerable other ways, and better ways of doing it—and in the prosecution of which he might, in truth, refine and heighten that delicacy which he else would overbear. Let there be but good-will in his heart; and this, amid all his forbearance in giving, nay, amid all his refusals, when he apprehends a cunning or a corruption in the object of

them—this will, at length, shine forth upon the people, in the lustre of its own moral evidence; and will give for him an ascendancy, that might be convertible to the fine result of their permanent amelioration. Such a man will nobly clear his way, through all those initial suspicions or calumnies, that for a time may obstruct his best aspirings after usefulness. If he have failed in those petty and oft-repeated, while heedless liberalities, by which many an indolent sentimentalist scatters poison on every side of him—the season of his vindication will come round, when the endowment of a village school, or some costly yet unquestionable benevolence calls for his princely offering—and from the vantage ground of his now accredited worth, he can deal with efficacy among the people, his remonstrances both against the vice and idleness which impoverish, and against the beggary which degrades them. All that good, by the exhibition of which he might corrupt others, he doeth by stealth, or in secret—but the main good that he doeth, and by which he most emphatically acquits himself as the benefactor of the poor, is by working out this lesson in the midst of them, that their own resources are the best securities against want, and that they themselves might indeed be their own best benefactors.

There are many of England's most enlightened clergymen, who, each at the head of his own vestry, in the absence of poor-rate, that sore pestilence in the work of all reformation, could, after

having seized the true principle for the management of the poor, speedily send a new pulse throughout the community over which he presides, and spread an aspect of moral healthfulness over the face of his parish. With this as the distinct object of their management, of which no secret ought to be made, that they were, as far as in them lay, to commit every applicant back again, upon his own expedients, and first to ascertain what his own industry, and the relative duties and sympathies by which he was surrounded could do for him, ere they would admit him as a pensioner of theirs —with this as their object, firmly yet feelingly prosecuted, they will at length be gratified to find how marvellously little is left for them to do. If benevolence to our kind, be the real animating spirit of a parochial court, then let it be as careful, and resolute, and moral as it may, nothing will withstand it. The opposition which it may excite, at the first, by its wholesome severities, will at length hide its head as if ashamed. All the right sense and feeling of the parish will speak for it and be upon its side. Even the popular mind will be at length gained over—and then every thing is gained. The families of the poor themselves will at length feel an atmosphere of goodwill around them which, under the reign of legal charity, they never once felt; and they will acknowledge themselves to be now the happier objects of an attention, and a kindness, and a directing wisdom on the part of their superiors, under which

they breathe a new moral existence. They will at length make common cause with their vestry—and whenever their innumerable sympathies are unlocked by the abolition of that system which has congealed them, it will be found, that apart even from the now increased aid and succour of the opulent, there is throughout the plebeian mass such a busy circulation of mutual help and liberality from house to house, as to leave the ministrations of the parochial charity very much uncalled for.

A more unfettered vestry, acting as it ought, in the spirit of a moral and ecclesiastical court, will, by the discouragements which it lays on profligacy, protect itself from the inroads of that which, in fact, is the main feeder of our existing pauperism. They will then have the power of doing so in their own hands; and they need be under no apprehension, lest by the putting of it forth, they should prove the occasion of such crimes, or such consequences as are shocking to humanity. They will, in fact, make no violent departure from such principles as are already recognized. In refusing the application of the mother of an illegitimate child, they will have the sanction even of English precedents. When they rest a denial on the idleness or drunkenness of the applicant, the trial vestry will just do what the select vestry are already warranted to do by act of parliament, which empowers them to have respect unto his character, as well as to his circumstances. Even when they forbear to act on the event of a run-

away parent, and that, because, as a body, responsible for the virtue of the parish, they are fearful of the slightest countenance to a habit, by which the ties of natural relationship have so woefully been broken,—even this seeming cruelty to one family, will turn out a blessing and a kindness to many families. Nature will re-assert her supremacy, after that temptation is withdrawn by which her feelings and her principles had been enfeebled. Let it be the invariable practice of the vestry never to interpose for the purpose of repairing the consequences of crime. The habit will be found as safe as it is salutary. Many will be restrained from evil, and a whole century may roll over a parish thus purely and rigorously conducted, without one guilty mother being tempted to an act of unnatural violence,—without one deserted family being left by its neighbourhood to starve.

It is because of the mighty retrenchments which may thus be effected, that we hold it quite safe for a trial parish to meet, upon its now voluntary fund, both the casual poor, and those who alternate from summer to winter. At least there are many parishes, that might well hazard the treatment of both these on the footing of new cases, instead of consigning them, along with the regular paupers, to the compulsory fund. We should like it, in fact, on account of the proof which it would afford of the very great force of education that lay in circumstances, and of the speed wherewith a change of habit followed in the train of a change of cir-

cumstances. In regard to the casual poor, their trivial and temporary applications to the parish are, many of them, founded upon some slight derangement that has taken place in their personal or domestic history—the illness of a few days of the father—or the confinement of the mother on childbed—or some short suspension of employment from the weather, or the cessation of demand for a week or two. Now, surely, to treat them as if they were incapable of foresight so very brief, is not treating them like rational creatures. It is most desirable that they should be trained to anticipation; and, by contesting these little demands with them, I should like to teach them this first and earliest lesson of it,—and so, carry them forward in this line of prudential habits, till even summer be made to provide for the deficiences of winter. The parish bank and parish vestry might thus be made to act to each other's hands; and the reason why I do recommend an encounter with the casual poor, and that, upon the voluntary income alone, is because I count on the most striking and immediate success with this part of the experiment, confident, as I am, of the very great facility wherewith a people may be made to suit their new habits to their new circumstances. It gives a hardier outset to the vestry, but with firmness and good management, the difficulty will be got over, and the greater will be the triumph.*

---

* We are quite aware that many parishes have been accustomed to deal so largely in casual relief, that unless all who have been the objects of it

The truth is, that under a good management, though with very slender means, the first difficulty shall continue under the operation of the old system, they would not adventure, with such a weight of demand and of pressure, upon the new ones. This might be made a matter of discretionary adjustment at the outset; or if they waited the event of the trial in smaller and more manageable parishes, they might then feel encouraged, and on the solid ground of experience, to make the attempt in this completer form.

What we anticipate of many of the trial parishes is, that their success will, in a very few months, so far outshoot their first expectations, as not only to warrant their fullest confidence of the final result being prosperous, but as will lead them to hasten that result by the application of voluntary means, even to the whole of the old and regular pauperism; and so bring about an immediate extinction of the poor rates. There might be a rashness in this, and it is altogether unnecessary for ultimate success; seeing that by the operation of death on the old cases, the poor-rate must surely, though more slowly be done away. Still however the eclat of such an achievement may beget an impatience for it; and such is our faith in the energies of the new system, that we hold them, in most instances, fully commensurate to this.

The following is a specimen of what might be done, in the way even of a sudden reformation, and may serve to illustrate how likely and how practicable is that smoother and more gradual reformation which we have ventured to recommend. The population of White Waltham is 795. Its expenditure for the relief of the poor, in 1820-21, was £480. But this, of course, includes the cost of the in-door paupers also.

"*A simple Statement of the Manner of Relieving the Poor of White Waltham, Berks.* By J. Sawyer, Esq.

"The conduct of the gentlemen and farmers of the parish of White Waltham, in the county of Berks, in attempting to abate the evils arising from an injudicious administration of the poor laws having lately been much the subject of conversation in the neighbourhood, and of course, as might be expected, approved of by some, and censured by others, it is thought advisable that a simple statement should be made, to enable their neighbours to form a correct judgment of their proceedings. The heavy pressure of the poor laws, in this period of agricultural distress, is severely felt: no one denies this plain fact, while the benefit to the poor themselves, by the extent of relief lately given, is very much doubted; greater misery it is sup-

which shall meet the vestry will be a very different one from that which is now apprehended. It will

---

posed being produced from the destruction of their provident cares and forethought, than the relief afforded from the poor rates counterbalances.

"Another point of view offers itself very strongly to the reflecting mind; whether sufficient, or at least equal relief, would not be given from motives of benevolence, which is now extorted by the hands of the law indiscriminately; and whether the relief so given would not act very beneficially upon the mind of the receiver. To say that no misery shall exist, is beyond the power of man; all we can attempt is to lessen the quantity of it as much as possible.

"I do not attempt to conceal that, with the farmers, an abatement of the poor rate was the first object in view, but this was not the principal object with the gentlemen, who sincerely wished to improve the situation of the labouring classes; and while they acted in concert, there was not a well-grounded fear that the poor would be oppressed.

"At their first meeting the first thing proposed was, that the weekly pensioners, who were generally old and infirm, should be taken off the parish books, and supported by private benevolence, where necessary. One or two cases occurred, where it was stated that the relations would come forwards, if the parish gave nothing, and this principle seemed so fair and just, and so desirable, that a brother, sister, or son, should do all in their power to assist their relatives, that it was acted upon; and the result proved that the widow was not left without assistance. In all the other cases, the gentlemen and farmers present voluntarily agreed each to support a poor pensioner; or where their occupations were small, several were joined together. The smallest occupiers cheerfully assented, and, in two instances, the widow's pension was made up from four and six contributors, and the only complaint which has been made on the part of the widow, was the necessity of applying to several instead of to one, namely, the overseer. And this has been occasionally remedied by the contributors agreeing to pay their quotas to the overseer, who would give to the pauper. No hardship has consequently been experienced by them.

"The actual expenditure of the parish in giving relief, from the 30th of July to the 3d of December, being a period of nineteen weeks, has been only £14 6s. 1¼d.; other sums have been paid, but for other purposes, such as county rates, allowances to paupers not resident in the parish, and some old bills incurred in a preceding period; while in former periods of a similar duration, more than six times the amount has been expended."

It might be necessary for the purpose of explaining, and, perhaps, of jus-

not be how to find the adequate supplies, but how to dispose of the unappropriated and accumulating

---

tifying the tone of confidence wherewith some of our predictions are uttered, to state it as our feeling that we speak experimentally. The parish of St. John's in Glasgow, we now deem, by certain criteria which have recently come to our knowledge, to be the lowest in the scale of natural wealth of any in the city; and from its population, which consists of more than 8,000 individuals, is of more unwieldy management than are nine-tenths of the parishes of England. The process which we have recommended there, for trial, in the first instance, by the smaller and more manageable parishes in that country, we might well pronounce upon with some degree of sanguine expectation, when it is the very process that not only has succeeded with ourselves, but that, in less than four years, has reached a more perfect state than we looked for at the outset, even after the disappearance of a whole generation of pauperism. We now find, that with means greatly more moderate than our own, we could have described all that is essential in this process onward to a final extinction of the old pauperism; that is, we could have met the new cases; and suffering the old to remain on the fund by assessment, would at length have been delivered from these also by the operation of death. This sure method of getting rid of the assessment, we have hitherto found to be practicable on means so exceedingly small, that we hold it competent for any one parish in Glasgow, even upon its existing collection, however slender that collection may hitherto have been, to form an arrangement by which the very same result might eventually be arrived at. Our means have been greater than was at all necessary for this achievement; not, however, it is of importance to remark, because our means have increased, for the collection at the church-door has become smaller than at first, but because, such is the power of an independent management, that our burdens have marvellously decreased. And what we have done with the excess of our means, are the very things which we promise may be done in the parishes of England. The truth is, that such is the power of the system as to have landed us not in an under, but an over-sufficiency for what we undertook at the outset. And, accordingly, instead of waiting for the disappearance of the old pauperism by death, we have now relieved the fund by assessment of it altogether, and defray the whole expenses of it out of our voluntary fund. Still, however, there was a large unappropriated surplus, which, had it remained with us, and had we been under the legal necessity of restricting it to the public relief of indigence, would have embarrassed us. The only anxiety that we have all along felt was not, how to make up a deficiency of income, but how, in a right and salutary way, to

surplus. Instead of a pressure on the voluntary fund, which it cannot hold out against, there will,

---

get rid of an excess. We honestly think, that had it gone to augment the allowances of our ordinary pauperism, this would have been a deleterious application of it. And, accordingly, we devised that very use for it which we now recommend to the trial parishes of England. We were enabled to vest £500 out of the produce of our collections, with the city corporation, for the perpetual endowment by salary of a parochial school: and we take this opportunity of repeating our grateful acknowledgments to the magistrates of Glasgow, for their concurrence in a destination, which at once proves, that the economy even of a city parish may be conducted without a compulsory pauperism, and also provides, in the education of the lower classes, an additional security against that low and crouching spirit of pauperism, wherewith a contagion from the south was beginning to taint our Scottish population.

It will be interesting to mark the future state of this parish. Should our successor in office, or the city rulers, overthrow the present arrangement, and bring the people of St. John's again into contact with the Town Hospital, there will then be a speedy re-ascent of its pauperism up to the average of that of Glasgow. The phenomenon will be quite analogous to that of a parish in England, whose pauperism has been repressed, for a season, by the energies of a strict administration, but which, on the moment of these energies being withdrawn, must resume its wonted magnitude, because the law remains, and the legal or compulsory provision remains, and the natural appetency of men for as much of this provision as it can seize upon remains. But should the existing arrangement continue to be protected and upheld both by the parochial and the general authorities of the place, then this is the outline of the history of its future pauperism. At present the whole yearly expenditure is a little above £300, whereof £250 is the produce of the old system, and less than £80 has been created, under the new, in the space of three years and a half. This sum will decline, for still the old pauperism is dying much faster away than the new is growing: so that, with the very moderate collection of £200 a-year in the church, and the still more moderate collection of £100 a-year in the chapel, the whole pauperism of St. John's can be nearly met now, and may, under the ordinary sessional management of Scotland, be equally well met for ever. And there is no fatiguing strenuousness of management called for now, on the part of the agents, for our people (and every other will manifest the same thing under the same circumstances) cease to disturb us by their applications, when we cease to have disturbed them by those lying promises of sufficiency which

from year to year, be a progressive enlargement of it. The vestry will not be put upon their devices to recruit their exhausted treasury. They will be put upon their devices to find out a safe and salutary absorbent for its overplus. In these circumstances, the clergyman who is aware of the mischiefs of public charity, might be tempted to lay an arrest on the liberality of his parishioners and hearers. But better far would it be, that he kept this liberality agoing, nay stimulated it the more, and then impressed such a direction on the produce of it as went not to corrupt the people, but to elevate and to moralize them. He might do them harm by a large public distribution for the relief of indigence, whether the means of it were provided by a poor-rate or free-will offerings. But there is no harm in thus meeting certain of the helpless and involuntary sufferings of our nature. There is none in so signalizing the dumb, and the blind, and

---

pauperism holds out, but can never realize. Our experience will just be the experience of a trial parish in England, which, after having been conducted to a habit of quiescence, will never again break forth from it, provided that the legal provision, after which all are now agog, is conclusively withdrawn.

We shall only add, further, on this subject, that we also speak experimentally, when we promise to a trial parish of England a greatly more satisfied population under the new system than under the old. This has clearly been our experience, as may be arithmetically proved by the movements and changes of residence that take place among the paupers of Glasgow. The truth is, that the poor of all the parishes in the city are yet interchangeable; and we suffer by it. There has been an efflux of fifteen of our paupers to other parishes. There has been an influx from them of twenty-eight to the parish of St. John's. Here is a balance of thirteen against our funds, and in favour of the popularity of our management.

the lunatic of a parish.* There is none, but quite the contrary, in bestowing of this spare and super-

* If the expense of the parish lunatics, in the county asylum, be defrayed from the county rate, it might continue to be so under the new system. If it be defrayed by a separate charge on the poor rate of the parish, then the new cases of it which occur may be taken upon the voluntary fund. At all events, after the old pauperism is extinguished, that part of the assessment which is still kept up for other purposes, should instantly change its name; and it should then be felt, as the proud distinction of a parish, that it had no poor rate—that it was subject to no other parochial assessment than that of a county and constable rate.

For a fuller exhibition of our ideas on the right disposal of the surplus of a parochial fund, see Chap. xiii. of this work; and a fuller statement than what we have now given of the Glasgow pauperism, is to be met with in Chap. xi. and xii. and in a Speech delivered upon the subject before the General Assembly, in May, 1822.

Since the earlier of these sheets passed through the press, we have been favoured with a sight of the Supplementary Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns, ordered to be printed 15th July, 1822. It gives the sums expended for the relief of the poor in each of the parishes of England for six years, beginning with 1815-1816. It should be remarked, that these sums fall greatly short of the sums raised in the name of poor rate—and that, not merely because county and constable rates, and other expenses, not connected with the poor, are deducted, but because there are further deducted sums paid for purposes connected with the poor, but not for the direct and personal relief of the poor; such as, expenses at law, removals, salaries, the erection and repairing of work-houses, and several other expenses.

It is thus that the sums exhibited in this document are considerably beneath, not merely the sums raised in the name of poor rate, but also the sums which express the whole cost or expenditure on the poor.

At Stockport in 1817, the sum put down in the Appendix for the relief of its poor, is £7126 17s. In the annual statement of Stockport, for that year, the whole disbursements come to £17,367 12s. 1d. from which even, after deducting old debts paid, the returns from the fathers of illegitimate children, and from other towns for their poor, along with county and constable rates, and other expenses not connected with the poor, there remains a sum considerably above that stated in the Appendix.

fluous revenue in the erection or the support of village schools, and so adding still to your securi-

---

For the reader's information, we subjoin a few particulars taken from this very important document.

The following are the names of a few parishes, with their expenditure, for the relief of the poor only, for 1820-1, and their population for the same year as taken from the last census.

	Expenditure.		Population.
Colmworth, (Bedfordshire)	£611	1	450
Eaton Socon	2102	19	2039
Renhold	362	0	340
Roxton	710	0	537
Battlesden	366	4	151
Bletsoe	546	8	383
Stagsden	1046	13	542
Foxton, (Leicestershire)	889	10	383
Frisby	45	13	18
Gumley	533	10	289
Lubenham	1633	11	533
Wigston Magna	3412	17	2089.
Ford (Sussex)	150	18	83
Kirdford	3243	0	1602
Shipley	3069	6	1159
West Grinstead	2835	1	1229
Oving	1289	7	637

The following are the names of a few parishes that have increased their expenditure since 1817-18.

	Expenditure in 1820.		Expenditure in 1821.	
Huish (Devonshire)	£35	2	£59	5
Tavistock	1492	6	2559	19
Chawley	555	0	653	0
Brampton (Huntingdonshire)	793	0	886	12
Allwalton	124	6	200	3
Elton	695	15	864	15
Adbaston (Stafford)	383	15	691	3
Colwick	592	7	827	6
Tixall,	53	17	116	3
Wetton	264	0	358	6

ties against pauperism, by widening, through education, the moral distance between the habits of

---

. The following are a few of the more remarkable instances of a decreased expenditure.

	Expenditure in 1818.	Expenditure in 1821.
Thatcham, (Berks)	£3742 7	£1552 9
Englefield	596 19	200 16
East Hendred	1265 3	616 6
Cheadle Bulkeley (Cheshire)	1096 0	458 7
Macclesfield	5165 12	2686 18
St. Erth, (Cornwall)	1047 9	471 6
Melbourne, (Derby)	1727 11	811 4
Stanton and Newall	1133 14	418 16
Cullompton (Devon)	2075 8	836 2
Bourton (Dorset)	2273 13	477 1

We find on again looking over the documents in our possession, that we have erroneously stated, in a preceding note, the expenditure of Stockport; though the fact is undoubted of a very great reduction within the four last years. The permanent poor of St. Mary's, Nottingham, which are there referred to, are out-poor only.

We have recently obtained replies to the subjoined queries, from the Rev. Mr. Bickersteth of Acton, in Suffolk, which we offer to our readers, as a pretty fair specimen of the state and effects of English pauperism in the smaller country parishes.

1*st*, Would not you find a great obstacle in the way of your usefulness to be removed, could the wants of the poor be provided for by the charity of good-will, rather than by the charity of law?

"Doubtless: could these wants be provided for as *certainly*: the legal relief is usually both demanded and given in a manner very injurious to all parties, and which cannot but create serious obstacles in the way of ministerial usefulness."

2*d*, Are not the inmates of your workhouse very wretched?

"Truly so: and, in some respects, avowedly and designedly on the part of those by whom it should be regulated, that the inmates may be the fewer; and yet this receptacle is crowded to excess."

3*d*, And, do you find this part of your system very injurious to the morals of your parish, and particularly of the young?

"Where not only the old and infirm, but young persons of both sexes, and these generally orphans, and of the worst class, are brought together under one roof, the effect must be in the highest degree dangerous to

the people, and a condition so degrading. And there is something more to be taken to account

---

the morals; and, in fact, nothing but the callousness induced by habit, would render the place tolerable to one of better dispositions."

4*th*, Is there not very little of control or confinement in your workhouse?

" Control and confinement are, at present, terms unknown in our workhouse: and this is one aggravating cause of the evils connected with it. Some years ago, at my desire, a governor was appointed, and the place was put under better management: but the additional expense of that appointment, in connection with the depressed times, was made the plea for dispensing with a governor; and after his removal, the system rapidly declined, and the whole fell into its present state of wretchedness and insubordination."

5*th*, Had you not six or seven supernumeraries in October last, and do you not expect to have more?

" Yes: and I fear there are even some unemployed at present."

6*th*, Do you not find that very few of your benefit society members are paupers?

" Very few, if any, and this only in case of the total want of employment. In various instances, this Benefit Society has totally prevented any application for legal relief, and the advantage of it, in this respect, has been strongly felt, and thankfully noticed by the land occupiers, &c. who contribute to the rate."

7*th*, Had you not subscriptions in hard winters, over and above the poor rates?

" In hard winters, the benevolence of individuals has been called forth, or spontaneously exerted for the relief of the necessitous, and quite independently of the legal relief."

8*th*, Have you not a small missionary association?

" Yes: and which is evidently important, not only *directly* by interesting the minds of the poor, and suggesting a train of thinking profitable and useful in various respects; but *indirectly*, by promoting gradually a spirit of disinterestedness, economy, independence, industry, and self-denial."

9*th*, Are you not sensible of a great improvement in the habits and character of the people?

" Certainly: vices now shun the day, which formerly stalked abroad with an unblushing front in the face of the sun: and through the divine blessing, some have been turned from sin to righteousness, and many more reformed, and brought under wholesome restraint."

than the eventual good of such a destination. It lends a most important facility to your present

---

10*th*, But do you not find that Christianity, on the one hand, and pauperism on the other, have had the effect of forming your people into two distinct classes, extremely opposite to each other in character and spirit?

"I should hesitate in distributing the public into two distinct classes as formed by Christianity and pauperism: the *latter* being only *one* out of *many causes*, which produce a habit and character in contradiction to the *former*: while those under the influence of Christianity become more and more averse to apply for legal relief; others, apparently not under that best influence, from inferior motives, refuse to apply for a relief, which, to be obtained, must be extorted by clamorous importunity: and others again, of a worse stamp, *will have* what the law grants, not caring to what degradation they submit in receiving it. Usually this legal relief, without either charity or cheerfulness, is supplied grudgingly and of necessity; and thus a distressing alienation of mind is continually fostered between the giver and receiver, very destructive of the good-will and harmony which ought to subsist between the different classes of society."

11*th*, Is not education making progress among you?

"Yes: the poor, even those who have had no advantage of education themselves, are *generally* desirous to obtain instruction for their children, and often grateful to those who assist them in attaining this object."

12*th*, Have you not had occasion to observe the great kindness of the poor for each other, in those cases of sickness, and other extra necessities which do not lie fully and immediately within the scope of the poor rate?

"Frequently; and with much satisfaction. Indeed this kindness is sometimes so exuberant as to need, at least, regulation, if not restraint; that the services of the poor, one to another, may be afforded with the least expense of strength or time."

Our only remark on this very interesting document, is, that we are not aware of a greater practical obstacle to the abolition of pauperism in England, than the doubt which exists among its generous people, whether the poor would as certainly be relieved under the operation of a free, as of a legal system of charity. We can perceive this doubt in the first of the above replies—and yet, from the 6th, 7th, 11th and 12th of them, do we gather an assurance, which to ourselves is most satisfactory, that in the absence of a compulsory provision, there would be far less of actual and unrelieved want in a parochial community; and that, in the then augmented sobriety, and sympathy, and knowledge of the lower orders, there would be most abundant guarantees against all those evils which it is apprehended might ensue upon the extinction of the poor rate.

administration. It enables you to meet every applicant for relief, with an argument that will moderate the tone of his demand, and perhaps shame him altogether away from it. You can then tell him, that, by his forbearance, he leaves you in better condition for the relief of families still more helpless than his own; that he in fact will be a virtual contributor to the good of humanity, and to the interest of the rising generation, simply by shifting for himself, and leaving your fund entire and untouched for higher charities; that he ought, on this ground, to make common cause with you; and that he renders a most important co-operation, when he ceases to be burdensome, and ministers with his own hands to his own necessities. Such an argument tells with prodigious effect in many parishes of Scotland—and it will tell in England too, as soon as it is relieved from that artificial system, by which the worth and capability of the popular mind are now overborne. There will at length be a kindred spirit, between the aristocracy of a parish and its common people. Public charity will fall into desuetude. Instead of a now apprehended deficiency in the voluntary fund, there will be a now unlooked for surplus. The point will not merely be carried but overcarried—and the best auxiliaries on the side of this great reformation, will be found in that very class of families, out of which pauperism now draws its ravening myriads.

But we forbear the prosecution of these details,

and shall but slightly allude to the benefits of a management, which elsewhere has been fully explained by us, as bearing an important part in all those measures which might be set agoing through a parish, for the extinction of its pauperism. We refer to the subdivision of a parish, and the assignation of a given district to each member of the vestry, who may charge himself with all its pauperism, and be the medium through which the applications from its people are conveyed to the parochial court. It will be found an effectual management for crowded towns—and is even not inapplicable to country parishes. That member of the vestry does his business best, not who transmits the greatest number of applications from his local territory, but who intercepts the greatest number; and who intercepts them not by his stern and haughty negative, but by his patient inquiry, and his friendly argument, and his kind offers of work, or of interest in behalf of the family, and his affectionate persuasion with the husband who is profligate, or the children who are hard and unnatural to their parents, and withal his firm discountenance both to the artifices of low imposture and to the effrontery of vice. He will be astonished to find, in a few months, that all the fancied difficulties of his task have vanished into nothing; that the people, when thus frankly and naturally dealt with, forthwith betake themselves to the resources of Nature, and find them to be enough; that after perhaps a little storm of trials and con-

tests, which outlive not one short and fleeting season, there is a calm, and a calm not again to be disturbed, because that angry spirit to which law ministered its provocatives is now hushed for ever. His work ceases, because now the *vis medicatrix* works for him, with all that primitive liberty and vigour which belongs to her. His office becomes at length a sinecure, and should he choose to lay it down, he may retire with the character of having best done the duties of a vestry man, because he gave the vestry nothing to do.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

Printed by W. Collins & Co.
Glasgow.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XVII.

Page

On the Wages of Labour,..... 17

CHAP. XVIII.

On the Effect of a Poor-Rate, when applied in aid of Defective Wages,..... 63

CHAP. XIX.

On Savings Banks,..... 108

CHAP. XX.

On the Combinations of Workmen for the purpose of raising Wages,..... 143

CHAP. XXI.

The same Subject Continued,..... 223

CHAP. XXII.

On certain prevalent Errors and Misconceptions, which are fostered by Economic Theories, and which are fitted to mislead the Legislature, in regard to Labour and the Labouring Classes,..... 273

CHAP. XXIII.

On the Effect which the High Price of Labour in a Country has upon its foreign Trade,..... 343

CHAP. XXIV.

On Mechanic Schools, and on Political Economy as a Branch of Popular Education,..... 378

PREFACE.

NEARLY three years have now elapsed since the publication of the Second Volume of this Work, during which time, circumstances have occurred, that have induced its Author somewhat to change the plan of the concluding Volume, and that have had the effect, furthermore, to retard, and he fears also, to enfeeble the execution of it. What he more particularly alludes to, is the recent history of those popular combinations, which have taken place all over the country, for a rise of wages. The truth is, that he had scarcely begun to investigate the connection between a poor-rate, and the price of labour, when the latter of these two elements, although in a different connection, became the subject of a most interesting practical treatment by Parliament on the one hand, and by the population on the other. He has long regarded it as one of the most mischievous effects of the English pauperism, that it depresses the wages of labour, and that, beneath the rate of its own compensations; and, of course, as one of the chief blessings to society that would follow in the train

of its abolition, that we should forthwith behold a better paid, as well as a better principled class of workmen than before. He has ever been on the side of a more liberal remuneration for industry. But when the people took this cause into their own hands, and proceeded to enforce it in their own peculiar way, he could not but regret, that a cause so worthy of the highest efforts, both of philanthropy and patriotism, should have been dishonoured by the outrage and the violence wherewith it was associated. He has not, therefore, stepped out of his course, in order to treat of combinations. The subject has been thrown across his path, and he must have turned aside if he had shunned the encounter with it. The workmen of England, have aggravated, by their own misconduct, the prejudices of the more affluent orders against the cause of their advancement in society. And it might serve to appease these prejudices of the wealthy, as well as to tranquillize the feelings, and to elevate the habits of the poor, if, instead of that way of turbulence which they have tried and found so ineffectual, they could be made to understand that more excellent way, upon which, without noise, or uproar, or rebellion, they might raise the comfort and the sufficiency of their own condition, and at length attain to a permanently higher status in the commonwealth.

In his management of this question, the Author feels that he has laid himself open to two charges, which form nearly the opposite extremes of each

other. The first is, that he has most unnecessarily expanded that part of his demonstration, which rests on the most obvious, and generally admitted principles of political economy; and thus subjected all his intelligent readers to the annoyance of a most wearisome reiteration, and that, too, with nothing better than the merest truisms of the science. All which he can plead in mitigation, is, that on every argument which stands related either to the virtue or comfort of the people at large, he would fain address himself to the popular understanding. He believes, that by a very direct and intelligible process, even our merest peasantry might be conducted from such notions as are the most elementary, to such lessons, as if practically observed by them, would both elevate and secure their economic condition in society. Any truth which is pregnant with such important application as this, cannot be too clearly expounded, or too closely approximated to the capacities of the yet uninitiated and unlearned. And should he be so fortunate as to gain the assent of the plebeian community, to those positions in which their welfare is mainly concerned, he will most gladly forego the sympathy of those philosophers, who can only breathe with delight among those heights of a loftier speculation, where the very obscurity in which they have enwrapt themselves, has served the two-fold purpose of mystifying their doctrine, and of magnifying their fame.

But the second charge that we apprehend is far

more serious. It is not enough that the lower classes should be instructed in the way of their economic amelioration. There is a certain prevalent imagination among the higher classes, that the cheapness of British labour lies at the very foundation of our country's prosperity and strength. Now, in advocating the cause of a higher remuneration for industry, we have to combat this imagination. We have to turn from the plebeians to the patricians of our commonwealth; and in so doing, it will be said that we have made a transition from such puerilities as no student of political science needs to be told of, to such paradoxes as no student of political science can possibly admit. This applies more especially to all that we have said of the nearly instant resuscitation of capital; and of the limits, whether natural or artificial, to the extension of foreign trade. We regret not to have delivered ourselves more fully upon these two subjects, and particularly on the latter of them. Independently altogether of the truth or falsehood of our principles, it will be said, and with good reason, that if they be in any way fitted to startle or to perplex by their novelty, they should not be offered to the first notice of readers in a subsidiary capacity, or be employed to aid the solution of a great practical question, while themselves so questionable. We are sensible, that a separate and general treatise would, at their first introduction to the view of the public, have been a better place for them.

In adopting our present course, we have been obliged to relinquish the consideration of those institutions, or public charities, which are related either to crime or to disease; such as prisons and penitentiaries, along with asylums, infirmaries, and various other receptacles for that involuntary suffering, which is apart from general indigence. We are the more reconciled, however, to this omission, that in a former volume of this work,* we have stated that great principle which applies to the latter institutions, and which we could only have expounded at greater length, had we resumed the subject. In regard to the former institutions, we have to remark, that the whole system both of ecclesiastical and of economic polity which we have ventured to recommend, has a direct bearing upon crime, in so far as regards the prevention of it; and that, without depreciating the worth of that philanthropy which has selected for its object the right management of prisons, we hold this to be of very inferior moment to the right management of parishes. We deem it of more importance that the one subject shall be perfected, than that the other shall be entered upon; and that the present volume is more in harmony with the two former, because, instead of being an appendix on the right treatment of the outcast few, it is a continued pleading in behalf of those methods which the Author conceives to be most effectual for enlight-

---

* See Vol. II. p. 218, &c.

ening the minds, and elevating the general condition, of the multitude.

There is one benefit that has resulted from this delay in the publication of the third volume. During the Author's suspension of his argument, experience, a far better schoolmaster than he, has been at work, and giving a few more of its lessons, to which he defers, as greatly more valuable than any reasonings of his own. The condition of that experimental parish which he left in Glasgow upwards of two years ago, is, in regard to its pauperism, far more flourishing than ever. It is well that he ceased to have the conduct of that experiment, and that it passed into other hands. The truth is, that by every month of his continuance in that city, the delusion was becoming more inveterate; that while the prosperity of the operation could not be denied, still it was a prosperity which hung altogether upon the exertions and the influence of the individual who had introduced it. That spell, he trusts, is now conclusively broken; and most glad he is to understand, that the now proclaimed experience of his successor in office, has spread a more just and more extensive conviction upon this subject, than he could have achieved himself by the labours of a whole incumbency.* On this subject we again challenge the whole host of sceptics or of enemies to the scheme,

---

* We are glad to learn that Mr. M'Farlan is on the eve of publishing the results of his experience, while minister of St. John's Parish, Glasgow.

if they can substantiate one instance of jugglery in the practical administration of it. Its success has not been the result either of any collision, or of any extraordinary combination of circumstances, that could with difficulty be realized in other parishes. It is a scheme which seeks for itself no more than toleration; and depends for its prosperous result, not on that strenuous management among the office-bearers of a parish, which is rare, but on a natural operation among the families of a parish, which is universal,—an operation depending upon certain laws which are co-extensive with the species, and stable as the constitution of humanity.

And here he must advert to the failure of that attempt, which was recently made in Parliament for the extension of this scheme to the country at large. Mr. Kennedy, its author, evinced himself to have an enlightened acquaintance with the parochial management of the question; a management, truly, in which all the natural and essential principles of the problem are involved. The process defined by his bill, is the very process by which a parish can be most safely and surely conducted back again from a compulsory to a gratuitous system of pauperism. Yet it met with a general, and, for the time, an effective opposition in Scotland, —an opposition which might have been altogether saved, had the proposal been not for an imperative, but for a permissive law. The distinction between these two methods has been unfolded at

some length, in a former chapter of this work, on the parliamentary treatment of the question of pauperism. There could have been no such array of resistance called forth by the enactment of a leave to any parishes that would, as by the enactment of a law, binding on all parishes, whether they would or would not. To force an innovation upon the land, is a very different measure from making that innovation free to all those districts of the land where a sufficient concurrence shall be obtained in its favour, and where a voluntary application shall be made for it on the part of the local and existing authorities. In the one way, there must be the reaction of a simultaneous and wide-spread hostility. In the other way, there is no provocative offered to the adverse feeling of the many, by a mere offer of liberty to the few who are not adverse. Had even only two or three of the border parishes of Scotland entered the retracing process under the shelter of a permissive law, this were a sufficient germ for the spread and final prevalence of the gratuitous system of charity throughout all our borders. The success of a few outset parishes would at length ensure the imitation of all the rest. The process would be strictly a tentative one. That change which, if compulsory and instantaneous, would be felt and dreaded all over the land, like the violence of any sweeping whirlwind, would, under such a permissive operation, go quietly forward from parish to parish, by a series of firm, because by a se-

ries of experimental stepping-stones. The old Scottish system, for it is utterly wrong to call it a new system, would recover place and confidence, just as it demonstrated its own efficacy in those parishes that had resumed it, under an act guarded and modified in the only way which could make such an act at all tolerable. At every step of its progress, we are persuaded that it would stand more erect than before, in the pride and confidence of its vindicated honours; while all the brightness which it gathered on its path, would be, not from the meteoric light of theory, but the light of a sound, and sure, and sober experience. And it is not till, in the blaze of this experimental light, the truth had become so manifest as to overpower the convictions of all; not perhaps then, till after the lapse of one or two generations, should we expect those greater cities of our land to adopt in the permissive, that which they had rejected in the imperative form, or to open their gates for that system as a friend, the appearance of which, in the guise of an invader, had so promptly and so powerfully alarmed them.

It is thus that the soundest cause might sustain a temporary mischief, from circumstances for which it is not in any way responsible. And here we might advert to that discredit and derision which were incurred, in consequence of a glaring inaccuracy in the editing or printing of a former number of the Edinburgh Review. The Author of this volume contributed the whole of the first article in

the 58th number of that work, on the causes and cure of pauperism, and the *first half* of the very short article which concludes that number. Its remaining half was appended to it, but not by him, nor was he at all aware of it till after the publication. It is in this appended part that there occurs a most provoking misstatement of the number of paupers in England, by which it is estimated at ten times greater an amount than it ought to be. This might have passed for a typographical error, had it only occurred once, as the statement was first made in figures, and could have been easily accounted for by the omission of a cypher. But then, in the next paragraph, it is again blazoned forth, not in figures, but in ordinary language; and proved most annoying to the Author at the time, from the grotesque character which it was fitted to stamp on the whole speculation wherewith it was associated. He did no more, however, than intimate the error to the celebrated editor of the journal, and publish a correction of it in one of the Glasgow newspapers.* It has since been commented upon with great severity in many pamphlets, and many periodicals. The slip is so

---

* The insertion appeared in the Glasgow Herald of Friday, May 1st, 1818, under the head or title of "Edinburgh Review;" and the following is that part of the insertion which relates to the error in question:—"Another extravagant error has been admitted into pages 500 and 501, on the same subject; where, for 9¼ paupers in each 10 of the population, it should have been printed 9¼ in each 100; and for nine tenths, it should have been nine hundredth parts."

very monstrous a one, that it might appear ridiculous to make it the subject of any grave explanation. But, of all men, it is most incumbent on the advocate of a controverted or obnoxious principle, to observe the most scrupulous accuracy in the facts and details of his argument; for his smallest inadvertency might furnish a triumph to the adversaries of a good cause, or give a colour to their most wicked and malignant imputations.

THE

CHRISTIAN AND CIVIC ECONOMY

OF

LARGE TOWNS.

CHAP. XVII.

ON THE WAGES OF LABOUR.

The difficulties of removing such a great national evil as pauperism, are of two classes, which are wholly distinct the one from the other; and it would clear away much of its darkness and perplexity from the question, were these difficulties kept by the inquirer as separate in thought, as they are separate in reality. The first difficulties are those which are presented by the economic condition of the lower orders. They are such difficulties as have their seat among the circumstances and necessities of the people. It is the imagination of many, that to do away a legal provision for indigence, would be to abandon a large population to a destitution and distress that were most revolting to humanity; and in as far as this imagination

is true, it offers a most formidable difficulty, and one, indeed, which should foreclose the question altogether. The population ought not to be so abandoned; and if, in virtue of the abolition of pauperism, they shall become worse either in comfort or character than before, then this abolition ceases to be desirable. We happen to think, that no such consequences would ensue, and that, on the supplies of public charity being withdrawn, there would not only be much less of actual want in the country, but that this want would be sure to find relief, and in a way greatly more consistent both with the comfort and virtue of families. In other words, we happen to think, that the first difficulties have no real or substantive existence whatever—that if any portion of the British territory were submitted, in a right way, to the trial,* they would, one and all of them, vanish before the touch of experience—and therefore, that, by a series of distinct and successive operations on each of the portions, the whole of our land might at length be made to emerge from this sore evil. In as far as the needs and habits of the population are concerned, we hold the problem to be manageable, and most easily manageable; and, such being our conviction, we have long deemed it a worthy object of our most strenuous endeavours to prove

---

* For the method of conducting such a trial, in any parish, see the 16th chapter—and for the method of obtaining permission for the trial, see the 15th chapter of this work.

it so by argument, or, what is still better, to evince it so by actual exhibition.

But, one cannot be long engaged in the prosecution of such a task, without coming into contact with other difficulties which are wholly distinct from the former, and which may be termed the factitious, or political difficulties of the question. Even though there should be, as we believe, no essential or natural difficulties at all, yet the difficulties of this second class are enough, in themselves, to retard the progress of light and of sound doctrine upon the subject, and far more to retard the accomplishment of any sound practical reformation. It is a very possible thing, both that certain views should be just and well-founded; and yet that those whose co-operation is indispensable to give effect to these views, should be very long of giving their consent to them. One might feel no difficulty in ridding any specified district of its pauperism, after that he has been permitted to take his own way, and pursue his own measures, with its families—while, at the same time, he may feel the uttermost difficulty in gaining the permission. They who have the constitutional right, either to arrest his proceedings, or to allow of them, must first be satisfied; and whether from honest conviction, or from the tenacity of a wedded adherence to old and existing methods, they may stand in the way of all innovation. Ere he come into contact with the human nature of the question among the poor themselves, he may have

far greater obstacles against him in the law of the question, and in the obstinate prejudice or wilfulness of those men with whom the right is vested of adjudging or administering for the poor. We should like the reader's clear apprehension, of the utter difference and dissimilarity which there is between these two sets of difficulties. The place of encounter with the one is in the parish, and among the applicants for relief from the parish. The place of encounter with the other may be in the vestry, where men have assembled to act upon the law; or in the quarter sessions, where men have assembled to pronounce upon, and to enforce the law; or, finally, within the walls of Parliament, where the proposal is submitted to repeal or to rectify the law. It may be true, that there is a system of utmost facility, which, if adopted, shall be of omnipotent effect to expel pauperism from a parish, and with less of want and wretchedness among its families than before; and also true, that there shall be a weary struggle with the incredulity and perverse misconceptions of influential men, ere the system shall be suffered to have a trial. It might so be, that there is a method, which, after that it is established, shall be found of easy and effective operation amongst the poor, but which, before that it is established, shall have to encounter many years of formidable resistance amongst the present guides and governors of the poor. And this is enough to make the problem of Pau-

perism a difficult problem. But still it is of importance precisely to see where the difficulty lies —and not to confound the natural difficulties which are inherent in the subject of management, with the political difficulties by which the way of the philanthropist is beset, when he comes into collision with the prejudices or partialities of those who at present have the right or the power of management.

At the same time, it ought to be remembered, that if the natural difficulties of the problem be indeed so very light and conquerable, its political difficulties must, of necessity, subside, and at length vanish altogether. It is the imagination, in fact, of the greatness of its essential difficulties, that mainly gives rise to the opposition of our influential men, or to what is still more hopeless than their active opposition, the listlessness and apathy of their despair. Could we succeed in proving, that there is really nothing in the condition of the lower orders which presents an insuperable barrier to the abolition of pauperism, the barrier of prejudice and dislike, on the part of the higher orders, to any radical change, must finally give way. Truth may be withstood long, but it cannot be withstood eternally. The provisions of Law will at length be made to accord with the principles of Nature; and whatever shall be found by experience, in the human nature of the question, to be most wholesome for the people, the law of the question must, in time, be

moulded into a conformity therewith. The voice of wisdom will ascend from the Parish to the Parliament; and the light which is struck out among the details and verifications of but an humble district in the land, will ultimately force all those inveteracies that now barricade the hall of Legislation.

Let me now give one or two specimens of the way in which both sound opinion, and sound policy, may be baffled, and, for a time, arrested; and that, in virtue of certain impediments, to which even the most enlightened views on the question of Pauperism stand peculiarly exposed.

There is first, then, an incredulity which is sure to be immediately lighted up, on the mention of so great an achievement, as the deliverance of a whole empire from its legal and compulsory Pauperism. The very hopelessness of a result so mighty and marvellous, induces a heedlessness of every explanation that can be offered regarding it. The thing looks so utterly impracticable, as to carry, in the mere announcement of it, its own refutation. The apparent romance and unlikelihood of the whole speculation, beget a certain arch incredulity on the part of the hearer; and this is the most unfortunate posture that can well be imagined, for the entertainment of any demonstration in its favour. And there is really so much of empiricism in the world—the public ear has been so repeatedly assailed by the crudity, and the nostrum, and the splendid imagination,

of successive adventurers—so manifold have been the promising theories which have passed, one after another, before the view of British society, and then passed away into utter abortiveness, that truly we cannot wonder, if the general infidelity be now so strong, as to have settled down into the attitude, not merely of determined unbelief, but of downright listlessness. This is the kind of outset that we have to encounter, at the very opening of our proposals on the subject of Pauperism; and the more surely, because of the magnitude of that change after which we aspire. It is this magnitude which stamps an aspect of extravagance and wildness on the whole speculation; insomuch, that the only treatment that is held meet for it, by many, is a rejection as summary and contemptuous as if it were one of the visions of Utopia.

Now, to meet this impression, and to overcome the incredulity which is founded upon it, it can be urged, that though suddenly a very great achievement may be impracticable, yet that gradually it may not be so—that a way may be devised of breaking it into distinct and successive steps, each of which is most easily practicable—that though the proposed transition is far too gigantic to be accomplished at once, yet that piece-meal, and by inches, the whole of it may be described in time, with no other than every-day instruments, and no other help than that of ordinary men—that though the mischief cannot

be exterminated by a blow, it may by a process: And so, the whole of our demand is not for a sublime power that shall inflict the one, but for a sober-minded patience, that shall wait the result of the other. This is the very nature of our proposal for the extinction of pauperism. We have no mystic charm to propose, that shall work an instant extermination. We would go over the ground, not by flights, but by footsteps—insomuch, that the deliverance of a single parish is not completed but by the disappearance of its whole existing generation of paupers; and the deliverance of the whole empire is not completed, but by this separate operation being repeated upon each, till it has overtaken all the parishes. We are not aware of one impracticable link or stepping-stone in the whole of that consecutive series, by which, at length, the evil, in its last vestiges, may be utterly swept away; and what we should like to press into this service, is not the enthusiasm that will impel to a lofty and magnificent daring after some enterprise which is great, but the assiduity that will work its way through a course or succession of littles, and, without any straining or impetuosity whatever, will wait for the termination of it.

But no sooner do we get rid of one antipathy, than we are instantly met by another. The very men who have no credit for what is great, may have no value for what is gradual. When, to get the better of their incredulity about the efficacy

of our process, we tell them how slow it is, then we have just as hard an encounter as before with their indifference. There is the substitution of one mental prejudice or perversity for another; and in making our escape from the first, we run into a conflict with the second. In the first instance, there is the same unbelief in the possibility of all pauperism being done away, as they would have in a magical performance; and in the second instance, whatever is to be done in the way of reformation, has no charm for them, unless it can be done with a rapidity that would be altogether magical. We do not see how it is possible to suit the taste of such people with any acceptable speculation on the subject of pauperism—sceptical as they are of any relief being practicable, and, at the same time, impatient as they are for that relief being immediate. We cannot devise for them a scheme that shall at once be moderate enough in its aim to suit the narrowness of their apprehensions, and at the same time speedy enough in its operation to suit the extravagance of their wishes. When they hear the promise of a total deliverance, they spurn it away from them as romantic. When the romance is mitigated, by the proposal that the deliverance shall be very gradual, they spurn it away from them as tardy. It is not more beyond the limits of human strength to do what is great in a great time, than to do what is small in a small time; but they will not allow these elements

to be properly sorted together. They first quarrel with the greatness of the achievement, as the thing which makes it to be hopeless; and then they quarrel with the greatness of the time which is required for doing it, as the thing which makes it to be worthless. After all, these are the more egregiously romantic, who would have nothing to be done, unless it can be brought about with the quickness of legerdemain; and theirs is the imagination which, of all others, outruns the soberness both of arithmetic and experience. It is not uncommon that the same individual should feel distrust in the possibility of some given accomplishment, because of a greatness that threw over it an air of the marvellous, and, at the same time, an utter disregard for the accomplishment at all, unless it could be done with a velocity which would indeed make it marvellous. This incredulity on the one hand, and impatience on the other, are frequently attributes of the same mind, although as frequently, perhaps, each is realized separately on two distinct classes; and it is between those who are hopeless, and those who are precipitate, that it is so difficult to extricate a nation from the evils of a wrong domestic economy.

And yet, if a method be proposed, by which relief from a great existing pressure might be made to commence immediately, although it cannot be completed immediately, this surely should be held as not altogether unworthy of regard. Though not wholly lightened in a year of some

grievous burden, yet if a process can be devised by which it shall be made lighter next year than it is at present, and gradually lighter each successive year, until it has melted finally away, this surely ought not to be treated with indifference, because of the many impetuous spirits, who will be satisfied with nothing short of a deliverance that shall both be total and immediate. The man who is heavily in debt, will be thankful of deliverance, even though it should be only by successive instalments. And it is thus, that we would have the cure and the clearing away of pauperism to proceed. The relief commences immediately, but it must proceed by instalments. There may be the lapse of a whole generation ere it is consummated. We do not propose to lift the enchanter's wand, for the purpose of an instant dissipation. The evil must be dissipated gradually. We do think that great things may be done, but we demand time for the doing of them. We do not ask that any gigantic strength should be put forth, but only that a sober and very practicable business should be persevered in.

There are various methods, and these gradual ones too, by which it is proposed to attack this hydra of pauperism, and, if possible, by inches to destroy it. For the full exposition of our own method, we must refer to former chapters of this work; and we now enter on the consideration of another method which still engrosses a good deal the attention of our public and parliamentary

men. It is to be observed, that indigence may arise from two sources—either from inability for work, or from the inadequacy of its wages. The original pauperism of England, it is said, was restricted to those who were poor from impotency; and it is regarded by many as an abuse or corruption of it, that it should ever have been extended to able-bodied labourers, in order to make up for any deficiency in their wages. Now, the great aim at present is, to repress pauperism within its original limits, by putting an end altogether to this latter application of the poor's fund,—thus separating between the distress which age and impotency bring upon the labouring classes, and the distress which is occasionally brought upon them by the fluctuations in the price of labour. There are some who would be satisfied with the lopping off of this last excrescence from the system of poor-laws in England; while others contemplate the possibility, and admit the desirableness of an ulterior reformation. We think that there is a gradual process for the extermination of the system in both its branches, which is alike applicable, and from the very outset of it, to each of them. Yet this does not supersede the importance of discussing, separately and at some length, the effects of a poor rate when applied in aid of defective wages. We feel, however, that this will require a few preliminary explanations.*

* We are quite sensible that several of the principles advanced in the course of our discussions, are abundantly obvious to all who are in any way

The first thing to be attended to, is the way in which the price of any article brought to market is affected by the variations of its supply on the one hand, and of the demand for it on the other. The holders of sugar, for example, after having reserved what they need for their own use, bring the whole surplus to market, where they dispose of it in return for those other things which they do need. It must be quite obvious, that if there be more of this sugar exposed than there is a demand for, the great force of the competition will be among the sellers, to get it off their hands. Each will try to outstrip the others, by holding out a greater inducement for purchasers to buy from him—and this he can only do by holding it out to them on cheaper terms. It is thus that each tries to undersell the rest—or, in other words, the great supply of any article of exchange is always sure to bring down the price of it.

On the other hand, let the same article have been sparingly brought into the market, insomuch that, among the buyers, there is a demand for it to a greater extent than it is to be had. The force

---

conversant with the first elements of political science. It may be thought, that, on this account, they should be immediately assumed as the basis of an ulterior argument; but that it is an idle detention of the reader to argue over again to him those positions or doctrines wherewith he is fully satisfied already. But we can never help the feeling, that on this subject we are addressing practical, as well as studious and speculative men; and that, though at the hazard of other-satiating the latter by a redundant explicitness, we can scarcely err against the former either by an excess of simplicity or of copiousness.

of the competition now changes place. It is among the purchasers, instead of the sellers. Each will try to outstrip his neighbours, by holding out a larger inducement to the holders of a commodity now rare, and, therefore, in more urgent request, than usual. This he can only do by offering a greater price for it. It is thus that each tries to overbid the other—or, in other words, the small supply of any article of exchange is always sure to bring up the price of it.

The price, then, of a commodity, falls with the increase of the supply, and rises with the diminution of it; a law of political economy, which is expressed still more shortly thus—that the price of every article of commerce is inversely in proportion to its supply.

But it is conceivable, that there might be no variation whatever in the supply—that, from one week to another, the same quantity of sugar, or corn, or any other commodity, may be brought to market, and yet, for all this, may there be a great weekly variation in the price of them. The truth is, that not only may the holders of an article have not always the same quantity on hand for sale, but the buyers may not always have the same need of it. There may be a fluctuation in the demand for an article, as well as in the supply of it; and it is quite evident that the price just rises and falls with the demand, instead of rising and falling inversely to it. Hence the more extended aphorism in political economy, that the price of any commodity

is directly in proportion to the demand, and inversely in proportion to the supply—a doctrine that is somewhat more loosely and generally expressed, by saying, that the price of an article depends on the proportion which the demand and the supply bear to each other.

There is nought in the interposition of money to affect this process. Its office is merely to facilitate the exchange of commodities. But the proportion of their quantities in the exchange is just the same, when made to pass through such an intermedium, as when brought closely and directly into barter. The venders of so much corn may, with the price of it, buy so much sugar. It is not convenient to bring both these articles, or perhaps either of them, in bulk and body, to the scene of the negotiation; and so the money that is received for the one is given for the other. This, however, does not affect the proportion between the number of quarters of the one commodity, which, in the then state of the market, is held as equivalent to the number of hundred-weights of the other commodity. This depends on the two elements of demand and supply alone; and is the same as if the expedient of money for carrying into effect the contracts of merchandise, had never been devised.

The mere intervention, then, of money, will not perplex the reader out of a right estimation upon this subject. He has only to remember, that either by adding to the supply of any article, or lessening the demand for it, the price of it is dimi-

nished; and that either by lessening the supply, or adding to the demand, the price of it is increased.

Now there are certain articles, that, in this respect, are far more tremulous than others, or that more readily vibrate in price, and with a much wider range too of fluctuation. All are aware of the fluctuations of the corn market; and how, in consequence, the heart, and often the frenzy, of deep and desperate adventure, are associated with the temptations and the losses of such a trade. The truth is, that, generally speaking, the necessaries of life are far more powerfully affected in the price of them by a variation in their quantity, than are the luxuries of life. Let the crop of grain be deficient by one-third in its usual amount, or rather, let the supply of grain in the market, whether from the home produce or by importation, be curtailed to the same extent,—and this will create a much greater addition than of one-third to the price of it. It is not an unlikely prediction, that its cost would be more than doubled by the shortcoming of one-third or one-fourth in the supply. Not so with an article of luxury, and more especially if something else can be purchased for it in the way of substitution. For example, let such be the failure of West India produce, on any particular year, that rum is deficient by one-third from its usual supply. There will be a consequent rise in the price of it, but nothing at all like the rise which an equal deficiency would create in the price of grain.

Such is the fact; and there can be no difficulty in apprehending the cause of it. Men can more easily suffer the deprivation or the diminution of a luxury; and when its price offers to rise extravagantly, they can limit their demand for it. I can commute the use of rum, for the use of another and a cheaper substitute; or, failing this, I can restrain my consumption, or abandon it altogether. Its scarcity will enhance its cost on the one hand; but this, on the other hand, can be met or counteracted, to any extent, by a slackening of the demand. The point of equilibrium between the sellers and the buyers of rum will be shifted; and its price will become higher than before, but not so high as it would have been, had rum been an indispensable of human comfort, and therefore given all the more of urgency to the applications of purchasers. This is not the case with rum; but it is so with grain. The mass of our families could not, without distress or great inconvenience, limit their use of it to two-thirds of their wonted consumption. Each will press forward to obtain a larger share of the general stock than his neighbour; and it is just this earnest competition among the buyers, that raises the price of necessaries greatly beyond the proportion by which the supply of them is deficient. Men can live without luxuries; and will be content to put up with a smaller allowance of them for a season, rather than pay that price to which they would be elevated by a demand as intense as all must have for the neces-

saries of existence. Men cannot live without necessaries, and will not be so content to put up with a reduced allowance of them, as they would of the mere comforts or expensive gratifications of luxury. It is thus that the same proportional lack in each class of commodities gives rise to such a difference of effect in augmenting the price of each of them; and it is just the more earnest demand, in the one case than in the other, that explains the difference.

A failure in the general supply of esculents to the extent of one-half, would more than quadruple the price of the first necessaries of life, and would fall with very aggravated pressure on the lower orders. A failure to the same extent in all the vineyards of the world, would most assuredly not raise the price of wine to any thing near this proportion. Rather than pay four times the wonted price for Burgundy, there would be a general descent, on the part of its consumers in high life, to claret, or from that to port, or from that to the home-made wines of our own country, or from that to its spirituous, or from that to its fermented liquors. And the facility of thus substituting one indulgence for another, is not the only refuge against an enormous charge upon these articles. There is also the facility of limiting the amount of the indulgence, or of withdrawing from it altogether—a refuge that is not so open to the population under a famine of the first necessaries of existence. There is much of shifting and of substitution certainly among families, when such a

calamity visits them—as from animal to vegetable food, from flour to meal, from meal to potatoes. But, on the supposition of a general short-coming in the yearly produce of the land, the price of each of these articles rises successively with the run of purchasers towards them. On the one hand, the eagerness of demand after all the varieties of food, will enhance the price of all, and greatly beyond the proportion of the deficiency in the supply of them; and, on the other hand, this enhanced price is necessary so to restrain the consumption of the families, as to make the deficient stock of provisions stand out till the coming of the next harvest. It is thus, by the way, that a population survive so well those years of famine, when the prices, perhaps, are tripled. This does not argue, as is obvious from the explanations which we have now given, that they must therefore be three times worse fed than usual. The food of the country may only, for aught we know, have been lessened by a fourth part of its usual supply; or, in other words, the families may, at an average, be served with three-fourths of their usual subsistence, at the very time that the cost of it is three times greater than usual. And to make out this larger payment, they have just for a year to retrench in other articles—altogether, it is likely, to give up the use of comforts, and to limit themselves more largely in the second, than they can possibly do in the first necessaries of life—to forego, perhaps, many of the little seasonings wherewith they wont to impart a relish to their coarse and humble fare, to husband more strictly

their fuel, and be satisfied for a while with vestments more threadbare, and even more tattered, than what, in better times, they would choose to appear in. It is thus that, even although the first necessaries of life should be tripled in price for a season, and although the pecuniary income of the labouring classes should not at all be increased, yet they are found to weather the hardships of such a visitation. The food is still served out to them at a much larger proportion than the cost of it would, in the first instance, appear to indicate. And, in the second instance, they are enabled to purchase at this cost; because, and more especially, if they be a well-habitted and a well-conditioned peasantry, with a pretty high standard of enjoyment in ordinary years, they have the more that they can save and retrench upon in a year of severe scarcity. They can disengage much of that revenue which before went to the purchase of dress, and of various luxuries that might, for a season, be dispensed with —and so have the more to expend on the materials of subsistence. It is this which explains how roughly a population can bear to be handled, both by adverse seasons, and by the vicissitudes of trade —and how, after all, there is a stability about a people's means which will keep its ground against many shocks, and amidst many fluctuations. It is a mystery and a marvel to many an observer, how the seemingly frail and precarious interest of the labouring classes should, after all, have the stamina of such endurance, as to weather the most fearful reverses both of commerce and of the seasons; and

that, somehow or other, you find, after an interval of gloomy suffering and still gloomier fears, that the families do emerge again into the same state of sufficiency as before. We know not a fitter study for the philanthropist, than the workings of that mechanism by which a process so gratifying is caused, or in which he will find greater reason to admire the exquisite skill of those various adaptations, that must be referred to the providence of Him who framed society, and suited so wisely to each other the elements whereof it is composed.

There is nought which appears more variable than the operation of those elements by which the annual supply of the national subsistence is regulated. How unlike in character is one season to another; and between the extremes of dryness and moisture, how exceedingly different may be the amount of that produce on which the sustenance of man essentially depends! Even after that the promise of abundance is well nigh realized, the hurricane of a single day passing over the yet uncut but ripened corn, or the rain of a few weeks, to drench and macerate the sheaves that lie piled together on the harvest-field, were enough to destroy the food of millions. We are aware of a compensation, in the varieties of soil and exposure, so that the weather which is adverse to one part of the country might be favourable to another; besides, that the mischief of a desolating tempest in autumn must only be partial, from the harvest of the plains and uplands falling upon different months.

Still, with all these balancing causes, the produce of different years is very far from being equalized; and its fluctuations would come charged with still more of distress and destitution to families, were there not a counterpoise to the laws of Nature, in what may be termed the laws of Political Economy.

The price of human food does not immediately depend on the quantity of it that is produced, but on the quantity of it that is brought to market; and it is well, that in every year of scarcity, there should be instant causes put into operation for increasing the latter quantity to the uttermost, so as to repair, as much as possible, the deficiencies of the former. It is well, that even a small short-coming in the crop should be so surely followed by a great advance of prices; for this has instantly the effect of putting the families of the land upon that shortness of allowance, which shall cause the supply, limited as it is, to serve throughout the year. But, besides the wholesome restraint which is thus imposed on the general consumption of families, there is encouragement given, by this dearness, to abridge the consumption upon farms, and, by certain shifts in their management, to make out the greatest possible surplus, for the object of sale, and of supply to the population at large. With a high price, the farmer feels it a more urgent interest, to carry as much of his produce to market as he can; and, for this purpose, he will retrench to the uttermost

at home. And he has much in his power. More particularly, he can and does retrench considerably upon the feed of his cattle; and, in as far as this wont to consist of potatoes or grain, there must an important addition be gained in this way to the supplies of the market. One must often have been struck with the comparative cheapness of animal food, in a year of scarcity. This is because of the greater slaughter of cattle which takes place in such a year, to save the heavy expense of maintaining them; and which, besides affording a direct accession to the sustenance of man, lightens still more the farm consumption, and disengages for sale a still greater amount of the necessaries of life. We do not say, but that the farm suffers a derangement by this change of regimen, from which it might take years to recover fully. But the evil becomes more tolerable by being spread. The horrors of extreme scarcity are prevented. The adversity is weathered, at its furthest point. The country emerges from the visitation, and without, in all probability, the starvation of one individual; and all, because from the operation of the causes that we have now explained, the supply of the market is made to oscillate within smaller limits than the crop—insomuch, that, though the latter should be deficient by one-third of the whole, the former might not be deficient by one-fifth or one-sixth of what is yielded usually.

This effect is greatly increased, by the suspend-

ing of distillation in years of scarcity. And after all, should the supplies be yet very short, and the prices therefore far more than proportionally high, this will naturally, and of itself, bring on the importation of grain from foreign parts. If such be the variety of weather and soil, even within the limits of a country, as in some measure to balance the scarcity which is experienced in one set of farms, by the comparative abundance of another set, this will apply with much greater force to a whole continent, or to the world at large. If a small deficiency in the home supply of grain induce a higher price than with other articles of commerce, this is just a provision for a securer and readier filling up of the deficiency, by a movement from abroad—a thing of far greater importance with the necessaries, than with the mere comforts or luxuries of life. That law of wider and more tremulous oscillation in the price of corn, which we have attempted to expound, is in itself a security for a more equal distribution of it over the globe by man, in those seasons when Nature has been partial—so as to diffuse the more certainly, and the more immediately, through the earth, that which has been dropped upon it unequally from heaven. It is well, that greater efficacy should thus be given to that corrective force, by which the yearly supplies of food are spread over the world with greater uniformity than they at first descend upon it; and, however much it may be thought to ag-

gravate a people's hardships, that a slight failure in their home supply should create such a rise in the cost of necessaries, yet certainly it makes the impulse all the more powerful, by which corn flows in, from lands of plenty, to a land of famine. But what we have long esteemed the most beautiful part of this operation, is the instant advantage which a large importation from abroad gives to our export manufacturers at home. There is a limit in the rate of exchange to the exportation of articles from any country; but up to this limit, there is a class of labourers employed in the preparation of these articles. Now, the effect of an augmented importation upon the exchange is such as to enlarge this limit—so that our export traders can then sell with a larger profit, and carry out a greater amount of goods than before, and thus enlist a more numerous population in the service of preparing them. An increased importation always gives an impulse to exportation, so as to make employment spring up in one quarter, at the very time that it disappears in another. Or rather, at the very time when the demand for a particular commodity is slackened at home, it is stimulated abroad. We have already adverted to the way in which families shift their expenditure in a year of scarcity, diverting a far greater proportion of it than usual, to the first necessaries of life, and withdrawing it proportionally from the comforts, and even second necessaries of life. Cloth may be regarded as one of the

second necessaries; and it were woful indeed, if, on the precise year when food was dearest, the numerous workmen engaged in this branch of industry should find that employment was scarcest. But in very proportion as they are abandoned by customers at home, do they find a compensation in the more quickened demand of customers from abroad. It is in these various ways, that a country is found to survive so well its hardest and heaviest visitations; and even under a triple price for the first articles of subsistence, it has been known to emerge into prosperity again, without an authentic instance of starvation throughout all its families.

The better to illustrate the principles of our immediate argument, we may here state a case which looks at first to be an anomaly, and yet is capable of being resolved in a way that is quite consistent with the view which we have laboured to impress. Our general doctrine is, that the price of a commodity oscillates with the quantity of it which is brought to market; but that the oscillations are much larger with a necessary, than with a luxury of life. Now, there is an apparent exception to this, in the case of the more rare and valuable spiceries. There is a well-known practice among the monopolists of these, which obtained so far back as centuries ago, when, to enhance their price, they destroyed a large proportion of their cargoes, at every time that there was danger of an overplus being brought to mar-

ket. And they found their account in this. Or, in other words, an article that is more entitled to the denomination of a luxury, than the one we have already specified,—certainly far more a luxury than rum, as confined, in the use of it, to a very peculiar class, the affluent in society,—may bear a greater resemblance to corn, than to rum, in the magnitude of those oscillations which the price of it undergoes. Take, for example, the three commodities of grain, and sugar, and nutmeg. Let the supply of each fail, by one-third of its wonted quantity. With such a deficiency, the price of grain may be doubled, or perhaps trebled; the sugar will rise in price, too, but not to any thing like the extent of the former; while the nutmeg, which is certainly more of a luxury than sugar, in as far as it is of rarer indulgence, and restricted, in the use of it, to a far more select class of society, which in this respect, therefore, stands at a wider distance from the grain than the sugar does, will come much nearer to it, in respect of the oscillation that its price undergoes. It too may double or treble its price, on suffering the deficiency of a third part in its supply.

Now, the account of the matter is simply this. Sugar, though a luxury, is yet used in such quantity, that it forms a very heavy article of family expenditure. The offer to double its price, on the same deficiency that would double the price of grain, behoved instantly to be met by a se-

vere retrenchment and economy, on the part of the great majority of its consumers. With grain, it is an object to economise; but, from being a necessary, it is not easy to do so beyond a certain extent. So that there is in that article, an intense demand, and, consequently, a high price. With sugar, it is also an object to economise; and, from being a luxury, it is possible to do so to any extent. Hence a slackening of the demand with it, which will keep down its price more than in the case of grain. With nutmeg, which is the veriest of all luxuries, it is still more possible to economise, than even with sugar; but then it is no object. There is not sixpence a year consumed of it for each family in Great Britain; and perhaps not one family that spends more than a guinea on this article alone. Let the price then be doubled or trebled; this will have no perceptible effect on the demand; and the price will far rather be paid, than that the wonted indulgence should in any degree be foregone. The aged gentlewoman, to whose taste the nutmeg flavour is an improvement upon the tea, will not be driven from her dear aromatic, by such a doubling or trebling of its price, as might incur to her the additional expense of perhaps a halfpenny in the month. The same holds true of cloves, and cinnamon, and Cayenne pepper, and all the precious spiceries of the East; and it is thus, that while, in the general, the price of necessaries differs so widely from that of luxuries, in regard

to the extent of oscillation, there is a remarkable approximation in this matter, between the very commonest of these necessaries, and the very rarest of these luxuries.

Wages form the price of labour; and this price, like that of every other commodity, is determined by the proportion which obtains between the supply of it in the market, and the effective demand for it. Should the supply be diminished, or the demand increase, the price rises. Should the supply be increased, or the demand slacken, the price falls. But there are certain commodities that undergo a much greater fluctuation of price than others, though there should only be the same change with each of them in this proportion between the demand and the supply. Take, for example, the two articles of wheat and rum. A government contract for wheat, to the extent of one-twentieth part of its whole stock in the country, would increase its price far more than a similar contract for a twentieth part of all the rum. One bad harvest that caused a deficiency in the crop to the same extent, would raise the price of this grain in a much higher proportion, than the spirit would be raised by a deficiency of the same magnitude from a bad season in the West Indies. The cause of this difference is very obvious; yet, from its application to our present subject, it must be still a little expatiated on.

Wheat is a necessary of life. Rum is not. I can want spirits. I cannot want bread. Neither

can I so conveniently reduce my consumption of the latter article as of the former. And I will, therefore, pay a greater price to overcome the greater inconvenience. This holds particularly true of the great mass of families in a population. Bread is the staple article of their subsistence; and, generally speaking, one can less bear a retrenchment upon his usual allowance of food, than a retrenchment upon his usual indulgence in a luxury. Should the price of rum offer to rise beyond a certain amount, I can abstain from the purchase of it: I can shift my demand to another kind of spirits, or I can give up the use of them altogether. In reference to grain, I have no such control over my determinations. I can neither want it altogether, nor can I, without considerable suffering, make any great abatement in my demand for it. With a luxury of life, the sellers are more dependent on the taste and whim of the purchasers. With a necessary of life, the sellers have the purchasers in their power. It is thus that a rise in the price of spirits, consequent on a deficient supply, might so far limit the consumption, as to prevent it from rising extravagantly. But when grain is deficient in quantity, each has a far more urgent demand for his wonted supply of that article, and will make greater sacrifices to obtain it. There is a far more intense competition in the one case than in the other—insomuch, that a very small deficiency in the harvest will produce a greater rise of price on the one article, than a similar deficiency in the im-

ports will produce upon the other article. It is thus that grain, in respect of price, is among the most tremulous of all the commodities which are brought into a market—as sensitive, and as subject to variations, as is the fitful weather; and not only has it a greater range of fluctuation, but vibrates in its price with far greater facility and frequency than the other commodities of trade. A deficiency of one tenth in the crop, will raise the price greatly more than one tenth. A deficiency of one third will produce the alarm, and even much of the actual suffering, of a famine.

Now, labour might be considered in the light of a marketable commodity—the supply of which is measured by the number of labourers—and the price of which is regulated, as in other instances, by the proportion between this supply, and the demand. This price partakes, with that of the necessaries of life, in being liable to great fluctuation; and on the same principle, too, but in a sort of reverse direction. It is the urgent need of subsistence which so raises articles of the first necessity, even upon a very slight short-coming from their usual quantity in the market. And it is the same urgent need of subsistence which so lowers the price of labour; and that, upon a very slight overplus in the number of labourers. What, in fact, looking to one side of the negotiation, may be called the demand of the capitalists for labour,—when looking to the other side of it, may be called the demand of the labourers

for employment; and, in this latter demand, there may be all the importunity and vehemence of a demand for the necessaries of life. Employment, in fact, is the vehicle on which these necessaries are brought to their door; and should there be more hands than are wanted, rather than be thrown out of the competition altogether, there will be a general cheapening of their labour, and so that the fall in its price shall go greatly beyond the excess in the number of labourers. Men must have subsistence; and if employment be the essential stepping-stone to this, men must have employment;—and thus it is that capitalists have the same control over workmen, when there is an excess in their number, which the holders of the necessaries of life have over their customers, when there is a deficieney in the crop. And so, the price of labour too is a most tremulously variable element, and has as wide a range of fluctuation as the price of corn. A very small excess in the number of labourers will create a much greater proportional reduction in their wages. Should twenty thousand weavers of muslin be adequate, on a fair recompense for their work, to meet the natural demand that there is in that branch of manufacture, an additional thousand of these unemployed, and going about with their solicitations and offers among the master-manufacturers, would bring a fearful distress and deficiency on the circumstances of the whole body. The wages would fall by much more than a twen-

tieth part of what they were originally; and thus, by a very trifling excess in the number of workmen, might a very sore and widely felt depression be brought upon the comfort and sufficiency of the lower orders.*

---

* The author had occasion to advert to this principle some years ago, at a time of great commercial distress in Glasgow, and when measures were under deliberation, for the relief of those numerous workmen who were then suffering under an unexampled depression of their wages. The following extract is from a small written exposition, which, to serve a temporary purpose, he made of this topic, and for which, it may be proper to add, that he obtained admission in the 66th Number of the Edinburgh Review.

"It ought to be kept in mind, that there are particular lines of employment, where a given excess of workmen is sure to create a much greater proportional reduction in the rate of their wages. Should twenty thousand labourers, in a given branch of industry, so meet the demand for their services, as to afford to each of them a fair remuneration, then an additional thousand coming into competition with those who are already at work, may very possibly lower, by much more than a twentieth part, the price of their labour. In other words, the consequent deficiency of wages might go greatly beyond the fractional addition that had thus been made to the number of labourers.

"It is thus that, in certain kinds of work, a very small excess of hands may bring a very heavy distress and depression upon a whole body of operatives. The urgency of a few more than are wanted, soliciting for employment, and satisfied with any terms, rather than be kept out of it, may bring down the terms, to the whole profession, in a ratio so large, that the entire maintenance of these additional applicants for work, would not nearly cost so much as is lost, upon the whole, by the body of their fellow-workmen in the shape of reduced wages. For example, should two shillings a day be a fair remuneration for labour, and should it be the actual remuneration earned by twenty thousand workmen at some particular kind of it, an additional thousand might be maintained at this rate daily for a hundred pounds. But we should not be surprised to find that the effect of their appearance, and of their competition, was to bring down the daily wages to eighteen pence. Now, this would degrade beneath the average of comfort, twenty-one thousand workmen, by sixpence a day to each, or

Now, however melancholy this contemplation might be in the first instance, yet, by dwelling

---

by five hundred and twenty-five pounds a day to them all, taken collectively. In other words, a certain redundancy of men might entail a calamity upon their profession, which, when measured arithmetically, will be found to exceed, by upwards of five times the whole expense, either of maintaining them in idleness, or of giving them full and adequate wages at another employment.

"The above statement, we are persuaded, will recommend itself to the experience of all practical men;—nor do we think it difficult to apprehend the rationale of it. Men must have a subsistence for themselves and their families; and if this is only to be had through the medium of employment, men must have employment. If they cannot earn thereby a plentiful subsistence, they will rather put up with a scanty subsistence than have none at all. And thus it is that a surplus thousand of labourers may cheapen work, by a fraction greatly larger than the excess of their own number, over the former number of labourers;—and thus, from the necessity of a few, may there emanate an adverse influence which will spread itself over the many—and, with a very slight importation of more hands into a branch of industry already sufficiently occupied, may there be imported an evil so weighty, as to overbear for a time the whole profession, and to call forth from all the members of it, a general outcry of apprehension and distress.

"This view of the subject, if it contain in it matter of regret, that a cause so trivial should operate a mischief so extensive, contains in it also matter of consolation. As we have already travelled from the cause to the effect, we have only to travel back again from the effect to the cause; and if the cause be trivial, it may be remedied by a trivial exertion. The actual magnitude of any present or existing distress amongst a body of workmen, will not alarm us into a fear of its perpetuity, if we are right in tracing it to a cause so remediable, as to a small fractional excess in the number of these workmen. Should the addition of a thousand men on a branch of industry, which affords sufficient maintenance to twenty thousand, have the effect of reducing their maintenance by one-fourth, then, when a case of such grievous reduction actually occurs, it is fair to infer, that the transference or removal of a single twentieth part of these labourers, would operate as a restorative to the comfort and circumstances of them all. And, when one thinks of the many natural securities which there are for bringing about an adjustment of those partial and temporary differences that obtain between the demand for labour and the number of labourers, he may both admit the severity of an existing pressure, and be foremost in every sound and prac-

upon it a little further, we shall be led to discover certain outlets and reparations, that might cause us to look more hopefully than ever on the future destinies of our species. One thing is clear, that if so small a fractional excess in the supply of labour, over its demand, is enough to account for a very great deficiency in its remuneration, then, after all, it may lie within the compass of a small fractional relief to bring back the remuneration to its proper level, and so restore the desirable equilibrium between the wages of a workman and the wants of his family. It is comfortable to know, that the misery of an overwrought trade is capable of being retrieved on such easy terms—and that could either the present small excess of labourers be otherwise disposed of, or their future annual supply be somewhat and slightly restored, then might well-paid, and well-conditioned industry, that most cheerful of all spectacles, again be realized. Could any expedient be devised by which the number of labourers might be more equalized to the need that there is for them, then, instead of the manufacturers having so oppressive a control over the workmen, workmen might in some degree have a control over manufacturers. We should certainly regard it as a far more healthful state of the community, if our workmen, instead of

---

ticable measure for its alleviation, without reading in it the symptoms of any great national catastrophe, or losing his confidence in the stability of his country's wealth and greatness."

having to seek employment, were to be sought after; and that masters had to go in quest of service, rather than that labourers had to go a-begging for it. It is most piteous to see a population lying prostrate and overwhelmed under the weight of their own numbers; nor are we aware of a finer object, both for the wisdom and benevolence of patriotism, than to devise a method by which the lower orders might be rescued from this state of apparent helplessness. This would be done, if they were only relieved from the pressure of that competition by which they now elbow out, or beat down each other; but nothing more certain, than that not till the number of workmen bears a less proportion to the need which there is for them, will they be able to treat more independently with their employers, or make a stand against all such terms of remuneration, as would degrade their families beneath the par of human comfort.

That a very small excess of workmen over the need which there is for them, will create much more than a proportional depression in their wages, is just as true, as that a very small deficiency in the supply of the corn-market will create much more than a proportional rise in the price of that commodity. Both are true, and on the same principle too. It is, in either case, a very sore mischief, traceable to a very slight cause; and which, therefore, perhaps, may admit of being cured by the application of a very slight corrective. It appears, by M'Pherson's Annals of Commerce, that

the average importation of corn, during a great many years, exclusive of the two remarkable seasons of scarcity in 1800 and 1801, did not amount to more than eleven days consumption annually; and that even the greatest importation ever known, did not amount to one-tenth of the consumption of the island. These might appear but fractional remedies, which could be easily dispensed with; and so, the good of importation might come to be under-rated. But minute as these annual supplies may appear in themselves, they are momentous in their consequences; and lower the price of corn in the market, far more than they add to the stock of it. And, it is even so, of the relation which subsists between the number of people in a country, and the degree of comfort which they enjoy. A very small excess in the number, will operate a very great reduction upon the comfort. But just as a slight importation will restore the price of necessaries to their fair and natural level, so may either a slight exportation of our people, such as to dispose of their small excess, or a slight change of habits, such as to prevent their small excess, have the effect of raising the lower orders to that condition, in which every generous friend of humanity would rejoice to behold them.

It does not follow then, because there is a very great depression in the circumstances of a people, that, great as it is, it may not be removed either by a very slight exportation, or by a very slight prevention, so as somewhat to diminish the number of

them. These two expedients of relief are so distinct, that the one, it is imagined by many, might entirely supersede the other. That emigration, by which the excess of our population might be disposed of, should, in their apprehension, do away the practical importance of those checks by which the excess might have been prevented. There is, at all events, a certain relation between these two expedients, which, as well as each of the expedients themselves, is worthy of consideration.

We cannot enter upon this argument without adverting, in the first instance, to the celebrated theory of Mr. Malthus, on the subject of population. And one thing at least is manifest, that the very comprehension of his views, has retarded the practical application of them to any question of political or domestic economy. He writes in reference to the species, and the world; and the mind of his reader, by being constantly directed to the population of the whole globe, and to the relative capacities for their subsistence, that are diffused over the surface of it, can make escape from his conclusions by roaming in imagination over the vast regions that are yet unpeopled, and the wilds that, however rich in nature's luxuriance, have been yet untrodden by human footsteps. The speculation is admitted by many to be true, who, nevertheless, would lie upon their oars till the last acre on the face of the earth was brought to its highest possible cultivation. The reply to an alleged excess of population in Britain, is, that

New Holland offers a space equal to twenty Britains, which has been yet unentered upon; and that till this space be fully occupied, there is only one expedient which we have to do with, even that of emigration—that, meanwhile, the other expedient, or a preventive check upon the increase of population, is wholly uncalled for, that it may lie in reserve for that futurity which is still at an indefinite distance from us—and that when agriculture shall have done its uttermost upon all lands, it will be fully soon enough to think of keeping the human species within that maximum of human subsistence which shall then have been arrived at.

But after all, it does not necessarily follow, that the pressure of the world's population upon the world's food, will remain unfelt, till the latter has attained its maximum. It is quite enough for this effect, that the tendency to an increase of population is greater than the tendency to an increase of food. When a moving body comes into contact with one that is stationary, it exerts upon it the force of a certain pressure—which may represent that of an increasing population upon means of subsistence now stationary, because now augmented to the uttermost. But when the moving body, instead of coming into contact with one that is stationary, overtakes one that is moving in the same direction with itself, but with less velocity—still there is a pressure, no doubt less than the former one, yet proportional to the difference be-

tween the velocities, and which may represent the actual pressure, wherewith every population will bear upon their means of subsistence, should they but tend to increase faster than their means. It all depends on the proportion which there is between the tendencies to an increase of population and an increase of food; and hence, it is a possible thing, even now, for the population of the world to press too hard upon its means of subsistence—and therefore, a desirable thing at this moment, as well as centuries afterwards, that every moral and salutary check were laid on the multiplication of our species. It is quite an imaginary comfort to the suffering families of England, that there are tracts in New Holland, capable of maintaining a tenfold population to that of the British empire. They cannot transport themselves there in an instant. They cannot raise at once the means, either for their own emigration, or for the cultivation of this unbroken territory—and if not at once, then it must take a time ere this consummation is gained; and it is simply enough, for the upholding of a continuous pressure, that during that time, there is a greater force of progress in the world's population than in the world's food. Could we, by the lifting up of a magical wand, cause a ripened harvest to arise and cover the whole of earth's improvable surface, then every preventive check on the number of mankind, may, for the present at least, be suspended. But if, in point of fact, our species have to toil their way to this

accomplishment for many successive generations, then, by reason of the intervening obstacles, a pressure may be felt, and without the operation of a preventive check, the great human family may all along be in the misery of a straitened condition. The existence of such a country as New Holland may lighten this misery, but no more do it away than a similar tract of land in the moon or any of the planets, to which emigration is impossible. There may not be such a barrier, as shall intercept all emigration, and utterly close every outlet for our redundant people, but at least such a barrier as would impede the full tide of emigration requisite for our complete and total deliverance. Thousands of years may elapse ere all the facilities shall be opened, and the requisite capital shall so overflow, as to occupy the whole of that domain which has been yet unentered on. It is a gradual process, carried forward by the emigrations of each successive year; and, during the whole period, it may hold true, that many shall be in circumstances of distress, while few shall be in circumstances to emigrate. This is the real condition of every country that is sending forth its families, from time to time, to colonize distant territories. There are light and adventurous spirits that will move on every impulse; but nothing, save actual and felt distress, will exile from their homes any considerable number of whole families. Those who do move, have the means to emigrate; and others who have not, remain in straitness and

suffering where they are. Even the aid of government cannot go beyond a certain limit; and, after it has done its uttermost, still there may be a distressed, because a redundant population. These successive ejections of the people, are like the successive escapes of steam by a safety-valve, which relieve the pressure that is within, but still it remains a pressure that is in equilibrium with the weight which is incumbent over it. Now, it is not desirable that there should be so strong an elastic pressure from within, as that the people shall be straitened and in durance, up to the point of being tempted to emigrate. A country is in a state of violence when at all comparable to a vessel, that is always on the eve of bursting, unless relieved by a constant efflux, or by successive discharges. To mitigate this violence is at all times desirable; and it were surely a better and a blander community at home, if, instead of the people being urged on to the very margin of the country's capabilities to maintain them, they had rather ease, and amplitude, and sufficiency in their own native land, and were kept a good way within the point of emigration.

It says much for the soundness of the principles of Mr. Malthus, that they always become more evident the narrower the field is on which they are exemplified; and, consequently, the nearer the inspection is to which they are submitted. When he affirms, in reference to the whole species, that there is an evil in premature marriages,

for that the population of the world are thereby caused to press inconveniently on the food of the world, one finds a refuge from his conclusions, in the imagination of many fertile but yet unculti-vated tracts, that might yield the greatest possible scope to the outlet of families for centuries to come. Or, when he affirms the same thing, in reference to a kingdom, even apart from emigration, there is still a refuge from his conclusions, in the yet unreclaimed wastes, and yet imperfect agriculture, of the land in which we dwell. But one needs not his philosophy to feel the whole force of his principle within the limits of a family, where the premature marriage of a son, who had rashly, and previously to any right establishment of himself in the world, entered upon this engagement, would be deplored by all the members of it as a most calamitous visitation; and that, too, both on account of the present expense, and also the eventual expense of a rising progeny. It would be no consolation, in these circumstances, to be told of the millions of acres, both at home and abroad, that could yet be turned to the sustenance of millions of human beings. This will pass for a reply to the speculations of Mr. Malthus, when the question relates to the population of the globe, or to the population of our empire: but it will not be sustained as a dissuasive of any weight against the alarm that is felt, lest the improvident marriage of a son, who had no tenement of his own, should bring on the inconvenience of an

over-peopled household. The danger and the imprudence are here distinctly apprehended; and no objection that can be alleged against his Theory of Population, when proposed in its abstract and universal form, can surely overbear those lessons of practical and experimental wisdom, that have been familiarly recognized as such by men of plain, yet substantial understanding, long before his theory was ever heard of. *

In like manner would we plead for an exemption from the obloquy that attaches to this Theory, when, instead of speculating and providing for the whole world, we concentrate our views on a single parish, and recal our scattered imagination from other continents and other climes, to that

---

* Mr. Malthus, in his chapter on the checks to population in the islands of the South Sea, says well of Otaheite, that "The difficulty here is reduced to so narrow a compass, is so clear, precise, and forcible, that we cannot escape from it. It cannot be answered in the usual vague and inconsiderate manner, by talking of emigration and further cultivation. In the present instance, we cannot but acknowledge that the one is impossible, and the other glaringly inadequate. The fullest conviction must stare us in the face, that the people on this groupe of islands could not continue to double their numbers every twenty-five years; and before we proceed to inquire into the state of society on them, we must be perfectly certain, that unless a perpetual miracle render the women barren, we shall be able to trace some very powerful checks to population in the habits of the people."

It is the narrowness of the compass which causes the operation of Mr. Malthus' principle to be so distinctly seen within the limits of a household, and also within the limits of a parish, if any barrier to emigration has been thrown around it. Now the poor laws have thrown an artificial barrier of this sort around an English parish; so that the miseries of a redundant population may there be most distinctly exemplified, and without escape from them, either in emigration, or in the further cultivation of distant parts of the world.

which lies directly and familiarly before us, among the population of our own little vicinity. And the truth is, that the poor laws of England tend to isolate each of its parishes from the rest of the world; and so, to bring it more clearly and definitely before us, as a separate object of contemplation. More particularly, do they throw a barrier around each, which, though not altogether insuperable, has yet been of great efficacy in hemming each population within its own boundaries, and closing up the outlets to emigration. It is in this way that the most encouraging offers of a settlement in distant lands, are often resisted by the English peasantry. They are aware of a certain right by the law of pauperism, upon their own native soil; and this they are not willing to forego. They feel that they have a property at home, which they would relinquish by the measure; and that reasoning, therefore, which blinds the eye of the reader against the truth of the general speculation, is not applicable in present circumstances to the case that is before us. And the poor laws not only check the egress of the redundant population to our distant colonies; they go a certain way to impede and to lessen the free interchange of people from one parish to another, both by begetting in each a jealousy of new settlers, and augmenting the natural preference for home by the superadded tie, that there they have their proper and their rightful inheritance; the benefit of which can be got far more directly and conve-

niently when on the spot, than when they remove themselves to a distant part of the country. But even when so removed, they still hold on their own parish; and, like non-resident proprietors, can have their rent transmitted to them; and may, in fact, be as burdensome as if they still resided within its limits. It is thus that the vestry, whence the dispensations of pauperism proceed, may be regarded as a kind of adhesive nucleus, around which the people of each parish accumulate and settle, and so present us with as distinct an exemplification of the theory of Mr. Malthus, as if each were in itself a little world; the affairs and difficulties of which, may, at the same time, be considered without his theory being in our heads at all. It is not in the least necessary to blend with the argument any wide or general speculation. We happen to regard Mr. Malthus' Theory of Population as quite incontrovertible. Yet we do not link with it our reprobation of English pauperism, any more than we would link with it our reprobation of a precipitate marriage in a destitute and unprepared family. Let his theory be execrated as it may, let it even be outargued by its adversaries, this will not overthrow any of those maxims of domestic prudence, that might be learned at the mouth of every ordinary housewife; and, neither, will it overthrow any demonstration of those evils in pauperism, which, with or without a philosophical treatise, are quite obvious to the home-bred sagacity of country squires and parish overseers.

CHAP. XVIII.

ON THE EFFECT OF A POOR RATE, WHEN APPLIED IN AID OF DEFECTIVE WAGES.

Let us therefore withdraw our regards from the extended speculations of Mr. Malthus, and confine them to the state and regimen of one parish—addressing ourselves to the current experience of plain and practical men, who both painfully feel, and clearly understand the mischiefs of their present economy; yet, whose understandings would only be mystified by the demonstrations of a political arithmetic, which took in a wider scope than that of their own humble community. In every such parish, there is a certain quantity of work to be done, and a certain number of labourers would suffice for the doing of it. Some of them may be imported from abroad; and, on the other hand, some of the native workmen may have gone beyond their own parochial limits in quest of employment. Still, with or without these movements, there is a certain number in the parish of able or available labourers, who, if barely adequate to the labour that is required, will be hired upon a fair remuneration; but who, if they exceed, will be glad to accept of an inferior remuneration, rather than want employment altogether. It is this competition which brings down the wages of labour;

and, on the principle that is already unfolded, a very small excess in the number of labourers may give rise to a very large reduction in the price of labour. It is in vain to say that this excess will naturally discharge itself upon other places. So it would, in a natural state of things. So it always does in those parishes of Scotland where a compulsory provision is unknown. But in England, where the practice is now established, of ministering from the poor rate, not merely to the indigence of age, and sickness, and impotency, but to the indigence of able-bodied, though ill-paid industry, this excess is not so easily disposed of. There is a principle of adherence in the system, which detains and fastens it upon every parish where once this excess has been formed; and we hold it very instructive, to look at the various expedients by which it has been met, and at the uniform failure which has attended them.

The distress of inferior wages, is, in the first instance, felt by the fathers of large families; and, accordingly, they are the first who have been benefitted by the extension of the legal charity of England beyond those cases, for which it has been alleged, by the defenders of the system as established by the act of Elizabeth, that it was strictly and originally intended. Certain it is, that if there really was any such limitation designed in the primary construction of the statute, it is now very generally disregarded, and there is nought more common, particularly in the southern counties,

than a composition of wages and poor rate, both of which are made to enter into the maintenance of an able-bodied labourer. There are two questions generally asked of the applicant for parish relief, and which may be regarded as furnishing the data that fix the parish allowance: "What do you earn?" and "What is the number of the family that you have to maintain?" and, if the wages be held inadequate to the family, the deficiency, in most instances, is held to be as firm a ground of application, as the utter helplessness of impotency or disease. The defect in wages is eked out by a weekly allowance from the poor rate; and he, who in other circumstances would have been left as an independent workman upon his own resources, becomes, under this system, a dependent upon legal charity.*

* I have had the honour of receiving communications upon this subject, from the justly celebrated Thomas Clarkson. The following is his information of two methods, according to which they proceed in certain villages of the county of Suffolk, with regard to the allowance for parents of large families.

"In some villages they allow handsome and proper wages per week, say nine shillings to every man employed. Now, nine shillings will do very well, as far as a man, wife, and two children go; but will not be enough where the children are from three to six, or more. All, therefore, which the large families may want beyond the nine shillings, they pay out of the poor's rates. This is not unjust, because they give to every man a fair and equitable wage, according to the times; that is, as much as he can earn. The family man wants undoubtedly more than the single man, but still he cannot earn more; and, very often, not so much. All, then, have fair wages; and if there are wants beyond what the weekly wages will provide, they belong to the parish in common. The tailor, the shoemaker, &c. is equally bound with the farmer to contribute to the wants of the parish; and what reason have they to complain, when the farmer, after paying his men

This then is the first application of poor-rate to wages which claims our regard. Before that single and able-bodied men can have the benefit of this poor-rate, the parents of families must have been visited by its allowances; and that, just in proportion to the number of their offspring. It is a premium on population, and must serve to perpetuate the cause of that mischief which it is designed to alleviate. There is a general feeling, all over England, of something wrong in this composition of wages with the parish allowance; and, along with it, a sort of anxiety, in some places, to vindicate their management from the imputation of a practice that is felt to be discreditable; so that when the question is put, whether it be the habit

---

fair wages for their work, pays also his share towards their extraordinary wants?

"In Playford, again, we do differently. We do not pay all our men alike. We pay nine shillings per week, as far as a man, wife, and two children; but we pay all the family, or rather large family-men, by the piece, so as to make them earn ten, eleven, and twelve shillings per week. We differ again in another respect, for we pay all the surplus beyond nine shillings entirely out of our own pockets. We never go to the poor rates for this surplus, in order, if possible, to promote a spirit of independence among our labourers. Where the surplus is paid out of the poor rates, every labourer knows it; that is, he knows that he gets nine shillings from the farmer, and two or three from the parish: but in Playford, the labourer, when he takes his money home at the end of the week, has the pleasure of reflecting, that all the money is of his own earning, unmixed with any parish gift. This is so, except in a few cases; for, where a man has a wife, and seven or eight children, it would be hard upon a farmer to pay him twenty shillings per week, when the labourer could only earn ten or twelve. In such extraordinary cases as these, there is a regular allowance for such pauper, beyond his wages, out of the parish funds, to do justice both to the man and to the master."

of the place to supplement defective wages out of the poor-rate, a very frequent reply is, that it is never done by them; and that nothing is ever given in consideration of a low wage, but only in consideration of a large family. This way of shifting it from one ground to another, though practically it makes no difference as to the effect of the regimen, yet is very instructive as to the rationale of its operation. Though Malthus had never written, there could not be a more complete exposition than is given by the answers of unlettered and unsophisticated men, of the bearing that English pauperism has upon population. We do not need to embarrass this contemplation with any argument respecting the soundness or unsoundness of his theory. Here we have parents paid out of a legal and compulsory fund, because of the largeness of their families; and we may safely appeal to the common sense and sagacity of the most unspeculative minds, whether this must not add to the number of marriages in a parish—whether it does not slacken all those prudential restraints, that else would have operated as a check upon their frequency—whether the hesitation and delay, that, in a natural state of things, are associated with this step, are not in a great measure overborne by the prospect thus held out, of a defence and a guarantee against the worst consequences of many a rash and misguided adventure. Must not marriages become earlier, and, therefore, more productive under such a system, than they otherwise would be? Or, in other

words, is not this remedy for the low wages, induced by an excess of people, the likeliest instrument that could be devised, not only for keeping up the excess, but for causing it to press still more on the already urged and overburdened resources of this small parochial community? This mode of curing the disease is the most effectual for upholding it; and that, in constantly increasing vigour and virulency from one generation to another. And when one adverts to the principle that has already often been appealed to, that a very small excess of labourers is enough to account for a very great deficiency in the price of labour, it just ascertains and aggravates the conclusion the more, seeing, by how very slight an addition to the frequency of marriages, the mischief in question might be effectuated.*

---

* From the abstract of the returns sent to the Committee on Labourers' Wages, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 10th of May, 1825, it would appear that the practice of making an allowance to able-bodied labourers, according to the number of their families, obtains very extensively in the southern and midland counties. To the question, "Do any labourers in your district employed by the farmers, receive either the whole or any part of the wages of their labour out of the poor rates?" there seems to be a great majority of affirmative answers from many of the counties. The same holds true of the answers to the second question: "Is it usual, in your district, for married labourers having children, to receive assistance from the parish rate?" And to the third question: "If so, does such allowance begin when they have one child or more?" the answers are exceedingly various. In many cases they give to able-bodied labourers without children. Some parishes commence the allowance from the poor rate with one child; others when the family has attained the number of two, three, or four children. There is frequently a rule upon which they proceed, of calculating so much a head for each individual of the family, and if the earning do not amount to the computed sum, making up the dif-

One needs only to be versant in the familiar details of parish management in England, in order to be convinced of the real practical effect that their pauperism has on the frequency of marriages. In some cases, the allowance is not given till the family have reached the extent of two or three children. But, in other cases, when the proper wages have been still further depressed, and the habit obtains of compounding with them a still larger ingredient of poor-rate, the distinction between pensioned and unpensioned labourers takes place at an earlier stage in the progress. Sometimes the formal parish allowance begins immediately with the event of matrimony. Insomuch, that single men, on being refused the parochial aid for eking out their miserable wages, have threatened to marry—have put their threat into execution, and been instantly preferred, in consequence, to a place in the vestry roll, among those who have qualified in like manner. When marriage is thus made the qualification for an allowance from the poor-rate, one does not see how the poor-rate can escape the charge of being a bounty upon marriage. And, accordingly, this evil is so much felt and deprecated, that, in certain places, they have resolved to abolish the distinction between the allowances to single and married men; and actually pay all alike, though at a great additional expense

---

ference out of the poor rate. Hence this allowance is familiarly known, in many parts of England, by the name of "head-money."

in the meantime—and this, to arrest and lighten, if possible, that coming tide of population wherewith they fear to be overwhelmed.*

---

* The following are the questions and replies of a correspondence with Mr. Smoothy, a farmer in the parish of Halsted in Essex:—

"Has not the shame of pauperism very much abated of late? Yes.

"Do not young men sometimes marry with the direct object of getting parish relief? It has been threatened, and I believe acted upon.

"Have they not threatened to marry that they may get an additional allowance? Yes.

"To employ idle hands, are you not often obliged to give useless work? And is not this parish-work very apt to introduce them into idleness and dissipation? We have expended large sums in useless labour, and the men became idle and dissipated.

"Does not a married man get six shillings a-week for working on the road? Yes.

"And is not this often made up to eight, nine, or ten shillings, when there are children? Yes.

"Have you not had occasion to send twenty, thirty, or forty men, round with a paper for employment? Yes.

"When you fail, do you not give four shillings a-week to a single man whom you keep idle? We do not now give so much; two shillings, or two shillings and sixpence.

"Have you not expended a great deal of money uselessly in finding labour? Yes; large sums.

"And do not all expedients often fail, and then you have to maintain them idle? Yes.

"Are not many of them idling about, and standing in the streets all the day long? Yes.

"Would not many of them be glad to get work at any wages? Yes, in some cases.

"Is there not a strong feeling of the helplessness and difficulty of your state of pauperism? Yes.

"Do not the farmers often refuse to have the work of these men, even though they might have it for nothing? Yes, in some instances.

"Do not the people often marry in very early life? Yes, quite boys.

"And do they not count on the additional allowance for a wife and children? I believe they do.

"Is it not difficult to arrive at the truth in the examination of the cir-

But we are not to suppose, that by this compromise between the payers of charity and the payers of labour, all the able-bodied of a parish are admitted to employment. There is a limit to the work of a parish; but while this economy lasts, there can be no limit to the number of its workmen, who, of course, after various expedients and ingenuities have been practised, for the purpose of intercepting them with something to do, at length overflow into a state of total idleness. One of these expedients is to send round the men who have not fallen into employment in the regular and customary way, to send them round among the farmers, with the lure of getting their work on very cheap terms, as the parish will pay the difference between their low wages, and the sum that might be deemed necessary for their entire maintenance. It is no doubt an advantage to the farmer to have his work done cheaply —but where is the advantage, if he have no work

---

cumstances of the applicants? Yes, very difficult. Pauperism is now no shame, and every artifice is practised to get on the parish."

This correspondence took place in the latter end of 1822. A few months afterwards he added, "We have, some months past, billetted the surplus hands to different farmers and tradesmen, according to their occupations, and pay them from the rate, yet in some instances they are refused.

"We billet about sixty in the week, and the numbers are increasing.

"We have about eight labourers to an hundred acres, (it seems five labourers are reckoned a sufficient complement for an hundred acres,) so that I may safely say, we have a surplus of more than one-third, could the farmer find the means of paying his five men to an hundred acres of land."

for them to do? Every one department may be already filled and supersaturated with labour. For the accommodation of idle hands, threshing machines may be put down, and a ruder and clumsier agriculture may have been perpetuated, and all ingenious devices by which the human mind could contrive to abridge labour, may have been prescribed, and just that human muscles may be kept in as full requisition as possible. Yet all is ineffectual; and many a weary circuit often have these roundsmen to make, knocking at every door for admittance, yet everywhere refused—till at length, after all their attempts are exhausted, they devolve the whole burden of their existence on the parish, and gather into a band of supernumeraries.*

---

* The following impressive statements on this subject are from the pen of Mr. Clarkson:—"I verily believe that every farmer with us takes as many as he can find money to pay, and that he gives his men competent wages, I mean his regular men, and not the supernumeraries; for these are labourers to the parish at a very inferior rate. The regular men were seldom better off of late years than they are now. I think that our farmers, if they had money, might employ between them three or four more regular labourers than they do; but I think they could not, even if they had money, find work for all; and, if this be the case now, what will it be in fifty years, if the poor laws remain unaltered, if the poor continue to increase as they have hitherto done, and if there be no vent for the surplus population, or if the population will take no pains to seek support for itself. I am sure the Suffolk farmers take as many as they can pay, and almost as many as they could employ, and yet leave a long list of supernumeraries: but, in some parts of the county, they do not pay their labourers so liberally as we do in ours, not by eighteenpence per week a man.

"We had seven supernumeraries in October 1822, but we have had more since: we had, in December and January, 1823, thirteen at one time. We

And, exceedingly various have been the devices for their employment. Sometimes they have been congregated into work-houses, where they are provided with any employment that can be got for them by the parish overseers. At other times they have been farmed out to a speculator, who has turned the work-house into a factory, and possesses himself of their services at a rate exceedingly beneath the market price of labour. At other times, they may be seen in a kind of disorderly band, labouring either upon parish roads, or in sand and gravel pits. The value of what they render in this way for their subsistence, is in general very insignificant. The truth is, that an increasing population can no more be supplied indefinitely with profitable work, than they can be supplied indefinitely with money or with food. It is more for a moral effect, than for the worth of

---

have, however, not one at this moment (July, 1823); for the dry, windy weather, which we have had almost incessantly for the last seven weeks, has been the finest season for hoeing wheat, and other crops, almost ever known; and hoeing is a process indispensable in Suffolk. But I understand that five or six are likely to become supernumerary in a few days; and this number will increase, and be out of regular employ, more or less, till Harvest; and that even then, some of them will not have work; but that, after October or November, we shall have from eight to thirteen out of employ till Spring again. This will bring a great burthen on the Parish, and be a great calamity to the poor supernumerary; because, not having half the wages of the regular man, he will not have enough to support himself with any comfort; and this will probably lead to idleness and crime."

It is to be observed, that Playford, of which Mr. Clarkson writes, is a very small Parish, of only 264 inhabitants, by the census of 1821.

their labour, that these various modes of industry are laid upon them. Better give them something to do, than that they should be wholly idle. Though even this object is not always accomplished, and in many of the agricultural parishes, they may be seen lounging out a kind of lazzaroni life, upon a weekly pittance from the vestry, in the fields or on the highways.

There is one very sore evil in this system. It has distempered altogether the relationship between a master and his servants. The latter feel less obligation to the former for being taken into his employment, seeing that they have a refuge in poor-rates, from the destitution which in other countries attaches to a state of idleness. They are not so careful in seeking work for themselves, as the law has rendered them in some measure independent of it. It becomes more, in fact, the interest of the house and land occupiers in the parish that they shall have employment, than their own interest; and they, exempted in this way from the care of themselves, and from all those sobrieties and virtues which are thereby called into exercise, become reckless, and like to a difficult or unmanageable charge in the hand of guardians. The consequences are most mischievous, and more particularly in the bitterness and discomfort which have been introduced into all the departments of service. In like manner, as the anxiety of the lower orders to get employment is lessened under this system, so their anxiety to keep the employ-

ment is lessened also; and, in this way, the master loses a most important hold on their fidelity and good conduct. They care little though they should be dismissed; and this has often the effect of making them idle and insolent. They know, that even though it should come to the worst, they must be maintained; and one may well conceive all the harassments and heart-burnings of such a loose and ill-sorted alliance, between a master that has no authority, and servants that are under no dependence—the one in a state of constant irritation, or fearfulness—the other in a state of hardy defiance, and, in fact, inverting the relationship altogether, by the virtual subjection in which their employer is held by them.

For under this perverse and most unlucky arrangement of things, the master has little or no choice of servants, and no benefit from any competition of theirs for employment. It has the effect, in a certain manner, of limiting the market for labour, within the narrow boundaries of each distinct and isolated parish. In the present state of the agricultural districts, over-peopled as they are even to compression, a master cannot go for labourers into another parish, without as many being thrown totally idle at home, as he has imported from abroad, and whose total maintenance, therefore, must be devolved on that poor-rate to which he himself is a contributor. This is felt by himself in common with all the other payers, so that often there is a sort of tacit obligation on the

part of farmers, to employ none but the hinds, or labourers, whose settlement and right of relief lie in the parish. This is well understood by the other party. They know that their masters have no other resource than to keep them in their service; and the utter carelessness of habit, which this must engender amongst them, may be easily imagined. Nature has established a mutual interest between man and man; and when left to herself, she maketh the checks, and the mutual influences that are dependent thereupon, most beautifully subservient to the well-being of all. But this injudicious policy of man has broken it up, and has now brought the society of England into a state of most fearful disorganization.

After all, the employment which is given for the purpose of mitigating the rate, is little better than idleness in disguise. In the case of roundsmen, the whole remuneration is made up, partly of wages from the master, and partly of an allowance from the parish; and there is nothing more common, than when they have wrought to a certain amount, or for so many hours in the day, to take the rest of the day very much to themselves—and though still under the semblance of doing something at an allotted task, literally to do nothing. It is a familiar saying amongst them, that "Our master has now got all that time in the day from us which he has paid for—what the parish pays for is our own!" and this proportion, even though fairly and accurately struck, leaves a sad vacancy in their hands,

which is often filled up with positive mischief. At all events, it wholly corrupts and relaxes them as labourers. They lose the tone and habit of good workmen. Under this artificial economy, the interest and the industry of the labourer stand dissociated the one from the other; and that wholesome discipline of penalties and rewards, which nature hath instituted, is put an end to. They become ill-conditioned, both morally and economically; and the fabric of our ancient commonwealth becomes unsound at its basis, as the olden character disappears, of a hearty, hard-working, well-paid, and withal well-habited peasantry.

There is one very melancholy process connected with this system, and that must transmit and accumulate this deterioration from one age to another. As the young generation of numerous and premature families rises up in a parish, and the boys are veering towards manhood, they of course swell and aggravate still more the already overdone competition for employment. Now, it is regarded as a higher place in labour to be admitted among the regular servants of a farmer, than among the roundsmen. The former are on the whole better paid; and the latter look to any vacancy there, as a sort of preferment, to which those of full-grown manhood, and who have perhaps served months and years in the capacity of roundsmen, have a better claim than mere striplings who have come out for the first time in quest of employment. So that very generally, in many of the parishes,

the vacancies among the regular farm servants are filled by roundsmen, and the consequent vacancies among the roundsmen filled by the raw and unpractised youths from the general population. In other words, their first outset as labourers, is with those who have got into the idle and profligate habits to which their situation peculiarly exposes them—a circumstance most ruinous to their own future habit and character as workmen, and most directly fitted to perpetuate and augment the tide of corruption, as it bears downward from the present generation to the next. It is further a most grievous necessity in their state, that they should be forced to commence their life as paupers, that they should be familiarized, from a tender age, to the allowances of the parish vestry, that all generous and aspiring independence should be smothered when in embryo within them, and a new race should arise so fostered and prepared as to outstrip their predecessors in the rapacity, and the meanness, and all the sordid or degrading habits of pauperism.*

It comes to the same result, whether they are sent about as roundsmen, or are wholly paid and employed by the parish as supernumeraries. In the latter case, they may give their labour either

---

* In the Parliamentary Abstract, above referred to, the fourth question is, "Is it usual for the Overseers of the poor, to send to the farmers labourers who cannot find work—to be paid partly by the employer, and partly out of the poor-rates?" And, from the affirmative answers which are returned by the parishes of the midland and southern counties, it would appear, that this practice is a very general one.

in a work-house or out of doors. But both from the difficulty of supplying work, and from the lax superintendence into which the whole system is so apt to degenerate, it may be regarded as a vast nursery both of idleness and vice all over England. We do not hesitate to charge on the pauperism of England the vast majority of its crimes —detaining by its promises, within the borders of every parish, a greater number of families than it can well and comfortably provide for—luring, as it were, more into existence than it can meet with the right and requisite supplies—and, after having conducted them onward to manhood, leaving them in a state of unsated appetency, and withal in leisure for the exercise of their ingenuities, by which to devise its gratification. We cannot conceive a state of the commonwealth more fermentative of crime, from the thousand unnoticed and unnoticeable pilferments, that, we fear, are in daily and very extended operation among the labouring classes, to the higher feats of villany, the midnight enterprise, the rapine, sealed, if necessary, with blood, the house assault, the highway depredation.*

---

* It is obviously a thing of some delicacy, to publish the representations which may be given of the state of morality in a neighbourhood—and more especially, when furnished by one who is residing within its limits. But we fear, that the following account, given by Mr. Clarkson, of the decay of all right independence among the lower classes, will serve for a great many of the neighbourhoods in England.

" The spirit of independence is not entirely, but nearly gone. It is not, I believe, to be found in nine out of ten among the poor. Here and there an old-fashioned labourer remains, who would suffer much, rather than ask

Simply, if labour were better paid, it would not be so. Were there room and occupancy for all the

---

for relief. I have two of this description, out of fourteen labourers; but I doubt if there are other three of the same sort, in the three other farms of the parish. Among the persons born of late years, from the age of ten to thirty, all hang upon the parish for support. No one of these blushes to ask for relief, but, on the other hand, they demand it unblushingly as a right. Poor-rates, as you know, were first established for the aged, sick, lame, blind, and impotent. No fault could reasonably be found with this part of the law; but afterwards, in the same reign, the Parishes were made to find work for the unemployed, however robust, active, and healthy. Here the great evil began; for poor people, after this, would not take the trouble of going to other places to look for work. Why should they travel about for a precarious subsistence, when there was an obligation to maintain them at home? Since this time, the poor have been making, slowly and by degrees, new demands and encroachments; and the Magistrates, having been generally men of humanity, and not having foreseen the consequences which have taken place, have generously yielded to them, till their concessions from time to time have grown into customs, and been falsely interpreted into laws. When a poor woman, for example, has been delivered of a child, the husband generally goes to the Overseer, and applies for relief for his wife. Some Overseers, timid or compassionate, acquiesce: others refuse. But it has now passed into a custom, that every lying-in woman should be relieved with her third or fourth child. Let us see what happens next. A young family rises up. The father of this family sometimes hears of a place for his son or his daughter, with some farmer of a neighbouring, or other parish. He then applies to the Overseer to fit out his child with clothes. Such applications have passed also into a custom; and it has become a custom to accede to them, on the principle, that they who look out for service for their children, ought to be encouraged, and that, if the child keeps his service for one year, he belongs to another parish. I have been frequently at Vestry Meetings, when such applications have been made for clothing. I have told the father,—'The children are yours, and it is your duty to provide for them, or you ought not to have married.' The answer has always been, 'The children belong to you (the Parish); I cannot get for them what they want; you therefore must.' No one can beat it into their heads, that the children belong to them, not to the parish. I have been quite disgusted with their conversation at such meetings. I have often been inclined to think, that they have no natural affection for their children, and I have told them

demand after employment, and did that employment meet with a comfortable subsistence in return

---

60. Certain it is, that they do not consider themselves to be under any obligation to bring up their children, at their own expense, beyond a certain age. They will tell you at once, 'I have brought up the boy so far. I wish to get rid of him. (What an expression this!) He belongs to you.' If the boy arrives at this age, and his father cannot find a service for him, the father makes no hesitation to demand either a weekly allowance for him, or that work may be found for him, or that he may be apprenticed out at the expense of the parish. Thus the parish is to do every thing, and the father nothing. Thus generation follows generation, and the notion is every where diffused, that the poor man is under no necessity to rely upon his own efforts. In fact, almost all our labourers hang upon the parish for every thing. This hanging upon the parish, is discernible in various ways that may be mentioned. If a man, for example, is turned away by his master, for idleness, negligence, abusive language, supposed theft, &c. &c. he goes directly to the Overseer, and, though in some degree a culprit, he has the assurance to ask for money or work. The Overseer then sends him round (this is the usual practice,) to all the other farmers in the parish (except the man who discharged him,) to see if any of these will employ him. Perhaps he is two days in making the inquiry. At length he returns. His report is, that no one has a vacancy for him. He demands, therefore, again, either work or money; and, what will appear to you to be most extraordinary, he demands, without blushing, to be paid for the two days he lost in looking out for new work, though he lost his former seat of work by his own misconduct. The Overseer resists this new demand. The consequence is, that the pauper generally pours forth against him a torrent of abuse. The Overseer, however, remains firm in this point, and then proceeds to speak to him thus: 'If you cannot, as you say, get work in your own parish, you must go to the next town or village to seek it.' What, think you, is the man's reply? He talks about his rights. He refuses to go. 'No,' says he to the Overseer, 'It is your business to find me with work. I will not budge a step out of the parish. You must go yourself, and seek it.' This, I assure you, insolent as it is, is the general answer. The Overseer, after this, is obliged to give him either a weekly allowance, or to make him a supernumerary; that is, to set him upon some parish job. Here a new scene takes place between the two. The pauper is usually dissatisfied with his allowance, and therefore abuses the Overseer. He threatens to bring him before a Magistrate, and proceeds to imprecations. This is not always, but almost

for it, we should forthwith see a more orderly, and tranquil, and safe population. It bears the expression of a kindness to the people, that, when all the regular departments of service are filled, and there is still left an overplus of hands, there should lie a legal obligation on each parish to harbour, either as roundsmen or as supernumeraries,

---

always the case. Some Overseers have been so timid, as to have made the best terms they could with the pauper. Others have taken him before a Magistrate, but this seldom happens; and he has been confined a few days in prison for his abuse. Other overseers, being strong men, and also men of great courage, have turned him by main force, or kicked him, out of their premises. These violent scenes have occurred every now and then, during the six years I have been in Playford. The supernumeraries are still insolent to the Overseer, as he happens to come in contact with them, either when he superintends their work, or pays them at the end of the week; but they are not in general so grossly or vehemently abusive, as they used to be four or five years ago, because the Magistrates, having begun to see the evil of the Poor-laws, have of late leaned more to the side of the farmers than of the paupers, but particularly in confirming lower allowances to the latter. In fact, the Poor-laws have taught the paupers to discard all dependence upon themselves, and to look to the parish for every thing they want. During the last three or four years, they have been making a new effort at encroachment. Several of them have applied to the Overseer to pay their rents for them, that is, the rents of their cottages; and such applications have increased. What will they want next? The more you give them, the more helpless you make them, or the more you lessen their dependence on their own exertions for their support. Let me now mention, that, besides all these demands, it is usual, when a man or woman dies, to apply for coffins for them; and it has passed into a custom for the parishes to allow these. The labourer never thinks of making any savings or provision for burying the dead; at least, for any coffin to hold the body.—Thus a pauper in England, though he has the finest chance in the world of providing for himself, in consequence of the free scope which the constitution of his Government gives him, can neither, as we have seen, come into the world, nor live in it, nor go out of it, without burdening his Parish."

the men who have not been so fortunate as to find the better occupation. It is not known how woful the amount of depression is, which a very few of these might bring upon the wages of agricultural labour. If there be any truth in the principle that we have already attempted to expound, a small fractional excess of workmen thus detained, and under the guise of humanity too, are enough to bring a sad discomfort and deficiency on the circumstances of the whole body. In the higgling for wages between the farmer and his servants, what a mighty advantage is given to the former, by the simple circumstance of their being a few outcasts from regular work, that would be glad of the very place which any of his present workmen may be threatening to leave, or refusing to accept of on his terms. On the other hand, had there been no supernumeraries and no roundsmen, or still more, a very few less in the parish than its farmers and capitalists have use for, what a mighty turning of the scale would this produce in favour of the other party. A very small difference, indeed, in the number of the people, would suffice to create this most important difference of relationship between them and their masters—whether they should seek for masters, or masters should seek for them. There is a tremulous balance here, that will be decided by a very slight difference either in the one or the other of these ways; and surely there is no enlightened or liberal friend of his species, who would not rejoice to see it decided

in favour of the population. In this view of the matter, we may see at once the cruelty of a poor-rate: how, in the first instance, by the encouragement which it gives to precipitate marriage, it multiplies the people beyond the rate at which they would otherwise have multiplied—how, in the second instance, by holding out to all of them a right and a property in their native parish, it detains the people, and closes up, as it were, those outlets of emigration by which relief might have been obtained from the competition of a most hurtful excess—how, in the third instance, it provides for this surplus of labourers, but on terms which lie at the arbitration of the upper classes in society—how, in the fourth instance, it gives to the masters a mighty advantage over their regular labourers, and enables them to bring the general wages of husbandry indefinitely near to the parish allowance for roundsmen and supernumeraries*—thus,

---

* The following are notes of a communication from Mr. Maitland, an intelligent Scotch farmer in the neighbourhood of Sherborne, Dorsetshire, and on the estate of Earl Digby:—

"As to the difference between England and Scotland, in respect that the labourers of the former solicited employment from him in dozens, whereas in Scotland he had to hunt after them? The fact is well known by every Scotsman resident here, and strongly marks the great demand for labour in that part of the kingdom. It also has, in my opinion, a powerful tendency to destroy still farther that spirit of independence, the want of which is already so visible among English labourers."

"As to the inferior scale of work that is rendered by paupers, so as to make it more profitable that there should be a full wage to regularly paid labourers? It is particularly remarked by every Scotsman resident here, how difficult it is to make the labourers do their duty, when regularly em-

in fact, under the guise of kindness to the stragglers of the community, operating a most injurious re-

---

ployed, not only by the day, but even when piece-work is given them; arising from their total want of honour and gratitude. It need not then surprise, that work performed by paupers, should cost a great deal more. I believe it may fairly be set down at one-half."

"As to the effects of poor-rates in augmenting the population? An English labourer having no property, nor prospect of acquiring any—and being accustomed from infancy in believing the parish is bound to provide for his family—marries early in life; of course has a prospect of a numerous offspring. It also makes marriages more numerous, and entered into without prudence or forethought."

"The comparative comfort of English and Scots labourers? The comparison here is altogether in favour of Scotland. The English labourer, trusting to the parish, lays nothing up for a bad day—his week's wages are always spent at the week's end. This produces improvidence in all his affairs; and having no cow, nor even a garden, he accounts beer his *summum bonum*. This he takes at the public house by himself, to the great misery of his family; and knows nothing of those social enjoyments, so esteemed by the Scottish peasant. The effects of this must be obvious upon the morals too—it blunts every parental and filial affection. Children see their parents go to the parish with the utmost indifference, and without even an effort to prevent it; and fathers, with equal indifference, send their wives and families the same road."

Mr. Clarkson has stated some additional samples of the inconvenience to which an over-peopled parish is exposed.

"We used to employ our supernumeraries in raising gravel for the roads, and in repairing the roads also. Since that time we erected a machine for dressing flax, and we bought, and we even grew flax; and we dressed it, and sold it when dressed. But the price for the article was so low during our trial of it, that the concern was in all respects a losing one. We were obliged therefore to give it up. Since that time we have raised gravel again; but as nearly all the gravel in our parish has been dug up and sifted, we fear that we shall have no other resource left us, in a short time, than to allow our supernumeraries what we call "walking passes;" that is, to pay each of them a small weekly pittance, according as he is a boy or a man, or as he has a large or a small family—say, from half a crown to six shillings each per week, and let him walk or go where he will, and earn what he can besides, and take his earnings to himself.

duction on the state and comfort of the whole body—grinding down the lower orders to the very point of starvation, and with a malignity not the less provoking, that it works by a system, on the face of which there are constantly playing the smiles of mercy, and in the support of which, the sweetest poesy hath been heard to pour forth her dulcet strains into the ear of weeping sentimentalism.

We do not need any thing half so ponderous as a theory of population for the whole species, to be assured, that at this moment there are more people than can be maintained with comfort in our agricultural parishes. The thing is plainly felt all over England; and this is a feeling which cannot be overborne by any argument, either for or against a theory. The doubt which attaches to a speculation, ought not to overshadow a distinct experience that forces itself rather on the observation of our senses than the conviction of our understanding. And, along with the palpable exhibition of an over-peopled parish, there is the equally pal-

---

"The poor laws most undoubtedly prevent the benefit of a competition for labourers. I could get more skilful, and better men, and better labourers, than I have at present, but I cannot take them: because, if I were to take them, I must pay them, and I should be obliged, besides, to help to maintain those whom I discarded, while they were doing nothing for me. We must maintain those who belong to us, whether we want them or not—whether they are good or bad, industrious or idle, sober or drunken. We have therefore no competition, except at too great an expense, beyond our own parish."

pable habit both of most abandoned licentiousness, and most improvident marriages. The number of illegitimate children alone, superinduces such an excess upon the other population, as is quite adequate to a great and general reduction in the price of labour. And surely there is nought, either in the reasoning for, or in the ridicule against, the philosophy of Mr. Malthus, that can affect a matter of such plain and popular understanding, as the undoubted connection which there is between too early marriages and too large families; a thing that is true of a single household, and true of such a number of households as makes out a parish—beyond which any argument of ours does not require us to extend our contemplation. There may be ways of evading to be a Malthusian in reference to the world, but not in reference to a parish, where the people adhere, by the law of settlement, with a force and a tenacity as great as if drawn together and detained by the law of gravitation. The poor-rate, in fact, has isolated, in a great measure, each of the parishes in England, and turned it into a little world of its own, where we might see in model such an exemplification of the truth, as recommends itself even to the unlettered eye. And the question before us is not a right economy for the globe. It is not even at present a right economy for the whole empire; for this will at length be arrived at by committing to each parish the management of its

own affairs, and that management is all which we are now called upon to attend to. *

---

* The latest parliamentary document which has been published on the subject of pauperism, is the Report from the Select Committee on Poor Rate Returns, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 20th of May, 1825. It appears from this Report, that "the expenditure upon the poor in 1823–4, fell short of the amount in 1822–3, by £38,742 only," or by less than an hundred and fiftieth part of the whole annual expense.

It is unnecessary here to repeat our observations in the 260th, and some following pages of the second volume of this work. We there affirm the possibility of a very great reduction in the expenditure, by certain expedients, which have the interest of novelty, and of a yet untried experiment to recommend them, even though the expedients should be altogether superficial, and in no way reach to the principle of this great moral and political disease. Such an expedient is that of the select vestry act; and it is striking to remark, that though but recently adopted by many parishes, and still in the course of successive adoption by more, so slender an abridgment of the evil should have taken place. We predict, that the strenuousness of management in these parishes, where the abridgment has taken place, which is so natural at the outset of every new undertaking, and to which the temporary diminution of expense upon the whole is owing, will shortly relax, when the disease will again manifest its native virulence, and demonstrate, that nothing short of a blow at the root can permanently extenuate it, and far less ever effect its extermination.

To this Report are subjoined a few interesting notices, from parishes in the various counties of England; and from which it will appear that the mischief is making sure progress, although our present bright season of public and political prosperity has, for a time, diverted the attention of men from the subject. It only waits the next of these periodical reverses, to which every trading nation is exposed, when it will again assume its wonted prominency, as an evil of the first magnitude. The people of England are not, perhaps, to be argued out of their system by any power of reasoning; but they will at length be driven out of it, by the pressure of strong and felt necessity.

The composition of wages with poor rate, and its demoralizing effects, are well stated in the following extracts:—

"*Dalby Parva, in the County of Leicester.*—The custom which has pre-

It were a very crude legislation for giving effect to the speculation of Mr. Malthus, to define the

---

vailed lately, of allowing labourers their wages according to their families, whether they work or not, tends to encourage idleness and insubordination, and is very hurtful and expensive to parishes."

"*Dalby Magna, in the same County.*—The method of paying for work from the poor's rate, is very oppressive to the small occupiers of land; it is a bad custom, and much practised here. For instance, a good labourer, perhaps with four or five children, is allowed from eight pence to one shilling per diem, for his work, and goes to the overseer for an additional remuneration according to his family; the small occupiers get none of the work, but must pay towards the support of his family; indeed, it is now very customary for labourers to idle away their time, and earn no more than the eight pence or one shilling. This is spoiling many a good husbandman, and requires amendment."

"*Laughton, in Lincolnshire.*—Poor rates in this county are generally low, except in considerable parishes, where the parishioners disagree, and consequent mismanagement arises. Those parishes that employ, or rather place their poor on the roads to do nothing, and allow them to waste their time in idleness or pilfering, and suffer them to begin their work and give over when they please, have plenty of destitute poor, as they frequently prefer going to the roads at nine shillings per week, to regular labour with the farmers, at twelve shillings per week. It is the exorbitant power given to Magistrates, and their folly and erroneous conduct, that have in a great degree created an evil which it is now difficult to mitigate."

"*Barton Bendish, in Norfolk.*—The poor's rates gradually increase, from the effects of bastardy, and other causes of increased population. The county rates rapidly increase, as the proprietors of the soil have the sole control of the monies expended in the county, and are but comparatively small contributors. The system of the scale of allowance so tenaciously adhered to by the Magistrates, is a notorious cause of pauperism, idleness, and theft, and causes a manifest disunion of the interests which ought always to exist between the employer and the employed."

"*Harting, in Sussex.*—There is at this time scarcely a labourer in the parish, who does not receive parochial assistance. All the children above two in a family, are on the parish books, by an order of the Magistrates."

We think that we can perceive something like a glimmering of light in the following observations—a call for a permissive process—the adoption of which, even in the partial way that is here specified, might lead, in

earliest age at which people should marry. There is no doubt that, by postponing the average period of marriage, there behoved to be a relief from the increase of population; and it is not known

---

some future period, to that more complete and conclusive operation, which, in our fifteenth Chapter of this work, we have ventured to recommend.

"*Washingley, in Huntingdon.*—The less Magistrates interfere with parishes, the better the poor will be provided for. Let select vestries be appointed, and a fine imposed on those who are too indolent to attend them. The heads of a parish will always be the best judges of who are deserving of relief, from the character they bear. Head-money, as it is called, is only an encouragement of the early marriages of the most profligate;—the more children, the more head-money. We know the fact, that men, when they have been asked, how they could think of marrying, when they could not maintain themselves, their answer has been, the laws of the country would provide them a house, maintain their family, and pay the rent."

"*Leybourne, in Kent.*—We earnestly recommend the adoption of some such measure as that contained in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons; viz. 'That the parishioners shall, if they think fit, draw up rules and regulations for the maintenance and employment of the poor; and when such rules are adjusted to the satisfaction of the Justices and parishioners, to be parochial law for one year.'"

"*Barton Bendish, in Norfolk.*—It would be much better for cultivators of land, if the sole management of the poor were taken from the Magistrates, and invested in the Minister, Churchwardens, and other respectable occupants in the parish. It would be a means of saving considerable expense, inasmuch as it would deprive the Magistrate's clerk of infamous fees and charges, which only tend to further disputes and contentions on the part of labourers and paupers; the husbandman would be much more contented and happy, by being compelled to have recourse to his industry for maintenance, in lieu of seeking an indolent and fraudulent subsistence from the parish fund."

Our last extract shall be from "*Holcombe, in Somerset.*—The poor's rate in this parish, is still on the advance; and although there is full employment (from the very flourishing state of the country) for every one, yet the poor say they will not work, unless the Overseers find it them at their own doors."

by how few months, or by how very few years of a later average, the whole amount of necessary relief would be gained. But, for the purpose of securing an average, it is not indispensable that each individual case should be rigidly fixed down to it. There might be a sure average, and, at the same time, the utmost freedom and variety of individual cases.

To enact any age for marriages, would be just attempting to neutralize one blunder in legislation by another. It were striving to bring about a right result by a compensation of errors; when it were surely better if both were expunged, and there remained no error to be compensated. The law of pauperism has given undue encouragement to matrimony: and it has been proposed, by a law of matrimony, to repress the encouragement. It is the excess of legislation which has done the mischief; and the best method of doing it away, is simply to lop off the excess, and not to counteract one foolish law by another. The tree that would have grown in an upright direction might rise obliquely, because of an artificial pressure on one side of it, though it is possible to correct this by an equal pressure on the other side: still it would have been preferable that it had grown free and unencumbered, without any pressure on either side, and that nature had been simply left to its own way. It is just so in the matter before us. We have only to commit back again to the wisdom of nature, that which ought never to have

been meddled with by the wisdom of man. She balances the matter aright between the proneness to marriage, and the prudence that delays it; and the desirable result is brought about, not by the enactment of a new law, but by the cancelment of an old one. The abolition of the law of pauperism would translate the people into other circumstances, and in these circumstances they should be left to act freely.

There can be no doubt, that the abolition of the law of pauperism would bring on a somewhat later average of matrimony among the people. Should this abolition ever take place, and the consequent period of marriage become the subject of political arithmetic, there can be no doubt that its tables will exhibit a more advanced age, on the whole, at which females marry under the new system, than under the present one. This might safely be predicated on the general experience of human nature, although it is further satisfactory, to have had the connection so distinctly exhibited in the parishes of England, between the encouragements of pauperism, and the utter rashness and improvidence of marriages among the peasantry. Should these encouragements be done away, there would be rash and imprudent marriages as before, but not so many. There would, even without the law of pauperism, be a premature entry upon this alliance, but not so premature upon the whole. The evident tendency of a legal provision, is both to speed and to multiply marriages; and were this

provision done away, they would be neither so early nor so frequent as they are now. Many still would be the outbreakings of irregularity and folly; but, if at all diminished, there would necessarily be a certain shift for the better in the average of matrimony; and it were in the face of all arithmetic, it were losing sight of the principles and the property of numbers altogether, to deny that this must tell on the births of a parish and its population. We do not say, that profligacy would be exterminated with the law of pauperism; but it would be checked, and, we venture to affirm, that were the supplies of pauperism withdrawn from all future illegitimates, there would be an instantaneous diminution of their number. In all these ways, the market for labour would be less crowded than it is now; and labourers would stand on a higher vantage-ground in the negotiation between them and their employers. There would be some fewer workmen than before, and this is enough to cause much higher wages. This is a most important compensation that awaits the lower classes of England, after that the dispensations of pauperism have been withdrawn from them.

In one part of his work, on the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, Dr. Adam Smith speaks lightly of political arithmetic. But he can only mean to reflect on the inaccuracy wherewith its data are often guessed at, and presumed upon, and not on the substantial importance of the data themselves. The average date of marriage, in

the various countries of the world, may not have been precisely ascertained, in any one instance. But still there is such a date, certain, though not ascertained; and, furthermore, having a certain influence upon the population, in regard to the increase or diminution of their number. Whatever postpones the date, must retard the increase; and, let the obscurity be what it may, which rests upon the numerical statements that have been exhibited upon this subject, the connection is indisputable between the prudence that would delay marriage, and the relief that would thereby be given to an overpeopled land. This were true, in the particular of each household, and just as true in the general of that aggregate of households which make up a population. And we ought not to lose sight of those elements which are known to have force and substantive being in our land, though numerically they are unknown to us. We cannot specify the accurate proportion which obtains between the money expended by the lower orders on dissipation, and that expended in pauperism. But there is no doubt that the former bears a very great proportion to the latter, and, perhaps, overpasses it. So that, even in the absence of all detail, it is a most legitimate conclusion, that though pauperism were abolished, there might still remain throughout the mass a capability for the subsistence of all their families; and, that if an adequate impulse were given first to the sobrieties, and then to the sympathies of our population, there might still

exist such a sufficiency among all, as would, of itself, prove an effectual guarantee against the starvation of any. It is obviously the direct tendency of such an abolition, to stimulate both their sobrieties and their sympathies; and it is further a comfort to know, from the general fact of the sums expended by the working classes on intemperance alone, that, after all, and apart from public charity, the *materiel* of an entire subsistence passes into their hands, and that nought but the *morale* is wanting, which, by the kindness and the economy that pauperism now supersedes, might impress a right distribution upon it.

But we are quite aware of the incredulity wherewith all argument and affirmation are met, when proposed in terms so very general; and it is this which makes us the more solicitous for a tentative process in so many individual parishes. We have elsewhere sufficiently explained by what steps such a process might be obtained for the remedy of pauperism at large; and it would be found equally applicable to that more special abuse of it, which we have now attempted to expose. A few trial parishes, rightly conducted, would soon set the discussion at rest. Every thing would be gained by the success of the experiment; and no widely spread mischief could ensue from the failure of it. All who were actually roundsmen, and supernumeraries in a parish at the commencement of the retracing process, might, like all who were then actually paupers, continue to be treated as old

cases—so that the only innovation would be in the treatment of the new applicants. And it should never be out of view, that these applicants must come on very gradually; and that there are many small manageable parishes, where the whole inconvenience would not amount to more perhaps than three or four, each having to wait a few months ere some regular vacancy in labour should occur for their accommodation. And meanwhile, it were well, that they had no right to any other accommodation—that they felt it to be their own business, to look out for work to themselves—that they should be kept on the alert, and on the inquiry for any openings which might occur—and in a word, that the whole matter regarding the employment of the rising youth in a parish, should simply be devolved on their respective families. This would instantly bring into play all the busy interests and activities of self; and under their wholesome operation, there is not a doubt that families would weather all the apprehended evils of this transition, and be at length landed in a state of greater comfort and sufficiency than before. Were each man left to the consequences of his own imprudence, there is a moral necessity for it, that the imprudence would at least be abridged; and if only some few marriages were suspended, and some few criminalities refrained from, it is arithmetically sure, that in a very few years the market for labour would be less loaded with this commodity, and the market price of labour would

yield a greater sufficiency to the families of workmen than before. And this is a benefit that would be extended more and more, in proportion to the wisdom and the virtue of our peasantry, who might thus become the agents of their own amelioration; and, through the medium of their own intelligence and worth, be raised to a place of greater security and comfort than they now occupy.

There are many ways in which the transition to a natural state could be smoothed and facilitated in country parishes. Instances might be named, of a single gentleman taking up all the supernumeraries of a parish, and giving them employment for months; and if ever such an effort can be looked for, it is at the outset of a retracing process, in the success of which so many of the landlords and other parishioners must feel an interest. Nay, if they so willed it, it is quite possible, at such a crisis as this, to abolish at once the whole system of composition between wages and poor-rate, in the case of able-bodied labourers, by simply translating their whole existing allowance into wages, and relieving the farmer by a diminution of his levy to as great an amount, as is the addition which he has made under this arrangement to the pay of his servants. In this way, every vestige even of the old pauperism, might be swept away *instanter* from the class of able-bodied labourers—a thing of incalculable advantage in warding off that corrupt influence by which the

people of many parishes in England have become almost *en masse* reconciled and assimilated to a state of pauperism. And if the existing supernumeraries could, in many instances, be so easily absorbed and provided for; one cannot doubt that new cases, coming on as they would very gradually, might, for a time, be as easily disposed of. Meanwhile the right is abolished. Employment might be asked, but it could no longer be demanded. It would not now, be in such certain and unfailing reserve for the superfluous members of a family, as to supersede the necessity of their own shifts and their own expedients. In such circumstances as these, the precipitate marriage of one of their boys, and still more the seduction of a daughter, would be far more felt than it is now as a family visitation; and thus a higher tone of virtue would spring up among them, almost as soon as the necessity which compels it. It is not yet known how very soon the state of the population would accommodate itself to this new state of things, or how soon labourers would attain to independent and well-earned comfort, and that simply because there would be fewer labourers.

Emigration to our colonies is worthy of the utmost support from Government, if connected with a process for the abolition of pauperism. But should the system of pauperism continue, it will operate no sensible relief to England. It has been likened to a safety-valve—but it is a valve, the very lifting and opening of which implies the elasticity

within of a state of compression and violence; and up to this state it will remain, notwithstanding the successive escapes of a redundant population. The creative process will always maintain a balance with the relieving process; and a people must be in distress, when the difficulties of home are so nearly in equilibrium with its charms, as to place them on the eve of desire and deliberation to renounce it for ever. And besides, the poor laws act in an opposite direction to the offers and the encouragements of emigration; though, if connected with any plan for the abolition of them, we cannot conceive a better way both of smoothing the transition, and of keeping the country in a clear and healthful state after the transition has been effected. It would, at all events, afford a ready answer to the complaints and difficulties of able-bodied men, who alleged a want of employment; if a parish were enabled, by the facilities that government held out, to aid, upon easy terms, the emigration of them. It were a test by which to ascertain the truth of their complaints; and we believe that, when the proposal of emigration was made, it would be declined in by far the greater number of instances. The parish would at least stand acquitted; and it would afterwards be seen, that a very small fraction of the labourers of a parish stood in need after all of the resource of emigration. On this account, it would not be very expensive to government, though it held out very great advantages to emigration; and it would

shield every parish from the charge of inhumanity, were it enabled to suggest this expedient to its unemployed labourers.

But it is to the reaction at home, that we look for our best securities against any shock or disaster that might be apprehended to our families from the overthrow of pauperism. When charity is altogether detached from the remuneration of labour, this of itself will keep off a very wide and wasting contamination from the spirit of our peasantry, and they will again recover the honest pride of independence. Still more would this feeling grow in strength and sensibility, were they trained to the habit of small but constant accumulation. It is at this crisis, that a parish saving-bank might achieve a wondrous transformation on the state of the people, by begetting a sense of property among labourers. A very few philanthropists could set it on foot. By a very few easy devices, at the outset of the retracing process, there could, in many places, be afforded as much employment and as liberal wages to all, as might enable them to deposit. Once that the turning point has been made from being a pauper to being a possessor, a new ambition is felt, and a new object comes to be intensely prosecuted. This is a better expedient for postponing the date of marriage than any act of parliament. The days were in Scotland, when it was customary, during the virtuous attachment of years, for the parties to fill up the interval with those frugalities and labours

by which they made a provision for their future household; and there is no doubt, that a saving-bank is fitted to inspire with a similar purpose those who repair to it. If it did so with a few only, still the average period of matrimony is somewhat shifted for the better; the tide of population is somewhat arrested; the excess in a few years is somewhat reduced from what it would otherwise have been; and the market price of labour is elevated in greater proportion. These are the sure steps which lead from a growing virtue among the people, to a still more rapidly growing prosperity in their economic condition; and by which a process that guides to sufficiency and comfort each individual family who embark upon it, carries in it a further and a wider blessing to the general mass of the population.

We have already said, that nothing was easier than to suit the law of settlement to that state of things, which would take place in a parish, when the law of pauperism was done away. To acquire a right of settlement in the parish itself were altogether useless, when by it there is nothing to acquire. After that any given subject of right or of distribution has vanished, the laws which relate to it, cease to be of any significancy. And thus it is, that the mutual law of settlement between parishes is virtually abrogated, by the very act which releases either the one or the other from the *legal* obligation of maintaining its own poor. After that the poor at home have been devolved on the

free charities of nature, in any given parish, it is never to be imagined that the poor from abroad, and who may have chosen to reside in that parish, should have any other resource provided for them there. And it is thus, that while two trial parishes may freely exchange their people with each other, neither would feel any addition to its legal burden in consequence of this, because neither would lie under any legal obligation.

The case is different, where one of the parishes only has emerged from the old system, and the other still remains under it. There may still be a free reciprocal transit of families between them; but it were not fair, if, while the families of the latter acquire no right by passing within the confines of the former, those of the former should acquire any right by passing within the confines of the latter. The emancipated parish comes under no burden by the influx of people from other parishes; and, conversely, it is right that these parishes should not be exposed to any burden by the efflux of people from that parish, which shall have now exchanged the compulsory for the gratuitous system of charity. This does away every apprehension, lest the rest of England should suffer from those portions of it which are delivered of the poor-rate: And, we have elsewhere argued abundantly for our persuasion, that the emigrants from a trial parish, though without any right on the parish which they have left, and without any possibility of acquiring a right on the parish into which they

have entered, will be generally found of a higher and better condition than the population by whom they are surrounded.

But while it is indispensable, that the parishes still under bondage of pauperism shall sustain no injury from the reformed parishes, there is a way, in which, without a certain modification in the law of settlements, the workmen of a reformed parish might sustain injury from the others. The mixing of poor-rate with wages, has depressed the allowance that is given in the name of wages, throughout all those parishes of England where this practice is in force; and should the practice be abolished in any parish, this allowance would forthwith be raised. It is not impossible, that while in one parish a workman earns eight shillings a week in the shape of wages, and receives four in the shape of poor-rate, the workmen of a contiguous parish, where the poor-rate has been done away, might earn the whole twelve shillings in wages alone. The difficulty, in this case, would be to protect the labourers of a reformed parish from the competition of those exotic labourers who might come in to reside amongst them, although they belonged, by settlement, to other parishes—men who might endeavour to compound the high wage of the one with the vestry allowance of the other, and might succeed for a time in the pocketing of both. Meanwhile, there might be an under-bidding of the native, by the imported workmen; and although, if England were wholly emancipated

from poor-rate, wages might sustain a high level all over the country, which would not be trodden down by the freest movements of its people from one part to another; yet so long as the emancipation is only partial, there will be, at least, a tendency to the sinking of wages down to the low rate of the assessed parishes.

Perhaps the most effectual security against this evil, would be a law, by which every man capable of working, should forfeit all right of relief from his own parish, so long as he resided in any of the trial parishes. This would give, at least, a theoretical consistency to the whole arrangement; besides being a defence against the apprehended mischief, in all those cases where the mischief would have followed. We do not think, however, that practically it could ever be felt to any great extent. In those parishes, where the retracing process had been entered upon in the spirit of a pure and patriotic reformation, there would be a strong preference for the employment of their own people. And what is more to the purpose, we do not find that the prevalence of this abuse in one part of England, has compelled the adoption of it in another part of England. The northern counties are comparatively exempted from the evils that lie in the composition of a poor-rate with wages; and though exposed to competition both from the labourers of the south, and what, perhaps, is still more formidable, to the competition of Scotch and Irish labourers, they still maintain that

high rate of wages, which enables them to ward off, in a great measure, the stigma of pauperism, from the healthy and able-bodied of their population.

But, after all, we should hold it quite a safe measure, to abolish, *instanter*, the application of poor-rate to the relief of all able-bodied labourers. We have no doubt, that there would be an immediate compensation in the rise of wages ;* and, at all events, that the change of circumstances, however sudden, would be followed by no distress, either of great intensity, or of great duration. Our preference is for gradual changes; but still our confidence is, that when the change is from a wrong to a right system, even though accomplished at once by the fiat of authority, the country will always right itself surprisingly soon, and without any great suffering ensuing from the transition. On this same subject, we have the experience of a change, *per saltum*, in the condition of all the Irish paupers resident in England, the great majority of

---

* The following extract is from the report of Mr. Vivian's examination before the Select Committee on the Poor-Laws in 1817. His Parish was Bushey in Hertfordshire.

"Is it not, then, the practice in your parish, to advance regularly, weekly, a sum in addition to the wages earned by your labourers? Never: and to that I ascribe, almost as much as any thing, a diminution of the rates.—If a man has six young children, no one of which can maintain himself, you do not give any permanent relief beyond his wages? Never: occasional presents, and that very seldom.—How did you prevail on the parish to put an end to that practice? By strong persuasion, and by desiring them to try the experiment: and it answered. They immediately got into task-work, and got twenty-five shillings a week."

whom chose to remain, and without any sensible inconvenience, and certainly without one authentic case of starvation occurring in consequence.* The speed and the facility wherewith the population accommodate themselves to some new condition, into which they are suddenly transported by some great and unlooked-for change in the circumstances of a country, are never more strikingly exemplified, than in the changes which take place in the direction of national industry, on passing from a war to a peace, or from a peace to a war establishment. Still we are unfriendly to all violence, even on the career of undoubted amelioration. And we only give this instance to prove, that legislators may, without danger, proceed with bolder footsteps than they are generally inclined to do, in the path of economic improvement.

And certain it is, that however impotent the relief may be which emigration could afford to a country, the system of whose pauperism still continued to give full license and encouragement for the increase of population, yet, as connected with a scheme for the abolition of pauperism, it might be of most useful auxiliary influence, for smoothing the transition in parishes, from a compulsory to a gratuitous system of charity. Emigration could afford no adequate relief to the miseries of an over-peopled land, where a legal provision for the destitute still continued to uphold

---

* See Vol. II. of this Work, pp. 287. et seq.

the recklessness of families. But emigration were an admirable expedient, both for tranquillizing the fears of the public lest labourers should starve, and also for meeting the complaints and applications of these labourers, when they alleged a want of employment. Apart from a process which pointed to the extinction of pauperism, it is altogether a superficial remedy for the disorders of an excessive population. But when attached to such a process, it might speed and facilitate the whole operation; and it is only when so attached, that a scheme of emigration will repay, by its blessings to the country, the expense which it might bring upon Government.

CHAP. XIX.

ON SAVINGS BANKS.

WITHOUT the co-operation of their own virtuous endeavours, there seems no possible way of doing good to the labouring classes, or of helping them upwards from a lower to a more secure and elevated place in the commonwealth. But we can see a very patent way to it, in such habits and such resources as, generally speaking, are within their reach. It is for them, and for them only, to regulate the supply of labourers. In the command which belongs to them of this mighty element, the price of labour may be regarded as the product of their collective voice, which pitches either high or low, in proportion to the amount of worth and intelligence and sobriety that are diffused throughout the population. Could we only imagine a nation of regular and well-habited families, where the folly of premature marriages, and the vice of illicit associations, were alike unknown—there would then be no inconvenient excess of labourers; no fall of wages beneath the par of human comfort, or at least, no fall that would not almost be instantly repaired by the reaction it would have on the principle and prudence of an enlightened peasantry. Now, though such a nation is not to be born in a day, yet in a single

day might we at least begin the work of approximating thereunto. Every additional school for popular education brings us nearer to it. Every new deposit in a savings bank helps us on to it. The removal of the whole system of pauperism, were the removal of a sore obstruction in its way; an obstruction which, if suffered to remain, will, we honestly believe, seal the peasantry of our land to irrecoverable degradation. So sure do we esteem the operation of these principles, that we should look for the visible result of them in a very few years, in any parish, where the retracing process had been entered upon. It is this which makes us so desirous of the experiment in England. The comparison between two parishes on the old and new system, would flash more conviction on the public understanding than a thousand arguments.

The frugality of a workman might at length, through means of a savings bank, land him in a small capital; and there is one effect of a capital in the hands of the labouring classes, which must be quite obvious. It were a barrier between them and that urgent immediate necessity, which gives such advantage to their employers in the question of wages. A man on the brink of starvation has no command in this negotiation. He will gladly accept of such terms as are offered, rather than perish of hunger; and it is thus, by their improvidence and their reckless expenditure in prosperous times, that on the evil day they lie so much at the

mercy and dictation of their superiors. The possession of a capital, and that not a very great one, by each individual labourer, or rather by each of a considerable number of labourers, would reverse the character of the negotiation entirely. They could stand out against miserable wages. They could afford to be idle; and while so, the stock of that commodity which they work, and wherewith the market is for the present glutted, would soon melt away; and the price of their labour be speedily restored to its fair and comfortable level. It were most delightful to see the lower orders, by dint of foresight and economy in good times, thus enabled to weather the depression of bad times, nay inconceivably to shorten the period of it, by simply living on their accumulated means, and abstaining to work for a wretched remuneration. Or if they should continue to work, they would, at least, not need to overwork. It is this, which so lengthens out at present the season of ill-paid labour. The low wages stimulate to a greater amount of industry, that a subsistence, if possible, might be forced from it to their starving families. The use of a capital in savings banks would be to prevent this. Men would not, while they had a resource in the earnings of past years, put themselves to an unnatural violence, in order that the current earnings might meet their current necessities.* At all

---

* "There cannot be conceived a more cruel dilemma for the poor operative, than that, in eking out a subsistence for his family, he should thus

events, the overstocked market would sooner be cleared of its surplus, and, with a brisker demand, there would quickly come round a better remuneration. And such a state of things would not only serve to reduce the inequalities in the condition of labourers; but, on the whole, it would somewhat elevate their condition, and that permanently. If in possession of means that raised them above the urgencies of immediate want, they could treat more independently with their employers. They would not as now, be so much the parties that sought; but more at least than now, they would be the parties that were sought after. The whole platform of humble life would take a higher level than at present; and we repeat that, to every man who felt aright, it were a satisfaction and a triumph, then to recognize a hale and well-conditioned peasantry.

We are aware of a jealousy here; and how much it is that capitalists have suffered by unlooked-for conspiracies on the part of the workmen. We are also aware of the sums that have been subscribed by the latter, for the express purpose of

---

overwork himself, and, by that miserable effort, should only strengthen the barrier that lies in the way of his final deliverance; that for the relief of the present urgencies of nature, he should be compelled to put forth more than the strength of nature, and yet find, as the direct result of his exertion, a lengthening out of the period of his distress; that the necessity should thus be laid upon him of what may be called a self-destroying process,—accumulating as he does, with his own hand, the materials of his own wretchedness, and so annoying and overwhelming the earth with the multitude of his commodities, that she looks upon his offerings as an offence, rather than an obligation, and refuses to sustain him."—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxiii. p. 388.

maintaining all the members of the conspiracy in idleness, and so of holding out, till masters should surrender to their terms. It is on these considerations that an apprehension has been felt, in certain quarters, lest savings banks should arm the mechanics and workmen of our land with a dangerous power, and place at the mercy of their caprice the interest of all the other orders in society. This, at least, is a concession of the efficacy of these institutions for all the purposes on account of which we would argue in their favour; and they who fear lest provident banks should make the lower orders too rich, must at all events allow, that, with care and conduct on their part, there is a capability amongst them for becoming rich enough to be wholly independent of the supplies of pauperism. While we have no doubt that the power of becoming rich enough is in their own hands, we cannot sympathize with the feelings of those who fear lest they should be too rich. We should like to see them invested with a certain power of dictation as to their own wages. We should like to see them taking full advantage of all that they have fairly earned, in the negotiation with their employers. We should like to see a great stable independent property in the hands of the labouring classes, and their interest elevated to one of the high co-ordinate interests of the state. It were well, we think, if, by dint of education and virtue, they at length secured a more generous remuneration for labour, so as that wages should bear a much

higher proportion than they do now to the rent of land, and the profit of stock, which form the other two ingredients in the value of a commodity. In this competition between capitalists and workmen, we profess ourselves to be on the side of the latter, and would rejoice in every advantage which their own industry and their own sobriety had won for them. Rather than that, at the basis of society, we should have a heartless, profligate, and misthriven crew, on the brink of starvation, and crouching under all the humiliations of pauperism, we should vastly prefer an erect, and sturdy, and withal well-paid and well-principled peasantry, even though they should be occasionally able to strike their tools, and to incommode their superiors by bringing industry to a stand. We have no doubt, at the same time, that the fear is altogether an extravagant one—that the two classes would soon come to a right adjustment—and that, in particular, the employers of labour would find it a far more comfortable management, when they had to do with a set of prosperous and respectable workmen, than when they have to do with the fiery and unreasonable spirits that so abound among a dissipated, ill-taught, and ill-conditioned population. In the strength of the principle of population, nature has provided a sufficient security against the prudential restraint upon marriages being carried too far; and we may, therefore, always be sure of an adequate supply of labourers for all the essential or important business of the land. But,

through the law of pauperism, the restraint is not carried far enough, and now we are oppressed, in consequence, by a redundancy of numbers. By abolishing this law, we simply leave the adjustment of the balance to nature. Legislators vacillate, and are uncertain about the alternative of the people being either too rich or too poor. But nature, if unmeddled with by their interference, will so manage between the animal instincts on the one hand, and the urgencies of self-preservation, or the higher principles of the mind, upon the other, as that they shall neither be richer nor poorer than they ought to be.

This prejudice, however, against savings banks, and this alarm for the independence of the lower orders, are very much confined to capitalists of narrow views and narrow circumstances. There is a delightful experience upon this subject, that is multiplying and becoming more manifest every day, and which goes to prove how much the interest of the employer and that of the workman is at one. It is, that the expense of a well-paid labourer is in general more than made up by the superior worth and quality of his service. The farmer, in those parishes where there is a composition of poor-rate with wages, does not find his account in this system. The labour is cheaper, but far less valuable in proportion—the work that is underpaid, being done in a way so much more slovenly, as to annihilate any advantage that might otherwise have accrued to the master. It is an

advantage grasped at by men of limited means, and who find a saving in their immediate outlay to be of some consequence to them. But in the large and liberal scale, either of a great manufactory, or of any agricultural operation in which a sufficient capital is embarked, it is found that, with well-paid and well-principled workmen, the prosperity both of masters and servants is most effectually consulted. There is something triumphant and cheering in the perspective that is opened up by such a contemplation; and we cannot but admire that wisdom of nature's mechanism, in virtue of which, if law would only recal its blunders, and philanthropy go forth in the work of indefinitely enlightening and moralising the lower orders, we should behold, in their extended sufficiency and comfort, nought to impair, but rather every thing to improve, the condition of all the other classes in society.

It holds out a seeming advantage to the lower orders, that when the wages of their labour fall short of their necessary subsistence, they should have the difference made good to them from a fund that is chiefly provided by the higher orders of the community. It is the boast of equitable law, that it both ordains rights for the poor man, and protects him as effectually from all encroachments upon them, as it would the possessors of highest rank or opulence in the land. He has the right of freedom, and the right of personal security, and the right of property in his wages, and in all that

he accumulates from these wages: and when, additionally to these, there is enacted for him the right of levying from the other classes, that sum by which his wages are deficient from the maintenance of himself and of his family, it hath the appearance of rendering him a more securely, and a more abundantly privileged individual than he was before. But the last privilege is wholly neutralized, should it be made palpable; and that, by a very obvious political economy, that the law which enacts it, creates the very deficiency which it professes to provide for; that the right of parish relief just makes so much the less valuable to him the right of property, even by abridging this property at least to the full extent of its own allowances; that though it should only operate to increase the number of workmen by a very little, this is enough of itself to reduce the wages very much; and that therefore it would have been better for him, if law had ceased one step sooner from that series of enactments which has been made in his favour. It is quite undeniable, from the state of every parish in England, that marriages are greatly more precipitate, and that licentiousness is greatly more unrestrained, by the way in which the law of pauperism hath palliated the consequences both of vice and of imprudence, and that practically and really, in agricultural districts, a very great oppression is felt from the redundancy of labourers. And the consequent deficiency in their wages is made up at the judgment of the upper classes in

society, whose tendency of course will be to rate the allowance as low as possible. It is thus that their state is subjected to the arbitration of others, when, under a better economy of things, it might have virtually been at their own arbitration.

It marks most strikingly the evil that ensues, when the wisdom of man offers to mend or to meddle with the wisdom of nature, that not alone have the rich suffered in their patrimony, but the poor have become more helpless and dependent, because of the violence that has been done to the original feelings of property, by the aggressions thereupon of an artificial legislation. A people under the imagination that law must provide for them, will spread and multiply beyond the possibility of them being upheld in comfort at all. A people under a law that undertakes no more than simply to protect them in their earnings, have a patent way for raising a perpetual barrier against that indigence, which law hath vainly endeavoured, by its direct and formal provisions, to avert from our borders.

The man who leans on the fancied sufficiency of the poor laws, to meet his necessities when the day of necessity cometh, has no inducement to economise. He spends as fast as he gains; and on an adverse fluctuation in the price of labour, he has nothing for it but to submit to the terms of his employer. It is true, that when the remuneration is very glaringly beneath the par of human subsistence, there is a certain allowance eked out to him

from the legal charity of his parish; but in those seasons of dreary vicissitude, when hundreds beside himself are thrown out of profitable work, we may be sure that this allowance will form but a meagre subsistence to himself and his family. The peculiar hardship of such a condition, is, that in order to enlarge the now straitened comforts of his household, there is the utmost temptation to overworking; and what is done by him, is done by thousands more in the country beside himself—or, in other words, the excessive supply of the market with the commodities of their particular manufacture, continues to be kept up and be extended, at the very time when it is most desirable that the overplus under which it labours should be wholly cleared away. In these circumstances, it is quite obvious, that the evil of an overstocked market, with the consequent depression of wages, must be sorely aggravated by the reckless improvidence of labourers; who, without economy, are always from hand to mouth, and must therefore put forth a busier hand, at the time when it is most desirable for them that the production were lessened, instead of being augmented. It is thus, that in as far as a poor-rate adds to the improvidence of workmen, and in as far as it adds to the number of them, (and it most directly and intelligibly ministers to both these effects,) in so far does it aggravate the helplessness of their condition, on those melancholy occasions, when the manufacturer, oppressed and overpowered with the solicitation of

labourers for employment, can, in fact, hold them in subjection to his own terms, and possess himself, for the lowest possible recompense, of the time, and strength, and services of a prostrate population.

This process may be most beautifully reversed under another system of things that would stimulate the economy of the lower orders; or, in other words, under a system where, instead of leaning on the fancied sufficiency of a legal provision, each knew that he had nought but himself to lean upon. Just conceive his little savings to be accumulated into a stock that could at length uphold him for months, even though the daily income was to be arrested for the whole of that period. Let this, we shall not say, be the universal, but let it approximate, in some degree, to the general habit and condition of labourers—and then we cannot fail to perceive that they will stand on a secure and lofty vantage ground, whence it is that they will be able, not only to weather, but also to control the fluctuations of the market. More particularly, in any season of mercantile distress, when, because of the heavy accumulation of goods, prices had fallen, and manufacturers were sure to lose by bringing for a time any more of them to market, how precisely accommodated to such a state of things, is the simple capacity of labourers to uphold themselves for a season, without that helpless dependence on the daily wage, which is felt by those who, in virtue of their own reckless impro-

vidence, are ever standing upon the very brink of their resources. A set of workmen who must either work or starve, is a sad incumbrance in a situation like this; and it must be at once obvious how, in their hands, the calamity that weighs them down must be woefully aggravated and prolonged. A set of workmen again, who in the sufficiency of their own accumulated means, can afford to work less at a time of scanty remuneration, or could even go to play for a season, and refuse to touch one farthing of so miserable a hire; or (which is the likeliest direction for them to take in these circumstances) who could keep themselves a-going with other, though less lucrative work, that perhaps might never have been performed, but for the cheapness at which they are willing to undertake it—let such workmen, in one or other of these ways, simply withdraw from their own particular manufacture the labour which they wont to bestow upon it; and, with the production so lessened, while the consumption proceeds at its ordinary, or perhaps at a much faster rate, because of the existing low price of the article, the now overladen market must be speedily relieved, and the price of the commodity will again rise to its wonted level. The simple ability of the workman to maintain himself for so many weeks without his accustomed wages, is that which brings up these wages in a far shorter period, than they otherwise would to their customary level. A fair recompense for labour, speedily accrues, as before, to the

labourer, whose past economy in fact, is the instrument of his present relief, and whose future economy, in like manner, will effectually shield him from all those coming adversities to which a fitful and fluctuating commerce is exposed.

But the growth of capital among the lower orders, would not only secure for them this occasional relief. It would be the instrument of a general and permanent elevation. They would not only be saved by it from those periodical descents to which they are else so liable; they would not only throw a passage for themselves across those abysses, through which they would otherwise have had to flounder their hazardous and uncertain way; but they could raise the whole platform of their condition, and lift up its average, as well as smooth or equalise its fluctuations. At any time let manufacturers have to treat with workmen who are not just dependent upon them for the subsistence of to-morrow, but who for weeks or months to come, could live upon the fruits of their past industry and good conduct; and they will meet a far greater difficulty and resistance in bringing them to their own terms. The workmen will be able to treat independently with their employers. They are not obliged, in such a state of things, to acquiesce in the low wage that they would gladly submit to in other circumstances; and it will take a higher wage than before to satisfy them. This they can attain to without a poor-rate; but with a poor-rate they

never will. It is through the medium of ther own virtuous economy that the only patent and effectual way lies, for elevating the lower orders, and that permanently, in the scale. The law of pauperism has all along, with her lying promises, acted as a cheat to lure them from the only road to their own stable independence and comfort. It has now placed them, all over England, on the brink of a most fearful emergency. The wages of agricultural labour have lamentably fallen beneath the par of human subsistence; and, throughout the great mass of the peasantry, there is a very general recourse to such little scantlings or supplements as are reluctantly doled out to them in the shape of beggarly ministration from the parish vestry; and all this to men, who but for this accursed law, might, in the pure capacity of honest and hard-working labourers, have, instead of being arbitrated upon, been themselves the arbitrators of their own state.

There is no institution then, more adapted to the condition of a parish, at that juncture when it enters upon the retracing process, which I have elsewhere explained, than a savings bank. It is then that every endeavour should be made for rearing the people into a habit, utterly the opposite of that by which they are now depressed and degraded. The influential men of any little vicinity, could do much by their countenance and liberality on such an occasion. They could, at least, afford to give each new applicant for work as much more in the

shape of wages, as they would then withhold from him in the shape of poor-rate. The nominal price of labour would rise by this difference; and with such a prospect before them, as an ultimate deliverance from the burden of the poor-rate altogether, some might add a little more to the wage, with a special view to the training of the young in the practice of accumulation. And certainly the motive to deposit would not as now be neutralised by the existence of a right to relief, which the new economy of things supposes to be done away. And when once they exchanged the feeling of paupers for the feeling of proprietors, the breath of another spirit would animate the people; and that principle, to which Dr. Adam Smith so often refers, the instant effort of every man to better his own condition, would have its free and full operation among them. When the general aim is to make the most of that right which every man possesses to parochial relief, from this must ensue a slothful, and beggarly, and worthless population, who will be kept in as low a condition as masters and overseers can reduce them to. When the general aim is to make the most of that right which every man has to his own earnings, from this must ensue a population the reverse of the former in all their characteristics, and who, by every new accession made to the capital of the working classes, will attain to higher wages than before. The best service which can be rendered to the lower orders, is to take away the former right altogether, and to

turn to its utmost possible account the latter right; which, in truth, is the only one that can at all avail them. On the moment that they could afford to live for a given period without labour, from that moment the value of their services would rise in the labour market.* They would never need to overwork for the sake of an immediate subsistence; nor, of course, to overdo the supply of any article of consumption. The proportion between the supply

---

* We are quite aware, that it is not by the operation of but a few savings banks, and a consequent capital in the hands of fractionally a very small number of our people, that a higher rate of wages will become general in the country. To work this effect, there must be a corresponding generality in the cause. There will not be this general elevation in the status of labourers, till there be a general habit of accumulation amongst them; and however much the individuals who do accumulate may benefit themselves, they must bear a certain proportion to the whole mass of the community, ere they can work a sensible advancement upon the whole in the circumstances of the lower orders. Suppose a district of the land, where the peasantry had, by economy and good management, attained a measure of independence; yet, if surrounded by other over-peopled districts, teeming with reckless and improvident families, this were enough to keep down the remuneration of labour, even in that place where labourers had universally become little capitalists. It is thus that the neighbourhood of Ireland will retard the progress of the lower orders in Britain, towards a permanently higher state of comfort and sufficiency than they now enjoy. And the only way of neutralizing the competition from that quarter, is just by carrying to them too the beneficent influences of education, and training the people to that style and habit of enjoyment which will at length bring later marriages, and a less oppressive weight of population along with it. We are abundantly sensible that the enlargement, which we now contemplate as awaiting our operative classes, must be the slow result of a moral improvement among themselves, which we fear will come on very gradually. But certain it is, that, tardy as this way may be of a people's amelioration, it is the only way; and, at all events, there is nothing in the tumult and stir of those popular combinations, which have so recently arisen in all parts of the land, that in the least degree is fitted to hasten it.

and the demand, would be generally in favour of the workmen; and wages would be made permanently to stand in a higher relation, both to rent and profits, than they ever can maintain in the hands of a reckless and improvident peasantry.*

---

* The disciples of Ricardo, who have adopted all his formulæ on the subject of rent, profit, and wages, and of the relation which these three elements bear to each other, while directly led to perceive how it is that wages may increase at the expense of profit, may not acquiesce so readily in the position, that wages may increase without any diminution of profit, and solely at the expense of rent. Now it should be observed, in the reasonings of this economist, that when he speaks of profit, and of it alone, falling by an increase of wages, he keeps out of view, for the time at least, that process which he himself describes so well, and by which it is that inferior soils are, one after another along the scale of descent, brought into cultivation. Now the truth is, that, connected with this movement, there is not the mutual action of wages and profit, but the mutual action of wages and rent, and also that of profit and rent, upon each other; and as, on the one hand, in the direct process of an extending cultivation, the landlord gains both upon the capitalist and the labourer, so, on the other hand, there is a reverse process, in which both the capitalist and the labourer may not only keep their ground, but even make head against the encroachments of the landlord.

For, what is it that "obliges a country to have recourse to land of a worse quality, to enable it to raise its supply of food?" It is "the progress of population." (Ricardo's Political Economy, p. 52, second edition.) Now, the circumstance of the land being worse, implies, that it yields a less return to the same quantity of labour. Previous to its being entered upon for the purpose of cultivation, there was a better land which paid no rent, and whose larger return went all to the wages of that labour, and the profit of that capital, which were applied to it. The reason why land which yields a less return to the same labour has been entered upon is, that either labourers were willing to marry, and perpetuate their numbers, upon inferior wages, or, that capitalists were willing to trade upon inferior profits. Both causes may have operated. And certain it is, that if, after land of a given quality had been cultivated, there was still such a "progress of population" as to force an entrance upon land of a worse quality, that progress must have been owing to the standard of ease and

The whole philosophy of a subject may be exemplified within a narrow space. In its practical

---

enjoyment together, among the people, having been lower than was sufficient to keep them stationary in point of numbers. They were willing, for the sake of earlier marriages than they would otherwise have formed, to surrender part of this ease or enjoyment; and thus they married so early as to increase the population, and hence to make it necessary that "land of an inferior degree of fertility should be taken into cultivation." (Ricardo, p. 51.)

Now, if, previous to the overflow of people upon this inferior soil, there had been such an influence, from education, and other moral or exalting causes, upon the lower ranks, as kept them from descending to a lower style or standard of enjoyment, this of itself would have restrained the population to later, and therefore to less prolific, marriages. It would have made a higher soil the extreme barrier, for the time, of cultivation. And thus it is, that, by connecting the standard of enjoyment among the working classes, with the limit to which agriculture is carried downward among the soils of worse quality, you make the wages of labour have a direct bearing, not on the profits of the capitalists alone, but also on the rent of the landlord.

And further, it can be conceived of the popular taste, that it might not only be preserved from sinking, but that, by the humanizing influences of scholarship and Christianity, it might even be elevated. As far as this cause operates, it must narrow the extent of cultivation. It must force the abandonment of those worse soils which could not yield the now higher wages, consequent on a now less numerous and overstocked population. It would require, after such a change in the habits of enjoyment among our people, a better soil, to furnish the requisite profit, and the requisite wages, without leaving any surplus of rent to the proprietor. This would of course diminish the rent of his whole land, and so prove an encroachment by the labourer on the income of the proprietor.

And as the population can thus keep their ground, and even make head against the landed proprietor, so there is a way in which capitalists can do the same thing. There are certain points of analogy between the two elements of capital and population, which have not been adverted to; and the statement of which, therefore, might appear paradoxical. We are sensible that it would require a separate work fully to vindicate the statement—and yet we cannot at present refrain from making it. We shall afterwards refer to the suddenness and the spontaneous facility wherewith capital is replaced, so as to recover, as if by the force of elasticity, all its former ex-

effects, pauperism is co-extensive with our empire. In its principles, and in the whole rationale of its

---

tent, after any great curtailment which, from violence or other causes, it may have undergone. In this it resembles population, the blanks of which, created by wars or epidemics, are so speedily repaired. This, combined with the general fact, that population, so far from having to be fostered by encouragement, tends of itself to press inconveniently on the food of a country, has changed the policy of the state regarding it—insomuch that, instead of watching solicitously over it, as if it were at once the most precious, and at the same time the most precarious element of national prosperity, it is now justly regarded as one of those interests which may, with all safety, be left to itself, and which can never be permanently short of the subsistence that is afforded in any given state of the world.

Now, we are far from expecting the full or immediate sympathy of all our readers, when we affirm of mercantile capital also, that it tends so to reproduce and to extend itself, as to press inconveniently on the business which is afforded in any given state of the world. For the upholding of this interest, there is no call for that strenuous parsimony which Dr. Smith insists upon so urgently, throughout the whole of his work. There need be no greater apprehension of a sufficient capital at all times for the profitable business, than there is of a sufficient population for the food of the world. And if it be desirable that population should be restrained within narrower limits, for the object of a more plenteous allowance to every single family, then may it also be desirable that mercantile capital should be restrained from its tendencies to overgrowth, to assure a more liberal profit to every single capitalist.

It may be an excess of population that compels the entry upon inferior soils, and causes the people to be satisfied with their scantier produce, as the fund out of which their now inferior wages can be paid. Or it may be an excess of capital that compels the same entry, by causing capitalists to be satisfied with an inferior profit. The way to check both of these excesses, is, by a higher style of enjoyment, which prevents, in the one class, too rapid an accumulation of people, and prevents, in the other, too rapid an accumulation of capital. We confess, that we should not object to the moral preventive check of Malthus being extended from labourers to capitalists; and a higher style of enjoyment is the instrument, in both cases, of putting it into operation. Ricardo has the sagacity to foresee the tendency of things—which is, that profits shall fall indefinitely low, so as that "almost the whole produce of the country, after paying the la-

operation, it may be effectually studied even on the limited field of a small parochial community. It then lies before us in more manageable compass; and we even think, that one might in this way acquire a truer discernment of the process—just as a process of mechanism is better understood by our regard being directed to the model, than to the ponderous and unwieldy engine itself. It is on this account that we prize so much the following little narrative by the overseer of Long Burton, in Dorsetshire; a parish with a population of only three hundred and twenty-seven, and therefore peculiarly adapted for the distinct exhibition of any influence which its parochial economy might have on the state of its inhabitants.

The overseer had three able-bodied men out of

---

bourers, will be the property of the owners of land, and the receivers of tithes and taxes." The mercantile classes of society have it in their power to retard, if not to prevent, this fall in the circumstances of their order. They *collectively* can uphold a higher profit, by means of a more profuse expenditure, and a higher style of living in their families—by turning a larger share of their gains to the object of immediate enjoyment, and a less share of them to the growth and extension of a capital, which, just in proportion to its magnitude, will diminish the profits of future years. The individual merchant may take to himself so liberal a share now of this world's enjoyments, as to trench on his enjoyments afterwards; but certain it is, that if, by a change in the average habits of the whole mercantile body, there was to be a more liberal expenditure among them, this, instead of wasting, would perpetuate to them the means of liberal expenditure in all time coming. It would keep the capital lower than it now is, and the profit higher; and thus it is, that by the collective will of capitalists, as well as by that of the peasantry, a limitation might be raised to the rent of the landlord—and all the three classes might share more equally in the produce of the country.

employment, and whom it fell upon him to dispose of. The farmers all saturated with workmen, could not take them in; and rather than send them to work upon the roads, he applied to a master mason in the neighbourhood, who engaged to take their services at the low rate of six shillings in the week—the parish to make up the deficiency to the three men, so as that they should, on the whole, have fifteen-pence a-week for each member of their families. The mason had previously in his employment, from seven to ten men, at the weekly wage of eight or nine shillings each. But no sooner did he take in these three supernumeraries from the parish at six shillings, than he began to treat anew with his old workmen, and threatened to discharge them if they would not consent to a lower wage. This of course would have thrown them all upon the parish, for the difference between their reduced and their present wages; upon perceiving which, the overseer instantly drew back his three men from the mason, and at length contrived to dispose of them otherwise.* Upon

---

* The following is an extract of a letter received from the overseer, Mr. Poole:—

"The facts respecting the three men at Long Burton, were as follows: we had three able men out of employ, and rather than send them on the roads to work, we engaged with Mr. Perratt, the mason, for them, at six shillings per week each. Mr. Perratt was at that time giving his men (from seven to ten men) eight or nine shillings each. Mr. Perratt then saw he could get men at a lower rate, and informed some of his old hands that he should discharge and lower the wages; therefore, in consequence those men (or many of them) would, at their discharge, become very burthensome

this the wages of the journeymen masons reverted to what they were before.

Now this exemplifies the state of many agricultural parishes in England. There is a reserve of supernumeraries constantly on the eve of pouring forth over all the departments of regular labour, and on the instant of their doing so, forcing one and all of the regular workmen within the margin of pauperism. It is instructive to observe how very few supernumeraries will suffice to produce this effect; and by how very small an excess in the number of labourers, a very great and grievous reduction takes place in the wages of labour. It is not even necessary for this purpose, that there should be an actual breaking forth of supernumeraries on the already crowded departments of regular industry. It is enough that they are at all times in readiness to break forth. The consciousness of a few idle hands in every neighbourhood, gives an advantage to the master, and an inferiority to the servants, in all their negotiations with each other. It has the effect of bringing wages as far down as possible; so low as to the very confines of beggary, and in many instances so low as in fact to beggar the great mass of the popu-

---

to the parish of Long Burton. We immediately saw our error, of letting him have men at a low rate, (for recollect, it was one or two shillings lower than the farmers were giving at that time,) and took the men back on the roads at certain prices, so as to make their earnings fifteen pence per head, for their families; which, with Mr. Perratt's six shillings per week, we were obliged to make up from the parish to fifteen pence per head, per week."

lation. So wretched a remuneration as that of eight or nine shillings a week to masons, and that even previous to the irruption of supernumeraries upon them, was still the effect of the existence of supernumeraries. It is this in fact which has so reduced the wages of agricultural labour over a great part of England; and virtually placed the question of a workman's recompense at the disposal, and under the arbitration of parish overseers.

It will be seen how beautifully this process would be reversed under a system where a parish bank came in place of the parish vestry, and when the people, instead of a claim upon the one, had, what is far better, a capital in the other. Had these masons been free of the presence of all supernumeraries, and, moreover, had they been in possession of a fund which could have subsisted them, even but a few weeks, they would have stood to their employers in a much firmer and more independent attitude; and the miserable pittance of nine shillings a week would not have satisfied them. It is a mere evasion of the argument to say, that the master could have reduced them to his own terms, by hiring in labourers from a distance. This is just saying, that ere a capital in the hand of labourers work its full effect upon their condition, it must be generally, and not partially diffused among them. There can be no doubt, that the vicinity of a population with inferior habits, that the vicinity of Ireland, for example, must retard the march of our working classes, to a

greater sufficiency, and a higher status in the commonwealth. But this does not impair, it rather enhances the conclusion, that the high road to their advancement is the accumulation of such a capital as might enable them to weather all the adverse fluctuations of trade, and as might enable them, throughout every season, to treat more independently with their employers, than labourers can do, who, without resources, are constantly, to use a familiar phrase, from hand to mouth, or on the very brink of starvation. The establishment of so much as one savings bank is at least the beginning of such a progress, although it will require the establishment and the successful operation of many, ere a sensible effect can be wrought by them on the general economic condition of our peasantry. This, however, is the unfailing way of it; and in proportion to the length that it is carried, will be its effect in raising the price of labour.

We hold the following narrative, which relates to the distresses experienced some years ago in the town of Leicester and its neighbourhood, to be very rich in the principles of this question. It was given and authenticated by one of the most respectable citizens in the place.

The great employment of the population in that quarter is the manufacture of stockings; which manufacture, in the year 1817, was in a state of very great depression. It was at this period that Mr. Cort was applied to by the township of Smeaton Westorby, in the parish of Kibworth, Beau-

champ, for work to some of their people. He succeeded in finding admittance for them to the service of a hosier in the town of Leicester, who agreed to pay each of them five shillings a-week; and the township to which they belonged, were very thankful to make up the deficiency in their wages, according to the state and number of their families. Mr. Cort was, in a few days afterwards, called upon by a man whom he knew to have been a regular servant in the establishment of this hosier, and who complained that, immediately after the importation of the mechanics from the country, he and others had been dismissed from their employment. On remonstrating with their master, and asking him how they were to live, he replied that it was not his affair; an answer which, however harshly it may sound in those countries where pauperism is unknown, may signify no more, in many parts of England, than simply a committal of discarded workmen to their legal right on the charity of the parish. Certain it is, that the excess of workmen beyond the work in demand, created a very melancholy reduction in the wages of the whole; insomuch that, according to the estimate of our very intelligent informer, in the parish alone of St. Margaret's in Leicester, the wages of the stocking trade sustained a decline at the rate of at least £20,000 in the year. At the time of greatest depression, the sum earned by an able-bodied mechanic was five shillings and sixpence in the week; to which there was added an allow-

ance from the parish, according to the circumstances of his family. In the case of a man, wife, and two children, it was made up to nine shillings in the week. This *allowance system*,* as it is

---

* There is an able and judicious pamphlet published sometime ago, by the Reverend Mr. Brereton, of Little Massingham, in Norfolk, entitled, "Observations on the Administration of the Poor Laws in Agricultural Districts." It contains a striking exposition of the evils of what is termed the "allowance system;" or that system under which defective wages are supplemented out of the poor-rate. The following is an extract from this interesting little work:—

"The system of allowances thrusts its ruthless hand into the hearts of the people, and violates the ties of nature. Natural affection between parent and child is the corner stone of social happiness. In Scotland, it is said, that the children and relations of persons who are in danger of falling upon the parish, generally use their utmost endeavours to prevent such a disgrace to the family. This was the case in England till the year 1795. Now it has become necessary to make laws to compel parents to maintain their children, and children to maintain their indigent parents. Such enactments are a lamentable proof that the natural affection of the poor has fallen to a low ebb. There were two cases in this small parish, in which the children, though in good business, had neglected their aged parents, merely because the parish had been accustomed to find them bread. The anxiety of a father to provide for his children would stimulate his industry, sweeten his toil, and endear those children to his heart. But if the law will decree that the father and the mother cannot, or need not provide for their offspring, then may you expect that natural affection will cool, and lust usurp the dominion of virtuous love over the hearts of the people. If children are taught that from the day of their birth they have been sustained by an allowance from the parish—that as soon as they are able to work they are called upon to do so, not to assist their parents, but to relieve the parish charge—if as soon, or even before they attain the age of discretion, they are released by a decree of the magistrates from parental authority, and it becomes the interest of parent and child to separate all mutual connexion and concern, of course one must not expect filial affection or honour to parents. Who can read without pain, and even indignation, articles like the following, blazoned through our villages and cottages, with the signatures of the ministers of justice and the ministers of religion, in a Christian country?

termed in some parts of the country, was persevered in for a considerable time, but was soon found

---

"'Every child, 1s. 9d.' 'Every boy, 3s.'

"'All the earnings of any part to be considered as part of the allowance!'

"When boys of 13, 14, or 15 years of age, begin to earn more than their allowance, the allowance of the parent is diminished by that excess; and to avoid that diminution, parents turn their children adrift upon the world, just at the time when they most need advice and protection, and when their industry should avail to their parents' comfort. I have seen father, and mother, and daughter, pensioners of the parish, preserving their separate allowance, separate purse, and separate cupboard, and quarrelling with each other who shall provide the fire. It would be tedious to multiply illustrations here; but when puerile and unnecessary regulations violate the ties of blood, and the duties of religion, who can regard without detestation such an unrestricted system of pauperism? The rebuke of Jesus to those scribes and priests who, by their own by-laws, perverted the law of nature, and of nature's God, is very pointed: 'Ye say, if a man shall say to his father or mother, it is Corban, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, he shall be free, and ye suffer him to do no more for his father and his mother, making the word of God of none effect through your traditions, and many such like things do ye.'"

"Honour and chastity in every rank, and especially among the poor, are intimately connected with natural affection. On this point, however, I will not enter into details, which could be only painful. It is sufficiently notorious, that promiscuous intercourse is become common from early age—that marriage is seldom contracted with honour, and that illegitimacy has greatly increased since the introduction of this system, and the existing laws of bastardy.

"I requested the governor of a neighbouring hundred house to furnish me with the number of children born within a certain period, distinguishing the legitimate from the illegitimate. The account was, 77 children born:—23 legitimate—54 illegitimate.

"There is a woman belonging to this parish who has had four illegitimate children, and is now pregnant with a fifth. During the last year her children have been supported almost entirely by the parish, partly through the running away of the fathers, and partly through the negligence of the former and the present overseers, who have either lost the orders, or neglected to enforce them. The woman has, I believe, received more than the allowance of a widow in similar circumstances, and thus not only is profligacy

to aggravate the mischief which it was designed to alleviate. It obviously detains a much greater number at the work of the depressed manufacture, than would otherwise have adhered to it; and thereby has the effect of perpetuating and even augmenting the glut of its commodities in the market. It was thus found, that just in proportion as the parish extended its allowances, the manufacturers reduced their wages; for which wages, however, it was still an object, in the midst of their scanty means, that all the hands of the family should be pressed into the employment, and be exerted to the uttermost. In this style of management matters grew unavoidably worse, till the glut became quite oppressive, and was felt to be alike burdensome to the manufacturer and the operative. They tried, therefore, a new expedient; and, instead of making good the defect of wages by means of parochial aid, they resolved on a subscription for the purpose of detaching a large proportion of men from the employ altogether, whether by maintaining them in a state of total idleness, or by employing them at some agricultural work, for a very inferior wage, or even for nothing at all. In a single month, this way of it operated like a charm. The glut was soon cleared away, when the production of the article was thus

---

shielded from punishment, but a bounty is afforded it. If the law of bastardy should continue in its present shape, a few simple regulations would correct many abuses attending it."

limited; and just in virtue of a certain number being kept off from their own professional business of working stockings, there was speedily restored to that neighbourhood the cheering spectacle of well-paid industry, and a well-fed population.

The whole sum by which this restoration was achieved, amounted to nine thousand pounds; and this did not exceed twelve shillings for each individual engaged in the stocking manufacture in the town and environs of Leicester. Had there been a deposit then to this extent from each in a savings bank, they had the means of accomplishing a deliverance for their whole body, by supporting in idleness, or at other work, a certain part of them. But this is not the way in which, after that a habit of accumulation has been established among labourers, the product of that accumulation will be applied. For the purpose of working a good effect, it is not necessary that there should be any such combined or corporate movement; or any resource whatever to the plans and expedients of committee-ship. The thing works far best when it works naturally. The same effect is arrived at just by each individual being upon his own accumulation; and when a glut comes round, he will spontaneously work less when a miserable renumeration is going, than if he were depending for his daily subsistence on his daily labour. An overstocked market is either prevented or more speedily relieved, simply by so many of the workmen ceasing to work, or by a great many working

moderately. It is thus, that a savings bank is the happiest of all expedients for filling up the gaps, and equalising the deficiencies, and shortening those dreary intervals of ill-paid work, which now occur so frequently to the great degradation and distress of every manufacturing population.

The subscription of nine thousand pounds at Leicester, just did for the population there, what, by the system of savings banks, any population might do for themselves. It would not of course take two or three thousand people off from their work, and keep them idle or otherwise employed for a month or two. But it would exempt all from the pressure of that immediate necessity which now urges them to work to excess. The effect in clearing away the glut would just be the same; and the people would owe to themselves a benefit that, in this instance, was conferred upon them by others. They would soon recover the level of their old and natural prices; nay, permanently raise this level, so as to obtain a permanently higher status in the commonwealth.

We conclude this chapter by the following extract from that article in the Edinburgh Review, which we have already alluded to.

"There is another and a far more excellent way—not to be attained, certainly, but by a change of habit among the workmen themselves—yet such a change as may be greatly promoted by those whose condition or character gives them influence in society. We have always been of opinion, that

the main use of a savings bank was, not to elevate labourers into the class of capitalists, but to equalize and improve their condition as labourers. We should like them to have each a small capital, not wherewith to become manufacturers, but wherewith to control manufacturers. It is in this way (and we can see no other) that they will be enabled to weather all the fluctuations to which trade is liable. It is the cruel necessity of overworking which feeds the mischief of superabundant stock, and which renders so very large a transference of hands necessary ere the market can be relieved of the load under which it groans and languishes. Now, this is a necessity that can only be felt by men on the brink of starvation, who live from hand to mouth, and have scarcely more than a day's earnings for the subsistence of the day. Let these men only be enabled, on the produce of former accumulations, to live through a season of depression while they work moderately, or, if any of them should so choose it, while they do not work at all, —and they would not only lighten such a period of its wretchedness, but they would inconceivably shorten its duration. The overplus of manufactured goods, which is the cause of miserable wages, would soon clear away under that restriction of work which would naturally follow on the part of men who did not choose, because they did not need, to work for miserable wages. What is now a protracted season of suffering and discontent to the lower orders, would, in these circumstances,

become to them a short but brilliant career of holiday enjoyment. The report of a heavy downfal of wages, instead of sounding like a knell of despair in their ears, would be their signal for rising up to play. We have heard, that there does not exist in our empire a more intellectual and accomplished order of workmen than the weavers of Paisley. It was their habit, we understand, to abandon their looms throughout the half or nearly the whole of each Saturday, and to spend this time in gardening, or in the enjoyment of a country walk. It is true, that such time might sometimes be viciously spent; but still we should rejoice in such a degree of sufficiency among our operatives, as that they could afford a lawful day of every week for their amusement, and still more, that they could afford whole months of relaxed and diminished industry, when industry was underpaid. This is the dignified posture which they might attain; but only after the return of better times, and through the medium of their own sober and determined economy. Every shilling laid up in store, and kept in reserve for the evil day, would strengthen the barrier against such a visitation of distress and difficulty as that from which we are yet scarcely emerging. The very habits too, which helped them to accumulate in the season of well-paid work, would form our best guarantee against the vicious or immoral abuse of this accumulation, in the season either of entire or comparative inactivity. We would expect an increase

of reading, and the growth of literary cultivation, and the steady advancement of virtuous and religious habits,—and, altogether, a greater weight of character and influence among the labouring classes, as the permanent results of such a system. Instead of being the victims of every adverse movement in trade, they would become its most effective regulators.

"This is the eminence that the labourers of our nation are fully capable both of reaching and of maintaining. But it is neither the Poor-rate of England, nor the law of Parochial Aid in Scotland, that will help them on to it. These have only deceived them away from the path which leads to independence; and amid all the complaints which have been raised against the system of a compulsory provision for the poor, nothing is more certain than that our poor, because underpaid operatives, are the principal sufferers by it. Every other class in society has its compensation. It is paid back again to the manufacturer in the shape of a reduction in the wages of his workmen, and to the landholder by a reduction in the price of all manufactured articles. It is only the operative himself, who appears to be pensioned by it, that is really impoverished. It has deadened all those incitements to accumulation which would have raised him and his fellow-labourers to a footing of permanent security in the state—And, not till their eyes have been opened to the whole mischief and cruelty of this delusion—not till they see where it is that

their most powerful and malignant enemy is lying in ambush—not till they have learned that, under the guise of charity, there has been an influence at work for many years, which has arrested the march of the lower orders to the elevation that naturally and rightfully belongs to them, and till they come to understand that it is by their own exertion and self-denial alone that they can win their way to it—not, in short, till the popular cry is for the abolition, rather than the extension of pauperism, will our labouring classes have attained their full share of comfort and importance in the commonwealth."

CHAP. XX.

ON THE COMBINATIONS OF WORKMEN FOR THE PURPOSE OF RAISING WAGES.

We fear that the cause of savings banks may have sustained a temporary discredit from the recent conduct of workmen all over the country. The apprehension is, that, by a large united capital amongst them, they might get the upper hand of their employers altogether; that, in possession of means which could enable them to be idle, they may exercise a power most capriciously and most inconveniently for the other classes of society; that they may lay manufacturers under bondage by their impregnable combinations; and, striking work at the most critical and unexpected junctures, they may subject the whole economy of human life to jolts and sudden derangements which might be enough for its overthrow. These fears, enhanced though they have been of late by the outrages of workmen in various parts of the country, would speedily be dissipated, we believe, under the light of growing experience. The repeal of the combination laws has not even yet been adequately tried. The effervescence which has followed on that repeal, is the natural, and, we believe, the temporary effect of the anterior state of things. There was nothing more likely than

that the people, when put in possession of a power which they felt to be altogether new, would take a delight in the exercise of it, and break forth into misplaced and most extravagant manifestations. But if the conduct of the one party have been extravagant, the alarm of the other party we conceive to have been equally extravagant. We trust that the alarm may have in part been dissipated, ere Government shall be induced to legislate any further upon the subject; or to trench, by any of its acts, on the great principle of every man being entitled to make the most of his own labour, and also of acting in concert with his fellows for the production of a general benefit, as great as they can possibly make out to the whole body of labourers.

The repeal of the combination laws in England has been attended with consequences which strongly remind us of the consequences that ensued, after the Revolution, from the repeal of the game laws in France. The whole population, thrown agog by their new privilege, poured forth upon the country, and, variously accoutred, made war, in grotesque and unpractised style, upon the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field. In a few months, however, the extravagance subsided, and the people returned to their old quiescent habits and natural occupations. We feel assured that, in like manner, this delirium of a newly awakened faculty among our British workmen will speedily pass away. They will at length become

wise and temperate in the use of it. Neither party, in fact, well understand how to proceed in the unwonted relation wherein they now stand to each other. There is indefinite demand upon the one side; upon the other there are distrust, and a most sensitive dread of encroachment. They have not yet completed their trial of strength; and just because, in ignorance of each others' powers, there are yet the effort, and the excitation, and the busy rivalship, of a still undetermined conflict. If Parliament would but suffer the great principle upon which its repeal has been founded to have full and unfettered swing in the country, we have no doubt, that, after a very few vibrations, the matter would at length settle down into a right and a comfortable adjustment for all parties. The experience of the evil that results to themselves from an overdone ambition, would far more effectually chasten and repress the obstinacy or the daring of workmen, than all the terrors of the statute-book; and a harmony would soon be established in a natural way between those parties whom the laws of the state had only set at variance.

The whole of this subject seems resolvable into three great divisions. First, for the question, "What were the right enactment in regard to combinations, on the pure and abstract principles of law?" Second, the inquiry whether, under such an enactment, all the practical mischief that is apprehended from combinations, would not be

sufficiently provided against without further law, and just by the action and reaction of certain natural influences, that operate throughout society, and among the parties themselves. Third, the consideration of the fears and the prejudices of men upon this subject, which are grounded upon Economic Theories.

I. The great principle of law upon this, and upon every other subject, is, that it should quadrate as much as it can possibly be made to do, with obvious morality. It is most desirable, that whatever the legislature shall ordain to be a crime, and liable to punishment, should be felt as a crime by man's natural conscience. In every case when there is a want of sympathy between the enactments of the statute-book, and the dictates of natural virtue, there is an expenditure and loss of strength incurred by the government of a country, when it either ordains such enactments, or carries them into effect. It is sure to lose ground thereby, in public or popular estimation;—and when the arbitrary regulations of a state are thus made to thwart and run counter to the independent feelings and judgments of men, this is certain to infuse an element of weakness into the body politic. The heart-burnings of him who suffers the penalty, meet with powerful reinforcement, in the sympathy of all his fellows. He feels himself to be a martyr or a hero, and not a criminal; and, if treated as a criminal, this only puts a generous indignancy into his heart, in

which he is supported by a kindred sentiment among all the free and noble spirits of the land. It is thus that the stability of government, and with it the cause of public order and tranquillity, is put to hazard by every law which squares not with the jurisprudence of Nature—and that some strong case of expediency would need to be made out, ere that should be held a crime in the eye of the law, which is not a crime in the eye of Nature also.

On the other hand, let law be on the side of clear and unquestionable morality—let that which it reckons with as a delinquency, be regarded as a delinquency by every unsophisticated conscience—let the offence against which its penalties are directed, be felt as an offence against the natural dictates of humanity and rectitude—let its voice of rebuke or of threatening, be at one with the voice of the heart, insomuch that all the denunciations of the statute-book are echoed to by the universal sense of justice in society; and every act of such a legislation will inconceivably strengthen the authority from which it emanates. Even though a very numerous class of the community should be thwarted by it in some favourite but iniquitous design, any discontent of theirs would be overborne by the general and concurrent feeling of the whole community besides. Nothing could withstand the force of law, if thus aided by the force of public opinion; and any government whose deeds are responded to by this

natural sense of equity among men, may surely count on such support and sympathy through the land, as shall make its authority to be quite irresistible.

Now, we fear that there have been times when both these principles were traversed by Government, in its management of combinations. For, first, there seems nothing criminal in the act of a man ceasing to work at the expiry of his engagement, because not satisfied with his present wage, and desirous of a higher; or in the act of men confederated and doing jointly, or together, the same thing. On the contrary, it seems altogether fair, that each should make as much as he can of his own labour; and that just as dealers of the same description meet and hold consultations for the purpose of enhancing the price of their commodity, so it should be equally competent for workmen to deliberate, and fix on any common, if it be not a criminal agreement, and that to enhance, if they can, the price of their own services. There really is nothing morally wrong in all this; and however a man may be treated on account of it as a delinquent by the law, he certainly is not regarded as a delinquent in the eye of natural conscience. It was because of this discrepancy between nature and the law, that we held it a good thing, when, by the repeal act, it was expunged from the statute book—and we hope that no subsequent act will again restore it. It is true, that while the whole statute law against combinations

has been abrogated, they, by the last act of parliament, have again been made liable as before to prosecution and punishment under the common law.* Yet we fondly trust, that even the application of common law to the practice in question, will fall into desuetude, as a thing not suited to the spirit of the age†—an expiring relict of the

---

* By the act of 5th George IV. cap. 95, all the enactments against combinations, of which a long enumeration is given, are repealed; and they who enter into combinations, are declared to be not "subject or liable to any indictment or prosecution for conspiracy, or to any other criminal information or punishment whatever, under the *common* or the statute law.

By the act of 6th George IV. cap. 129, this last act is repealed; but there is enacted over again its repeal of all the old statutory enactments against combination. So that the statute law continues to be abrogated, as it was by the repeal act which has been superseded. The repeal of the common law, however, has not been enacted over again; so that it has been restored to its old authority against the simple offence of combinations.

† This natural sentiment, that it is a fair and legitimate thing for workmen to stand out against such wages as do not satisfy them, often breaks forth into open and undisguised expression in the evidence taken by the Select Committee on Combination Laws, during the spring of 1825. It is felt and recognized by masters as well as others. The following is from the examination of Mr. Eli Chadwick, a manufacturer in Huddersfield:—

"Did they finish the work they had in the loom? They stopped out as long as the law would allow them, eight days, then they came and finished the work in their loom.

"Then they gave you notice they meant to retire? Yes.

"Having postponed the finishing that work as long as they could? Yes; eight days.

"You must be aware that, having completed their contract with you, they were under no further obligation? Certainly not.

"It was therefore a matter of option with them, whether they would engage with you for the wages they had heretofore? Yes.

"And they were perfectly at liberty to ask what they considered a fit remuneration for their own labour? Undoubtedly.

"They choosing to retire, there was no reason why they should not retire if they thought proper? None whatever."

barbarity of other times. And accordingly, in almost all the prosecutions which have taken place ever since the repeal act was modified, and in part done away, it is not the simple deed of combination which is proceeded against, but certain obvious and undoubted criminalities which are charged upon the promoters or the agents of combination.

But, secondly, while Government on the one hand, by its penalties against the simple act of combination, put forth a rigour far beyond the natural dimensions of this alleged enormity, they, on

---

"Do you mean to say, that it was your opinion that a rise should not take place, or was that the opinion of the men? It was my own opinion, at least in our own manufactory.

"In selling your goods, do you decide for yourselves what price you will sell them at? Of course.

"You would not think it right for any other person to interfere and say this price is unreasonable, and you must sell them at a lower rate? It is often done in trade; people are often ready to say we ought to sell them lower.

"Do you, in point of fact, admit the interference of any persons to regulate your prices? Certainly not.

"Do you consider that it would be fair to allow you to regulate the sale of your own wares, and to prohibit the men from selling their own labour as they may think proper? By no means, we do not wish any thing of the kind; nor would I allege the shadow of any thing that should seem to say so."

The question which succeeds the last quoted, with its answer, marks out most specifically the only grievance of which masters have a right to complain, and the only legitimate object which Government should aim to secure:—

"Then what is it you wish to suggest to the Committee for them to do in the present case? That if the men in my employ do not choose to work at the wages I can afford to give them, I may be at liberty to obtain other men from the neighbourhood about me."

the other hand, have not been declared and rigorous enough against those real enormities, which are often attendant on combinations. If, in the one way, they have greatly outrun the sympathies of the country—in the other way, they, for a time, perhaps, as greatly fell short of them. A mere combination among those who are unwilling to work, is not in the eye of morality a crime. But the members of a combination proceed to a very great and undeniable crime, when they put forth a hand, or even utter dark and terrifying threats of violence to those who are willing to work. This is the point against which the whole force of legislation ought to be directed; and though the public cannot go along with those severities of imprisonment and exile, which law has inflicted for the naked offence of combination, yet they will go most readily along with far greater severities than have ever yet been inflicted for the outrage done to those who refuse to enter them.*

---

* If, on the one hand, it evince how much the public feeling is with labourers in all their fair attempts to better their condition, when it is admitted, as in an instance already quoted, even by their masters; so, on the other hand, it evinces how much the public feeling is against labourers in the outrages of which they have been guilty, when workmen themselves betray a strong anxiety, either to disguise or to disclaim them. In this view, we hold the following extracts from the minutes of evidence to be valuable.

The first is from the examination of John Swift, a journeyman weaver at Newsome, near Huddersfield.

"They would have been dismissed from the union?—Yes; I do not know of any case where a person has been dismissed, but they have invariably left the union.

This then is the point at which the legislature should put forth all their rigour—even to protect

---

" And forfeited the money they had paid?—Yes, forfeited the threepence they had put in.

" That may have gone on for a considerable time?—Certainly.

" They have forfeited all the contribution they have made?—Yes; there have been two or three cases in 5,000 men.

" Have they continued to work in the same place?—Yes, with the same men.

" You mean now to state, that no arrangements have been made to prevent their continuing to work at those lower wages, for the same men and at the same prices? Yes, I do.

" You never heard of any case of the kind? No.

" Are you sure no instance has occurred within your knowledge, where a man has been willing to work at a lower rate of wages than the union had fixed, and where he had been prevented? I am sure there has not one.

" Have you ever heard of any brickbats having been thrown through the windows of the workshops when the men had struck? I have.

" In what cases? In one case, in Mr. William Norton's strike. I went over myself when I heard it, and said, ' I will give ten guineas to any man who will bring me word who threw that brickbat through the window, whether it was a union man or not;' and nothing could be found but a drunken man of one of the master manufacturers; and they said, this man, in a drunken fit, had thrown it at a weaver who was weaving.

" Was any person taken up in consequence of that outrage? Not one.

" During that strike at Mr. Norton's, was any personal violence or mischief done to any person whom you know? Not one.

" Did you ever hear of any complaint made respecting it? Not one.

The next is from the examination of Amos Cowgill, a weaver:—

" During that strike do you recollect any brick-bats being thrown against his premises? I do not remember, nor do I believe there were; I never heard a complaint of the kind, but it was said about that time, that there was a brick-bat thrown through a window about two miles from his place, and the members of the union offered a certain reward to any person who would tell who had done it; some said it was a manufacturer's son, some one, and some another, and we could never get to know who it was.

" Are you prepared to say, that no act of violence has taken place during any of the strikes since the union? I am prepared to say, there has not an act of violence taken place in any part of the West Fancy Union."

those who abide in their employment, or who have newly entered, from the hostility and violence of

---

The next is from the examination of Thomas Worsley, a cotton-spinner at Stockport:—

"Do you know of the circumstance of a new spinner at Hyde being ill-treated?—There was a spinner at Hyde ill-treated; but by whom, it was never in my power to find out. I made strict inquiries among the spinners, if ever they had sanctioned such a thing; and instead of sanctioning it, they declared they had offered a reward for the persons to be brought to justice who had committed the offence.

"What were the circumstances of ill-treatment?—The circumstance stated in the newspapers was, that five men met him in disguise and struck him on the head, and persons were taken up for it.

"Who was the man who was struck?—I have entirely forgotten his name.

"Had he been in the general business of the trade, previous to his having been struck?—I cannot speak to it.

"Do you mean to say, you cannot tell the Committee whether the person who was ill-used and ill-treated by these men, had been engaged in the trade or was a new spinner?—He was not a spinner; my belief is, he was an old hand in the trade, a rover.

"Had he refused to comply with the regulations of the union, and worked for less wages?—Not to my knowledge.

"Then, in making the inquiries, did you learn nothing on the subject?—No further than to inquire whether the spinners had given encouragement for the assault committed on the man.

"What was the result of your inquiry?—The result of my inquiry was, that I found the spinners had not concurred in such an act; and to show they had not, they offered a reward for the purpose of bringing to justice those who had done it."

The next is from the examination of William M'Alister, an operative collier at Kilmarnock:—

"Do you conceive it right and proper that colliers should interfere with any individual coming from a distance, working for your master for any wages that he may think fit?—No, I do not think the colliers have any right of interfering.

"You think that Mr. Guthrie, or any other coal-master, might be at perfect liberty to employ any man he pleases, for wages even less than those you have in his colliery?—Yes, he has liberty, and nobody says anything against it.

those who have abandoned it. In consistency with their own great and glorious principle of

---

" Has he ever done that?—No, he pays them all alike; but supposing he employs a man for three shillings a day, and gives us four shillings, we have nothing to say against that."

The next is from the examination of Philip Hardy, a shipwright:—

" Have you known any instances where men have been threatened by the union for working since the strike?—Never one.

" Are you sure of that?—I never heard of an instance of it.

" Are there any at work now in Mr. Young's yard?—Yes, there are several.

" Do they belong to the union?—Some do, some do not."

The next is from the examination of John Gast, a shipwright:—

" Then do you mean to state, that the withdrawing from the different yards has been the act of the men themselves, independently of any communication with the union?—If the Committee will leave the word union out of the question, because the union is a general term.

" Either with the members of the committee, or with the general meeting of the union?—I mean to say, that every man's act, at least the acts of the shipwrights in the River Thames, as respects the union, has been spontaneous.

" Are there no cases in which the men, after having returned to their work, or when working under any given circumstances in any yards, have been called to an account for it by the committee?—I really know of none, I am not in possession of any case at all where they have been at work, and called to any account at all, further than their own application, direct or indirect, as to the nature of the case, and that has been always left to themselves. Whenever they come to the committee upon any business, the committee have invariably said, ' Why do you trouble us? we have nothing at all to do with it, settle the matter with yourselves; we want to know nothing of your business; whatever there has been, you and your employers are at full liberty to settle it.' "

It is interesting to remark how much the *avowed* sentiments of the strike-work shipwrights on the Thames are at one with the sentiments of natural equity on this point. They at least disclaim all right of interference with the freedom of individual workmen. It is not essential to our argument, that they are honest in this disavowal. They indicate, at all events, a consciousness of such interference being wrong; and our Government might proceed, with all safety, to legislate more rigorously than they have ever yet done, against such acts as no one class of society can hold up their face to.

freedom, they should guard to the uttermost the freedom of those who are willing, from the ty-

---

The following is part of a letter from a committee of these shipwrights to the master builders:—

"1*st March*, 1825.

"Sir,—In answer to the question proposed to us, whether we concur in *recinding* from the rules and regulations of the Shipwrights' Provident Union, all articles whatever claiming or asserting the right of interfering in the internal regulations of any dock-yard, or claiming control over the freedom of action by which every individual workman should be at liberty to act for himself, as to the terms and conditions on which he will accept employment,—We beg leave to state, that there is no such *article or regulation in existence amongst us*, and we disclaim, on our part, the idea of interfering with the internal regulations of your establishments. It *as* been impressed on the minds of the shipwrights, that they ought to demand a sufficient remuneration for their labour, but at the same time they have been left at full liberty to act for themselves; the only demand that has been made, is to be paid at the rate of 12*s.* 6*d.* per hundred for making stages for stripping or coppering, 2*s.* 6*d.* for docking, and 1*s.* 6*d.* for undocking.

"Our opinion is, when a man or number of men agree with his master or foreman to perform a certain piece of work, and the master should want more hands on it, that we should have the choice of our mates, instead of having men forced on us against our inclination. It always was the *perogative*, and no man doubts the propriety of it, that the master should employ who he pleases; but after he has let a job to any man or set of men, then in that case it is our right, by law and custom, to get those people who are most agreeable to ourselves. We can appeal to most of the respectable builders on this point. The practice has invariably been, with one or two exceptions, when men *as* been wanted, for the foreman to call one of the people and tell him he wants more hands on the work; the reply generally is, 'Have you any men you wish to send,' and if he has, there is no objection. In this manner have we gone on till now, when a single arbitrary foreman says he will have his way, in *contridiction* to the wishes of upwards of 1,300 men; and we have reason to believe that he is now using his endeavours to set every shipbuilder in the port of London against the people in their employ. In this we hope he will be disappointed. We are not so lost to our interests as not to know that a good understanding ought to exist between master and journeymen, for without it no good can result to either party; and it is our determination to cherish such an understanding as will be of mutual benefit. We further beg to state, that our committee

ranny and violence of those who are not willing to work. It was in the spirit of kindness to the working classes, that the act for the repeal of the combination laws was passed; and it would appear, as if in the exuberance of this spirit, that an unwonted gentleness and forbearance had been made to run through all the provisions of it. The punishment, whether for forcing, by violence, their fellow-workmen to combinations along with them —or for forcing, by violence, their masters into a

---

have no power whatever over us; they were appointed to draw up a statement of prices, and submit them to the general body for inspection."

This was met by a series of resolutions on the part of the shipbuilders, who manifest an equally just discernment of the natural equities, as is manifest in the following extract:—

"That disclaiming therefore entirely all intention or wish to exercise any oppressive power over the workman, or to prevent his obtaining, by equitable means, the fair and just remuneration to which his labour is entitled, but anxious alone for the restoration of freedom of individual opinion, and of the open competition of labour consequent thereon, the shipbuilders present at this meeting pledge themselves, individually and collectively, to use their best exertions for the suppression of the union referred to, if, after a decided appeal to the people, they shall refuse to rescind from their regulations and bye-laws all articles whatever claiming or asserting the right of interference in the internal regulation of any dock-yard, or controlling the privilege of freedom of individual action among the workmen."

When workmen, on the one hand, disclaim all right of interference with the individual freedom of any of their fellows, and masters, on the other, profess their acquiescence in every equitable effort on the part of servants to better their condition, the legislature may with all safety proceed to embody these principles in such enactments as might both proclaim and guard the observation of them; and, while leaving those who will to combine in any way that is not directly criminal, it might, in full confidence of the nation's sympathy, strengthen as far as it may be found necessary, all those sanctions and expedients of law by which those who do not will, shall be secured from the outrages of the associated workmen.

compliance with their own prescriptions, is a great deal too small. By a *prosecution under this act*, no violence to person or property, no destruction of machinery, tools, goods, wares, or work, is liable to any greater penalty than that of two months imprisonment and hard labour. It is true, that by the subsequent clauses, the penalty is extended to three months imprisonment and hard labour. And it is also true, that all these offences are liable to prosecution and punishment under the severer laws that were previously in operation. But it may help to account in part for the recent popular ebullitions, that the repeal act held out a more mild and merciful aspect than the law ever held out before, to the very offences which itself was calculated to provoke. It was to this act that workmen naturally looked, and by which they measured the hardships and the criminalities of all the violence which they might use to enforce their combinations.* To them, in the first instance,

---

* The following is an example of workmen having been deluded into an offence, by the milder treatment which it obtained under the Repeal Act, than it ought to obtain even on the principles of natural equity.

"Are you aware of the provisions of the Act of last session?—I have understood from the magistrates there is nothing in the Act which would punish a man for leaving his work unfinished.

"Are you not aware that that was provided for by an Act of the year preceding?—The magistrates in Dublin do not appear to be aware of that.

"Are you aware whether any prosecution has taken place against men for leaving their work unfinished?—No, I am not.

"Do you conceive, from any conversation you have had with the magistrates, that they are not aware of the existence of any such law?—I conceive so; I may have misunderstood them.

then, it may be said to have offered a temptation to such violence; nor are we to wonder, if anterior to their experience of those heavier penalties, which this act did not bring into view, they heedlessly broke forth into outrages that were alike hurtful to the interest of their employers, and to the interest of their fellow-workmen.

It would help to clear and to facilitate the determination of this whole problem, were it extricated from that confusion of sentiment, in virtue of which, the right and the wrong of combinations have been blended together into one object of con-

---

"Are you aware that by the Act of last session persons entering into combinations, by threats or otherwise inducing men to quit their work, come under the regulations, are punishable by two months imprisonment only?—Yes, I am; but the punishment is not one that the men attend to much, because they can be supported during that time, from the friends of their body, in prison; and in the next place, from the difficulty of proving any thing like threat, especially by two witnesses.

"Have you observed the 6th section of the Act in which are these words: 'Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall alter or affect any law now in force for the prosecution and punishment of the said several offences:' which offences, in the 5th and 6th sections, are denominated to be threats or intimidation to force another to leave work, or to prevent any man from going to work, from damnifying and spoiling the property, or injuring the person of any one whatever?—I was not aware of the effects of such clause."

We are further convinced, that the Act in question was fitted to do what it actually did in the present instance, to delude men into the imagination, that by leaving their work unfinished, they were not liable to punishment. There is even too lenient a penalty for those who tempt to the commission of the crime, while the penalty to be laid on the criminal himself is not adverted to. And it was most natural for him to think lightly of that enormity, when so light a punishment was awarded to the instigators of it. In the proportion that the actual deviates from the natural jurisprudence, in that proportion is it fitted to do mischief in society."

templation. The public indignation has been very much fostered against the cause of natural liberty in workmen, by the shameful outrages of which associated workmen have been guilty in many parts of the land. It is thus that we are hurried into a desire for the abridgement of that liberty, by barring with legal penalties the very act of combination. Whereas, in fact, it is by the perfecting and extending of natural liberty, that all the mischiefs of combination are most effectually neutralised. But legislators themselves participate in this confusion, and forget, that after they have resolved to leave untouched the freedom of those who are not willing to work, there lies with them the remaining duty of shielding to the uttermost the freedom of those who are willing. In such a career of legislation, they do not need to relinquish for a moment that fine aspect of liberality which characterised the outset of it. They do not need to recal any part of that boon which they granted to the labouring classes; but only to add to the boon of protection from the alleged tyranny of their masters, the further boon of protection from the far more severe and substantial tyranny which, if not restrained, they would exercise on each other. In the prosecution of this walk, they will find, how much it is that sound morality and sound legislation harmonize. There is nought, either in the joint or separate resolutions of workmen, not to work for their masters under certain wages, that should be enacted against; for in such

resolutions there is truly nothing wrong. But there is a most glaring moral evil in the threats, or the annoyances, or the assaults that have been committed by them against their fellows; and, to put these down, the whole strength and wisdom of Government should be called into operation.*

---

* These outrages vary in their atrociousness, from the annoyance or threat, to deeds of most fearful enormity. The following are but a few specimens out of the many.

From the examination of Mr. John Buddle:—

"In point of fact, have you from the fitters, or any other persons, any knowledge that threats or intimidations have been used by sailors or others to prevent the regular execution of the law?—Yes, when I was at Sunderland, on the first of the month, some of Lord Londonderry's fitters were complaining that they had been threatened, and some of their vessels had been stopped from sailing until they complied with the rules of the Union.

"What was the nature of the compulsion; in what manner were they prevented?—By menaces and threats from the body of seamen to the persons navigating a particular vessel.

"Do you know of any particular expressions or any particular act of menace which took place?—No, I only heard a general complaint.

"You do not know whether it was from the general trade arising from the known object of the Union, or whether it was from particular threats applied?—The case I allude to was, I believe, from particular threats.

"You do not know the names of the parties?—No.

"Was it a threat of violence?—Yes, to the seamen, if they went on board and navigated the vessel without complying with the rules of the Union.

From the examination of Mr. Robert Hutton, coachmaker in Dublin:—

"Were any precautions taken to protect those men?—Yes; we purchased a house in the neighbourhood, and had a passage made from another house into our own factory.

"Have those people communicated to you the threats which have been made to them?—Yes.

"What was the nature of those threats?—Personal violence.

"Did they name any individuals who had made those threats?—They never knew the individuals; they said they had always been threatened by persons whom they did not know, and I believe that the persons who make those threats are generally persons unknown to the persons threatened.

It is of vital importance that any future effort of legislation should be well directed; not against

---

" Was any such threat carried into execution?—Not in our trade.

" Was it in consequence of that threat, or your apprehension in consequence of it, that you took that house for the men?—In consequence of both."

" During the preceding years you have carried on business, have you ever had any disturbances with your men, on the score of wages, or any other cause?—We have never had any, on the score of wages, with our workmen; but we have had disturbances with other workmen on other accounts.

" Were those disturbances of a more serious nature than those you have just stated?—One of them was of a more serious nature, because it was accompanied with a loss of nearly the life of an individual.

" In what year, and on what occasion, was that?—In 1813.

" How did that originate?—From a man whom we brought over from England, of the name of Conchman.

" What was his trade?—A painter.

" What was the result?—He was assaulted and beaten.

" Was any person punished in consequence?—Two men were punished.

" What were their names?—Kelly and Conolly.

" What was this man beaten for?—The men understood he was introducing a new and improved system, making alterations in the mode of carrying on the business.

" Was he materially hurt?—Yes, so as to unable him to work ever afterwards; and he is now living in England at our cost.

" You have maintained him on a pension ever since?—Yes.

" That happened while the combination laws were in full force?—It did.

" During the time you have been in business, have not combinations and strikes, amongst the trades in Dublin, been very frequent?—Yes; never, however, so frequent as within the last year.

" What was the character given to those strikes previous to the repeal of the laws, was it attended with outrage or violence, or were they peaceable?—In general attended with outrage and violence.

" Have many cases occurred since the repeal of the combination laws?—A great number; two men have been murdered, and a great number assaulted.

" In what trade?—Chambers, a carpenter; and Daly, a sawyer.

" What were the circumstances attending those murders?—Chambers, the carpenter, was an advocate amongst the men for making a gradation of rates, and finding he could not succeed, he withdrew from the body, and

the principle of workmen being at full liberty to act both individually and conjointly in opposition

---

worked on piece work, which is one of the things the body have a great objection to, and he was assaulted and murdered.

" Has any person been taken up and punished for that murder?—I understand never.

" At what period was that?—In October last. Daly, a sawyer, who supported himself and his family at some distance from Dublin, by sawing coffin boards, was attacked and murdered, because it was conceived that the supply of this timber, sawed out of Dublin, interfered with the business of the sawyers.

" How was it known by whom he was murdered?—From his having had threatening letters, and there being no hostility to him but on that account, and that having been before expressed.

" Was he a quiet peaceable man?—So I understood.

" Have the police been able to apprehend the persons murdering him?—I do not know.

" Was this murder accompanied with robbery of the person?—No; since those two murders there has been a great accession of numbers to the body, and the knowledge that those murders had been committed has answered the purpose of personal injury.

" There has been no individual injured by attacks of that kind since October last?—Oh! yes, a great many; I only meant to say, that it had answered the purpose to a certain degree.

" It has saved them the necessity of taking away more lives?—Yes; there have been a great many assaulted; one man of the name of Toole was assaulted a short time ago, I believe not more than six weeks ago."

From the examination of Mr. Michael Farrell, chief constable of police in Dublin:—

" Have they latterly increased?—The outrages have not been so numerous, but they increased very much lately, since in or about June last; there was not an outrage from in or about March until some time in the middle of June.

" Can you state to the Committee the number of outrages which have been committed since that period, up to the period of your quitting Dublin?—Of beating people in the streets I suppose between sixty and seventy from that time.

Describe the nature of these offences.—Any man who differs from what is called the Body, they watch him in a retired street, and either six or seven

to their masters, in every such way as is not criminal for a rise of wages, but against the practice of

---

are selected for the purpose of beating him. I have brought one of the weapons with me with which they beat him,—[*the witness produced a piece of wood of the length of about two feet, and very thick at one end, presenting three edges,*]—it is only their anxiety that preserves him, that saves his life, but they commonly break his bones. That was got in a seat in a public-house, on which some carpenters were sitting; we had information that they were to beat a man, and sent to see to frustrate it; it is only by the providence of God that any man can escape after getting a blow of that, for they mostly make at the head; there were two died from the beatings they got.

"Have there been only two individuals since June last who have died in consequence of those attacks?—Only two have died.

"What have been their names?—One man, the name of Daly, a sawyer; and Chambers, a carpenter.

"If it had been stated to this Committee that twenty people have lost their lives by being attacked in the streets of Dublin since July last, would that be correct?—No.

"Do you know how many people have had their skulls fractured?—I dare say, roughly speaking, there must have been forty.

"Who have received very serious bodily injury?—Yes, very dreadfully, but only two have died; but there are a great many that get severely beaten whom we never hear of, they are afraid to say any thing about it, for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Body.

"Of those sixty or seventy cases you refer to, how many have been brought before the police?—A great many; I believe there were twelve summarily convicted before the magistrate.

"Under what Act?—Under the late Acts for threats and intimidation; I know there were nine in one office, and there were three in our own.

"Have any been tried for their lives in consequence of the death of those individuals?—There were three men apprehended for the murder of Daly, but the law officers recommended them not to be tried, as the evidence would not be sufficient to convict, and hereafter evidence might be found.

"What was the nature of the crime committed by those nine or twelve who were found guilty?—They were chiefly nailers, going to the workshops of men, and threatening them; in one instance, they threw some vitriol into a man's shop, and about the place, and beat his men; there was one man convicted for that.

"Was he convicted under the last Act?—Yes; and the proof of the attack

workmen putting forth the slightest violence, or committing the smallest outrage in their opposition

---

was evidence in that; but the others were for threats, when they came to a man's window and threatened his workmen.

"In this case in which the man was actually beaten, how came it that the offenders were only punished under the late Act?—Against one of them there was direct proof of assault, he was sent for trial, and the others were for using threatening language.

"In the cases where beating has taken place, have you ever obtained evidence of the persons by whom it was committed?—Yes, and there have been three convictions; one man got eighteen months imprisonment, and another man got six; and what is very extraordinary, the very night after these men were sentenced they beat one man at the Military-gate in Watling-street, and the very next night they beat another man, in the same employment, at the corner of the Circular-road in Clanbrassil-street, and broke his limbs, and mangled him in such a way, that surgeon M'Namara said, that one would imagine they had studied surgery, for they had gone as far as they could without taking his life; that was a man of the name of Butler.

"Do you find any greater difficulty in prosecuting to conviction people guilty of acts of violence, arising out of combination, than you do for other crimes, such as robberies, or common assaults?—Oh yes, more so than any other crime.

"If any body has stated to this Committee, that twenty lives, in the immediate vicinity of Dublin, have fallen victims to the combinations of workmen, since the repeal of the combination laws, would you say that was a correct statement?—Certainly not.

"Are you not aware of a man having been found in the canal last week?—I was not in Dublin at the time; but I have heard of the circumstance of a man being found in the canal.

"How many actual deaths have you known, arising out of attacks of assaults and combinations of workmen, since July last?—Two.

"Have any precautions been adopted by the police, to take up individuals guilty of acts of violence, arising out of those combinations?—Continually. I could give a great many instances where we saved lives; we have people who, in this country, would be called spies, for the purpose of knowing what they are about; they give us information, that a man is to be beaten; the great fear we have is, that we shall not be able to prevent it; we throw men into the neighbourhood to watch them, not letting the man know; but they get information of the police being there, and the man, therefore, is not beaten.

to each other. The thing to be desired, is, that any new act shall not contravene the expres-

---

" How do you get information of that?—By persons we employ to go amongst them.

" Do you think those acts of violence are determined on by the committee of trades, or by individuals?—I think some persons among them give the hard word to strike, and then they select the man; they are levied; a proof of that took place six weeks ago. There was a man of the name of Carroll, a dyer, had reared some men to the silk-dying business, contrary to the wish of the trade, a body of men rushed into his place looking for him, very luckily they met his son, who was able to bear the beating better than himself; they beat the son in a dreadful way, mistaking him for the father; they then began to break the furniture, and then walked off, which shows the men were hired, they did not know the man Carroll, but mistook his son for him.

" Were not instances of that kind frequent before the repeal of the laws?—They were.

" You do not consider that these acts arise immediately out of that repeal?—It is a continuation of the same system.

" You do not think it has increased since?—No; but that the combination has increased. The death of those two men so terrified all the working men that they complied immediately with what was required by the Body.

" Has it come to your knowledge that the attack upon those two men had been arranged by the committee?—Nothing beyond suspicion, and the character of the cases; Daly and his brother lived with their father, an old man, at Maynooth, eleven miles from Dublin, they used to cut up timber, and send it into Dublin for making coffins and car wheels; the sawyers at Dublin thought this was injuring their trade, and they selected a place called Island Bridge, within a mile and a half of Dublin, and at two o'clock in the open day they attacked these two men so severely that one died the next week in Stevens' Hospital.

" How many men attacked those men?—Seven; they leaped over the Park wall and gave two huzzas when they did it.

" Were none of those men taken up?—There were two men taken up, but there was not evidence sufficient to send them to trial.

" Did those two men belong to the sawyers trade?—They did.

" What was the other case?—Chambers was a man of great talent, as a working man; he thought it a hardship that a master should give the same wages to a bad man as to a good one, and he caused a division in the Body,

sion of the repeal act, which was altogether framed in the spirit of an honest friendship to the

---

setting a value on men's labour; they were displeased with him for this, and they watched an opportunity when he went to see a man of the name of Hendrick, who was beaten the night before; he went to give money and relief to him, and just as he came out of the door where Hendrick lived, he was knocked down himself; and from what I can hear, in about half a minute he was so mangled that he died in the hospital in three days afterwards.

" Do you recollect the case of the gas works?—Yes; there was a man of the name of Craven convicted for that.

" What sentence was passed upon him?—Eighteen months imprisonment.

" Do you recollect an attack on a person of the name of Kennan, of Wine Tavern-street, a tanner?—Yes, in his own tan-yard, in the morning, at between eight and nine o'clock.

" By whom was that made?—It is not known; they were supposed to be tanners, for he had differed with the body, and taken in strange hands.

" Did not an examination take place at the police office on that subject? —There did; and there was a man committed to Newgate, tried before the recorder, and sentenced to nine months imprisonment.

" Who was the man; was he a tanner?—He was an old man, who had been a tanner; and it appeared he waited an opportunity and entered into a conversation, and that those men who appeared to have been hired, watched an opportunity and struck the man he spoke to.

" Hired by whom?—It is supposed by the journeymen of the trade.

" Did not the tanners trade offer a reward, and come forward themselves to prosecute, denying any cognizance whatever of any part of their trade? —I heard the curriers say they would do so; I went to the curriers meeting the next night they met.

" Have not you seen an advertisement to that effect?—No, but the magistrates recommended to them to do so; and I heard them say they would do so. Kennan's supposition was, that they instigated it; for he carried on the tanning and currying business together; and the wish of the trade was, to separate the two, to have them distinct trades.

" Do you know that the magistrates, after an inquiry into that case, returned the curriers thanks for the activity they had shown in discovering the person who attacked Kennan?—They showed a good disposition, for it was on the information that one of the curriers gave, that we arrested the man that was convicted.

labouring classes of society. Its design was to protect them from what, in the fervour of their indig-

---

"To what trade did that man belong?—He had been a tanner; he was past his labour.

"Are you aware that there is a difference between the tanners and the curriers?—Yes, between the master tanners, and the journeymen curriers.

"Was it by a member of the masters or the journeymen, that this man was beaten?—He supposed that he was beaten at the instigation of the curriers.

"It was a tanner that set him?—It was an old tanner that set him.

"Have you known any instances of any trade in Dublin refusing to concur with the police to discover any person suspected to have committed acts of violence?—They invariably plead ignorance of knowing of any act; they always deny it."

"You have stated, that on several occasions you have had information of an intended beating, from some persons who were present, and knew of the circumstance?—Yes; they were not present when the resolution took place that a man was to be beaten, but they were told that a meeting was to take place: the cant word for it was, Such a man is to be slated such a night; that is understood that he is to be beaten.

"Do you believe that that slating takes place in consequence of a resolution of the committee, or how do you understand it to be determined on?—The conduct of the man has displeased the committee, and an observation of displeasure is made upon it, and then some one speaks to those people who are ready to do such a business.

"That is done without a resolution of the committee?—Without any resolution at all."

From the examination of Mr. Chippendale.

"If you were to employ a number of coopers from Ireland, would you apprehend personal violence?—They would not suffer them to work, I am satisfied.

"What reason have you to suppose there would be personal injury?—On this ground: whenever a man has come into the yard, and they can find he has worked under the price, he will be scouted out of the yard."

From the examination of Mr. Thomas Hebblethwaite, near Wakefield.

"When did the men form themselves into an association?—I did not know of it till last November: we had heard of it before, but the men would not confess they had joined it till the very last day.

nation, they have often denominated the tyranny of their employers. The truth is, that they re-

---

" Are you certain no combination existed among your men previously to the repeal of the combination laws?—I believe not.

" You had no reason to suspect it?—None at all.

" Do you suppose the repeal of the laws tempted the men to form themselves into an association?—I think it did.

" Did they so form themselves into an association shortly after the repeal of those laws was known?—I cannot say how long after; but they have got a very large fund: they paid three halfpence a-week; they have got a fund which keeps them now for six weeks.

" When did they begin to form that fund?—I cannot say.

" Do they keep those matters secret from you?—Yes.

" Are there other manufacturers of the same description near you?—Not very near; there is about a mile off.

" Have the workmen in those other manufactories also struck?—Some of them have, but none since they turned out with us, because, as we did not submit to them, they have gone on at other places: if we had submitted, they would have turned out in the other two manufactories.

" What reason have you to believe that?—That is what the people in the union say; we have got part of our own family turned in again, and they call them black ones.

" What has become of the men who have retired from the works?—They have been walking about.

" And living upon the funds of their society?—Yes.

" Do you know what they receive?—Some of them receive nine shillings a-week, and three shillings for each child.

" How long have they continued to receive it?—There were many of them continued thirteen weeks; then they would not go any where else to seek work; then the committee said, that they would not pay them any more money, and then they turned in at their old wages."

From the examination of Mr. William Willans.

" Are you able to say whether there was any proof what particular men had thrown these brick-bats?—I am not able to say there was any proof of that. There is also the case of Peter Singleton, who was drinking with some of the union men, at a public-house in Rastrick. They were endeavouring to persuade him to enter into the union. He said, he was satisfied with the wages he was receiving. In consequence of which,

quire a still further protection; and that is, full protection from a still more odious and oppressive

---

they abused him very much: he was knocked down, and so kicked, that he was carried into a room, in a state of insensibility. He had the persons taken before a magistrate, where they were ordered to pay all the expenses, and to allow him 2s. per day till the surgeon reported him fit for work."

From the examination of Mr. Chadwick.

"Have you any facts to state upon which that opinion of him or yourself is founded?—I could account for the reasons by which he was actuated; he stood between the men and myself, and, of course, wished to command the approbation and confidence of both parties as much as possible; and, therefore, he was well aware that in giving to me the names of parties, or in standing by me in prosecuting the parties for threats, he was exposing himself. I should have little hesitation in saying he was exposing his life to risk.

"Is it not usual that, where prosecution has taken place in case of combination, the persons prosecuting have been set against?—Yes, they are marked objects. In fact, he assured me, if he took the steps I wished him to do, he must quit the neighbourhood.

"Do you know any instance of that nature of your own knowledge?—I cannot speak to other manufacturers cases on this point.

"Has any circumstance taken place of a person appearing as a witness, or prosecutor, having afterwards suffered for such conduct?—I am not aware that there have been more than one or two; I believe there have been one or two taken before the magistrates within the last three or four weeks, but I cannot speak to the circumstances which have occurred as to the result. My foreman, rather than stand by me in the brunt of the opposition, offered, if I would give the advance to the men for two or three months, to get the old hands reconciled to work with the new ones, to pay the advance out of his own pocket."

From the examination of Lieutenant William Jones.

"Did you hear any thing of a person being carried about the town, painted, his face blackened, and insulted?—No. A circumstance has happened at Berwick; the company were determined to resist the Berwick union, and went to Dunleary to hire sailors, and one of the masters hired five men, and brought one or two with him into Berwick for his own vessel. The other men were to follow after as they were wanted. The

tyranny which is apt to spring up among themselves. We can confidently appeal to the expe-

---

Berwick union men hearing that, walked out on the road to meet them, and met the men coming in a cart; they said, "You have come from Dunleary?" "Yes." "You are going to join the smacks?" "Yes." "You had better go back, one man has been murdered, we would advise you as friends to go back, and here is money to pay your expenses." The men were frightened, and fortunately a ship's commander forseeing this, sent men out with a constable, who undeceived them and brought them in."

From the examination of Mr. Henry Taylor, Ship-owner at Bristol.

"He engaged some men from Plymouth, and paid their expenses to Bristol; during this week the Bristol carpenters had a committee sitting daily, and they got knowledge of these men coming up from Plymouth; they waited for them, and told them they would not be allowed to work in Bristol; that their lives would be in danger if they walked the streets, and they persuaded them to go back immediately. I got some hint of it, and went to the next coach about to start for Plymouth, and I found the strangers on the top of the coach, on their return, and the committee of the Bristol carpenters round the coach. I remonstrated with these strangers on the impropriety of their conduct, in coming up at Mr. Scott's expense; and I asked them why they were going back. They told me that the carpenters had told them that they should not work in the city, and had sent them back. The Bristol carpenters had supplied them with plenty of spirits during the few hours they were in Bristol, and handed up spirits to them on the coach, desiring them to drink success to the carpenters' union.

"Did any of those persons whom you had brought, state to you that they were induced to return from having been told that their lives would not be safe, if they remained in Bristol?—Yes; and that they were desired by the carpenters to stop the others, if they met them on the road, and support the union.

"They did return accordingly? Yes; they all returned. One gentleman in the coach, who went back with them, told me afterwards, that they told him they were sent back at the expense of the club at Bristol, and that they had sufficient money put into their pockets to send them home."

From the examination of Mr. Fletcher, Ship-builder, London.

"Have any of these punishments been carried into effect?—I do not know how far they have been carried into effect, for such is the system of

rience of many workmen, whether they ever felt so grievously thwarted and overborne out of their terror over the minds of the men that they dare not rebel. Many have engaged themselves to go and work on work left by these men, and not a single ship-wright dare come; they would do it at the peril of their lives.

"Do you get without difficulty workmen who do not belong to the union?—We cannot get any. We have eight or nine at work, some of whom have been obliged to apply to a magistrate. We for protection endeavoured to prevail on these to continue, and have succeeded in keeping them from joining the union; but they have been annoyed extremely and assaulted by the people. I was obliged to take one of the men up, to ensure peace and protection.

"What protection was afforded?—The magistrate told the men, if they were impeded or insulted, or prevented from coming to work, that he would certainly send the offender to the treadmill, and he, the person now charged, was to make that known to the rest of his associates. We have had one instance since, where the men have been abused; I called the man in and told him, that as the second offence would send the offender to the treadmill, and he was sufficiently punished by obeying the law of the committee, I would not punish him for breaking the law of the land, and therefore I forbore."

From the examination of Mr. William Rose Robinson, Sheriff-depute of Lanarkshire.

"Can you name the persons whom they wished to wound or assassinate?—The persons whom they wished to wound or assassinate, subsequently to the Act, were D. M'Fee, Robert Watson, and John Graham; and I may also state, that of the concurring statement of two of the witnesses, who went to be examined on the trial for shooting J. Graham; they were waylaid, and fired at, a few days previously to the time when they were to be brought forward to give evidence against the man who shot Graham.

"You know, as a fact, that these witnesses were fired at?—I have the statement of the men themselves, that they were fired at; and next morning, two pieces of lead, seemingly flattened against a wall, or other hard substance, and of the weight of a pistol-bullet, were found near the spot where the said men were fired at. The case of Robert Watson, was as follows. Watson was fired at with a bullet, which grazed his back, underneath the shoulder. This was after having been threatened, and intimidated in a variety of ways. There is reason to suppose, that he

own free choice, as by the terrors of their own association, whose secret and mysterious power

---

was fired at twice, as there were two holes through the back of his jacket.

" By whom?—Although it was done in the midst of a considerable number of people, such was the co-operation, or effect of the intimidation existing, that we could not obtain evidence who the person or persons were who did it. The case of Graham was tried, and John Kean was found guilty of having shot Graham with ten pellets of the largest species of shot: eight of these are at present in his body. He is paralyzed in his lower extremities, and there is no chance of his recovering; that is the opinion of the medical gentlemen.

" Why did the prosecution take place before the man was out of danger? —Because he was likely to survive for a considerable time; and such is the state of intimidation and actual violence at present existing in Glasgow, that it was necessary to bring forward the trial, lest material evidence should be lost. It was necessary to keep the principal witnesses on the trial in safety; and a subscription is pressntly going on with a view to removal to some other place of a witness named Bell, who seized Kean, and was the main instrument of his apprehension and conviction.

" Have you any reason to suppose the man had been employed by other people to commit the act?—I have no reason to doubt that he was employed by others, viz. the secret committee, and that he was to receive money for doing it; and I state this upon the man's own authority, being a confession voluntarily given since his conviction of the crime. The import of his confession is, that he, along with several others employed, were to assassinate Graham and some others. Four or five of the masters were particularly pointed out. The assassins were to receive, I think, the sum of £100, and if successful were to get more.

" You are possessed of this confession in writing?—I am possessed of the confession, and will produce it.

" Was all this since Mr. Hume's Act?—All the cases which I have latterly detailed have taken place within these few months.

" Are there other acts?—There are a variety of other assaults and acts of intimidation, of which I am prepared to give the particulars, if required.

" What has been the effect of these acts of intimidation?—I think the effect of the acts of intimidation, taken generally, has been to bind together, and to create and give effect to the existing co-operation among these combinations. I think that without intimidation they would individually and collectively more speedily fall to pieces, because it is through the medium

wielded a far more despotic sway over their imaginations, than ever did the old law in the pleni-

---

of intimidation that they, in a great measure, collect or obtain the funds which they distribute in furtherance of their purposes.

"Have there been acts of assembling round manufactories to prevent workmen going to work?—There have been various instances of that. I have been obliged to issue proclamations, to employ additional constables, and even to call the military, in consequence of persons congregating round the manufactories, and annoying with missiles and abusive language the new workers. The annoyance was such that they have been obliged to be guided to the work, and protected back again to their own rooms."

From the examination of Mr. Robert M'Kechnie, Procurator Fiscal of Stirlingshire.

"Did they suffer much injury?—Two of the men were most severely cut, one of the name of James Corbet, and another of the name of John Moffat. John Moffat was knocked down by a stone, and fell into a ditch by the side of the road, and while lying in the ditch, the individual who struck him with the stone, and several other colliers, came up and struck him repeatedly on the head with sticks and paling stakes, and caused various fractures; and at this moment the man is confined in the house, and not able to do any thing.

"Was he left for dead at the time?—He was. He has been attended daily since the assault by two surgeons, and I believe it is only within these two or three weeks that he has been certified to be out of danger.

"Subsequent to this were any others of those labourers threatened or dealt with in any way by those colliers?—Yes, they were.

"When, and where?—What I have stated was, that on March the 14th an attack was made on those labourers. On the following forenoon there was an assembly of colliers, the Rumford and Park Hall colliers, the whole of his Grace's strike-work colliers, the colliers at Quarrol and Kinnaird, and from collieries from Borrowstoness, took place, to the amount of from six to eight hundred, all armed with bludgeons and sticks. They met at Reading Moor, just by the coal-works, and some of those colliers got hold of one of the Duke's labourers.

"One of those men that you spoke of before? Yes, one of the sixty or seventy.

"What was his name?—William Bishop. They threatened to cut his throat if he did not instantly go back from whence he came; they seized him and threw him on the ground, and some of them took out an instru-

tude of all its enforcements. We venture to affirm, that the dread of ruin to their families, and of injury to their persons, has been far more frequently inspired by this new despotism, within these few months, than has been done by the statutes against combinations among all the working classes put together for a whole century.* An act for the fur-

---

ment from his pocket, and while he was lying on the ground, they said they would save his life, provided he instantly went back to Hamilton, and told the whole of his comrades to do the same; they desired him to tell his comrades, if they did not go back likewise that they would be done for; the consequence was, he did tell his comrades that very day or the next, and they all refused to work, being afraid of their lives. They would have commenced on the Tuesday had not the foresaid assault taken place; but in consequence of it, and what happened to Bishop, they all refused to work, and continued the whole of that week without working. Mr. M'Donald, the sheriff-depute of the county, got notice of all this, and came upon Thursday morning the 17th, to his Grace's coal-works, attended by his fiscal and some sheriff-officers. He was for some weeks after this almost daily at the works; he encouraged the men to go to work, said that he would protect them, and that they (the strike-work colliers) dared not meddle with them; and by his daring activity, and making apprehensions of various individuals concerned in the assault of those two labourers, the sheriff got them the beginning of the following week, the whole of the labourers, to go to work."

Who can doubt, after such instances of atrocity, that should Government find it necessary to enact heavier penalties against all interference with the natural liberty of workmen, they will carry the whole sense and virtuous feeling of the country along with them?

* From the examination of Mr. Robert Hutton.

" As you conceive the combination is increased, do you conceive the system of intimidation amongst the men has increased? Yes, increased to a very great degree.

" Do you mean threats of violence, or threats of any other consequences? —Threats of every kind; a man who came over from Manchester and set up himself as a repairer of machinery has been threatened, his men have left him; he went out on Easter Monday, and his wife and sister were with him, and they were told, you had better let that man, stating his name,

ther protection of workmen from this regimen of terror, so far from even the most distant approach

---

leave the country; we have all settled that he, and other Englishmen who come over to interfere with our trade, shall be roasted on a gridiron; those threats to women of course have a very powerful influence."

From the examination of Mr. J. Fletcher.

"Has Husband, or any other of the men formerly employed in your yard, directly or indirectly intimated to you any feeling of a wish to return, if it were not for a dread of this union?—They have said so over and over again, that they should be very glad indeed. They have told me collectively and individually, that if I would give them the smallest colour on earth, that would be a justification to them,—if I would only do any thing that would justify them to the committee, they would all return to work; they would leave price and every thing else to myself, as they had done, if I would only do any thing that would give them a colour of justification. I said to them at one of the meetings, 'I will not; if I were capable of doing any thing colourable, I should lose my character with you; if you must do something with our regulations, strike your pen through the printer's name, that is all I can grant; you must come as you went away; but if you are under the control of the committee, if you dare not act as free agents, you must abide the consequences, and ruin yourselves and families.' I am convinced of it,—I have no more doubt of it than of my own existence,—that the only thing that keeps the shipwrights in our employ away, is the dread they are under of the consequences from the union, and the threats the committee have made."

From the examination of Mr. G. F. Young, a Ship-builder at Limehouse.

"Is there any other circumstance you have to state?—A control attempted to be exercised, in numerous instances, over persons who made no complaint whatever, and who had expressed their satisfaction with their wages and their treatment, but who are deterred from remaining in the employ by the apprehensions under which they lie of personal violence, but more frequently by that sort of intimidation which men are naturally averse to expose themselves to. No longer ago than Saturday last, I recollect an excellent workman in our employment came to me himself; he stated, "Sir, I have been many years in your employ; I am grateful for all you have done for me; I always found you a kind and a good master; but I am an inhabitant of one of the alms-houses belonging to the Shipwrights Heart of

to a re-enactment of the Combination Laws, would, in fact, be tantamount to a grant of additional

---

Oak Institution, and it has been intimated to me that if I do not leave your employ I shall be expelled from that alms-house." I pressed him exceedingly to tell me by whom this intimation had been given, but I could not succeed. I have been told by many other men that they have joined the union because they were treated as so degraded a caste by their fellows, that their lives were rendered wretched and miserable; that they were literally so far compelled by that description of influence which men in that station of life can hardly be expected to be proof against.

" Three or four of the men who were so employed on the Ruth, told me that a meeting had been called, in consequence of its being conceived by the general body of the people that they ought to have demanded an increase of price upon this ship, they having taken it upon the usual price of the yard; I pointed out to them what an outrage it was upon their independence, that they should not be considered capable of making an agreement for themselves. I asked them how they could allow an interference of other persons unconnected with them; they told me they regretted it exceedingly, but that it was impossible for them to control the views of the general body; that they were members of the union, and they must act with the union; but they did return to their work."

From the examination of Mr. Thomas Carter.

" What has been the nature of these conversations?—I had occasion, within this week past, to speak with a man for leaving some work in an incomplete state, and I asked him why he had done it. He said that he had been before the committee to request permission to finish it, and they had told him that he had no right to finish it, though in his own opinion he said he had; in fact, he was under a verbal contract to do it. This same man, when first the union was formed, objected to enter into it, and met with a great deal of ill treatment from his mates in consequence.

" Have you this from himself?—Yes.

" What sort of ill treatment?—Every time he went to his meals he was attacked. The shipwrights, most of them, work far from home, and consequently they go to a public-house to get their meals; then a man is exposed to the attack of all his mates. This man resisted for some time all the advice of the people respecting his joining the union, and at last they told him, that without he would enter into the union, every man would leave the ship upon which he was employed. There were a great many men employed on the ship; she was an East Indiaman, and much wanted. I removed the

liberty; and, notwithstanding all the clamour and jealousy of the obstinately disaffected among them,

---

man to another ship, as the owners were pressing to have her finished; I thought it better to take no more notice of it; I removed him to another dock, or else I felt assured the whole of them would strike.

" Did the man afterwards enter into the union?—He felt himself compelled; he told me that no man would have worked with him. I have taken frequent and almost hourly opportunities of speaking with the men; he is not the only one, by scores, who have declared to me that fear alone has compelled them to enter into the union. I have men now working in the yard who are intimidated to a degree of which you have no conception, and who, if they dared, would very gladly have nothing more to do with the union. I have taken daily and hourly opportunities of speaking with those whom I thought the most quiet and well-disposed amongst them."

From the examination of Mr. Joseph Nash:—

" Do you conceive that that statement was an invention of his for the purpose of saving himself in the opinion of the union?—I do decidedly so, because he stated to me, 'Nash,' says he, 'we would give any thing to be at work, if we could get any little measure, so as to justify ourselves in the eyes of our committee.'

" Did Husband at any time express to you that he should be very glad to return to Mr. Fletcher's work if it was not for the apprehensions he entertained from the union?—He never stated that he was kept from going to work by apprehensions; but he has more than once, twice, or thrice, stated to me as a friend, 'I wish I was at work; for Mr. Fletcher has offered every thing necessary for our comfort; but now we are in the union we cannot, unless we could get him to do something to justify ourselves in the eyes of the committee.'

" You stated that you had frequent communication with the shipwrights, is it your opinion that many of them would return to work if they were allowed to do so?—I am certain of it; but if they came to work now, they must forfeit the benefit they expect to result from the union.

" In your opinion, are they apprehensive of any insult, or any assault, if they were to return to their work?—Several of them stated that they would be glad to go to work, was it not that they should be scoffed at and jeered at by the rest of the union.

" And you believe they would?—I am certain they would.

would be substantially felt as such by the body at large. It were to be regretted, if Government, after having done so well by the repeal of these laws, should forfeit any portion of the popularity and real strength which it has thereby acquired; and, therefore, it is especially desirable, that any subsequent measure which might be necessary, should wear the appearance, as well as possess the reality of being a measure for still further defending the liberties and the interest of workmen.

By the repeal of the Combination Laws, full liberty has been granted, that workmen shall either singly, or in a body, cease to work till they obtain such superior remuneration as they may choose to fancy or to fix upon. But the liberty is imperfect, if any one, or more of these workmen, be not in full security, when they please to work for any inferior remuneration. The man who is willing to accept of a lower wage than his fellows, is the man who can least of them all afford to be idle. It is he who is most goaded by his own necessities, and those of his family, to an exertion for their subsistence; and he, therefore, is the individual, to whom the restraints of an association enforced as they often are by the persecution and violence of its agents,

---

"Has any thing of that kind taken place with those men that are at work in your yard?—Yes.

"In what way?—They have been called as bad as assassins; they have been accused by the people that have left, 'You are as bad as assassins, to go to work to take the bread out of our mouths when we are remaining out of work for your good.'"

are in fact the most gallingly and oppressively cruel. The members of a combination of workmen hold out their cause to be that of the poor against the rich, whom they would represent as the tyrants and oppressors of society. They reflect not on the tyranny which they are exercising all the while on those who are still poorer, and in a state of more pitiable helplessness than themselves—on the individuals of their own body, who are most immersed in debt, or whose children are farthest sunk in destitution, and who most gladly would labour in their behalf for the current wages, were it not for the rigours and the menaces of this worse than revolutionary despotism. The greatest mischief which has ensued from the repeal in question, can be met by a legislation that might stand forth, not in the character of opposition, but in the character of friendship and benignity to the lower orders; a legislation that took the side not of masters against servants, but of the poorest and most helpless of these servants, against that crowd of petty oppressors who were of somewhat elevated condition above them. A legislation of this sort, whose equity recommends itself to every man's conscience never can awaken any popular disaffection that will be at all hazardous; and we therefore would repeat it as our fondest hope, that Parliament will devise a method for putting down those outrages, that we suspect at the very worst are temporary, without at all impairing that fine aspect of liberality, which is not less consonant

with the soundest economic wisdom, than it is in grateful harmony with the spirit of our age.*

The associated workmen with the cry of liberty in their mouths, have most glaringly traversed all the principles of liberty. They have erected themselves into so many little corporations, and are chargeable with all the monopoly and intolerance of the corporation spirit. They have endeavoured to narrow the field of competition for employment, by shutting the avenues to their respective trades against the general population. The same paltry selfishness which wont to characterise in other days, the exclusive companies of merchants, has now descended among our labourers, and with them has acquired a still more hideous complexion, from the savage cruelties wherewith it has been aggravated, and which have armed against their cause all that is generous and good in the feelings of the country. Still it is hoped that even misconduct so outrageous as theirs will not precipitate the legislature back

---

* The Act 6th George IV. c. 126th, is altogether in this spirit, and will go far to check in Scotland, the only evils of combination which are really formidable, or against which Government should ever array themselves. It is entitled "An Act to make provision in Scotland, for the further prevention of maliciously shooting and attempting to discharge loaded fire-arms, stabbing, cutting, wounding, poisoning, maiming, disfiguring, and disabling his Majesty's subjects." There is particularly specified in this Act, the offence of unlawfully throwing, or otherwise applying to any of his Majesty's subjects, any Sulphuric Acid, or other corrosive substance. This and certain other outrages, (named in this Act) with the intent to murder, maim, or do some other grievous bodily harm, are held to be capital, and liable to sentence of death accordingly.

again to those antiquated prejudices from which they had emerged; but well may it warrant them to utter a voice of greater decision, and lift an arm of greater strength than they have ever yet done, against such enormities as can never be endured in any Christian or civilized land.

Because government may have conceded to our artizans and mechanics the fullest liberty not to work, that is no reason why a power should be permitted to arise in another quarter, which might trench upon their liberty to work. Government has nought to do, but to assert itself the equal patron and defender of both kinds of liberty. By means of the one liberty, it will neutralise all the mischief which is apprehended from the other. It is not by a regimen which does violence to any of the principles of natural freedom, but by the equal and impartial maintenance of all its principles, that a wise government is enabled to uphold the best and most wholesome state of society.

And so far from any call for any peculiar delicacy or tenderness of legislation in this matter, there is a very peculiar reason, why in every manufacturing country, the attempt to molest or impede workmen in the free exercise of their callings, should be visited with a treatment the very opposite of that lenity, wherewith this offence seems to be regarded at least in the Repeal Act. It is not because of the alleged importance of our manufactures to the public and political strength of our nation; an advantage which we have long held

to be quite imaginary; but it is because of the very great number of those whose interest and safety are involved in the protection of every workman from the aggression of his fellows. We allude to the workmen themselves. There is altogether as great propriety in it, that the crime of forcing or interrupting a labourer should be signalized above an ordinary assault, by the severer penalties which are annexed to it, as that the crime of forgery should be so signalized. The latter severity, over rigorous as it surely is, has been defended on the ground of the extensive mischief done by forgery to the merchants of a trading nation. The former might well be vindicated on the ground of a mischief as extensive, done, by the forcing of workmen, to the mechanics and artizans of a manufacturing nation. To provide a barrier against the outrages of associated workmen, it is not necessary to conjure up again the legislation of barbarous times. It can be done by a better legislation, which shall bear upon its forehead the impress both of kindness to the labourer, and of enlightened patriotism.

II. But what theoretically may appear to be a good law in the statute book, might turn out, after all, to be practically a powerless or inapplicable law in society; like a machine, that however beautiful and perfect in the model, might not work well in the manufactory. Therefore it is, that ere such an inquiry as the present can be completed, we must pass from the abstract jurisprudence of the question, to the gross and living experience of

the question; and, going forth on the outer field of actual and concrete humanity, we must observe, there, what the forces and the interests are which come into busy play, and in how far such a law as we have argued for, is of sufficient control over them, for all right and salutary purposes. It is not by the mere categories of ethical science that such a question ought to be determined. Such a law as would suit the republic of Plato, or some similar Utopia, might be the whole fruit of one's studious excogitations at home. But it is only by a survey abroad, and over the domain of business and familiar life, that he learns to modify, when needful, the generalizations of abstract thought, by the demands of a felt and urgent expediency.

Let us now look, then, to this outer field of contemplation—not to the principles of the question in any system of natural law, but to the exemplifications of the question in the midst of living society; and we greatly mistake it, if it be not found that there is a most entire harmony between them; and that the complex workings of what may be termed the economic mechanism, are altogether at one with the simplicities of theory. We hold that there are certain natural securities for a right adjustment between masters and servants, in the very relationship itself, which ought to supersede the interference of Government;—we mean, its interference for any other object than the enforcement of justice between the parties, and the protection of both from all sorts of personal violence.

Even from the very history of some recent misguided adventures, on the part of workmen, we may learn what these securities are, and how powerful and efficient they must ultimately prove in their operation. So that the interference of Government, with the just and natural freedom of any of the parties, is really superseded by those better influences that lie in the mechanism and the spontaneous workings of human society.

The great compensation, then, for the evils of a strike, is the power which masters have of replacing those who have struck work by other hands. We will not deny the very great temporary inconvenience of such an event to masters; but we deny that it is such as to warrant a legislation, which traverses any of the principles of an obvious or natural equity. And besides, we are not to estimate the inconvenience in all time coming, by any degree of it which might be felt or experienced at present; for now the conflict is at its height in many places; and though, by this time, subsided into quiescence in some quarters, yet, in others, still in a state of busy and unsettled fermentation. Still, however, we have to wait the various terminations of this controversy, which the repeal of the Combination Laws has so very naturally awakened all over the land, ere we shall obtain the complete verification of its result. We are yet in the suspense, and among the uncertainties of the experiment; and though gradually brightening towards it, we have not yet arrived at

the full and finished experience. This experience, however, if waited for patiently, and for a sufficient length of time, will, we have no doubt, be in the highest degree tranquillizing to the combatants, and satisfactory to the public at large. Meanwhile, even from the already bygone history of these combinations, in places where the warfare has been stoutest and most alarming, might we gather, I apprehend, enough of argument why the great principles of natural justice and liberty ought not to be violated.

In the first place, then, on the event of a general strike in an industrious establishment, there have been frequent instances of the old hands being replaced by new ones, who were rendered effective in the course of a few weeks. This has been done, and with ultimate success, at collieries and cotton-mills, and in many other manufactories. At the Redding colliery, for example, belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, and where the disturbances assumed a very riotous character, this expedient was resorted to. By a series of questions and answers now before me, it appears that the manager there, on the defection of the old colliers, employed in their place such labourers as were about the work, and who were before employed in above-ground jobs, together with a few strangers who accidentally came. The labourers were instructed in their new occupation by three oversmen of the work, and a few other colliers (three or four, chiefly old) who did not join the associa-

tion. They were allowed two shillings and six-pence a-day at the first, but in a few weeks most of them earned more by the piece; and the good hands, in a very few weeks, made five shillings, and even more per day.

This narrative is chiefly valuable as affording the example of a good termination to the strike, achieved by the mere vigour and promptitude of the Sheriff-depute of the county. We feel persuaded, that without any recurrence to an antiquated law, the whole mischief of these combinations might be neutralized by means of a greater spirit and energy on the part of our executive officers. A stronger or more efficient police might be necessary for the purpose of putting down all that is really bad in them; and this were far better than to call in the aid of a legislation that traversed any great principle of liberality or justice.*

---

* It seems that the sixty or seventy labourers who have been taken in to replace the colliers who had struck, refused to work in consequence of a grievious assault made by the latter on some of their body, when Mr. M'Donald, with a daring and determination that do him great honour, interposed for their protection, and prevailed on the whole of them to go to work.

Further extract from the examination of Mr. Robert M'Kechnie on this subject.

"After Mr. M'Donald, the sheriff-depute, arrived, did the old men, the strike-work men, return to their work?—No.

"Are they still out?—I stated before, that during the month of April twenty or thirty of those strike-work colliers came to Mr. Johnston, his Grace's manager, and mentioned that they were willing to begin: they wished him to take them back, which he did, and up to the period that I left Scotland there were parties of them making application to be taken back into the works.

"Those that returned, did they return on any different terms than those that existed in the colliery when they left?—Yes; I know from the information of the manager, they are getting now the wages that his Grace of-

The next narrative, more especially as extended in the notes below, serves to demonstate how much,

---

fered them at the time of the strike, a rise of wages not, however, to the extent that they wanted. I believe they were allowed 2s. a ton previous to the strike, and at or immediately after the strike they were offered 2s. 7d. which they refused. They wished 3s. 6d., and I believe now they are getting 2s. 6d. or 2s. 7d.

"Since the 15th of March, when they threatened Bishop, has there been any disturbance, or act of violence committed by any of them, on any of the men now at work?—None at his Grace's works; but an act of violence was committed at Quarrol and Kinnaird's works, about three miles to the north of the Redding collieries.

"What is the other assault that you mention?—A family of the name of Hotchkis, who had been among his Grace's strike-work colliers in December, had renewed their engagements with his Grace, and on the 16th day of April last they went to Carron shore, on a visit to some relations there; while in their friend's house, a number of the Quarrol and Kinnaird colliers, understanding that they were there, came and surrounded the house, and called upon the family to send them out, &c. this was about ten o'clock at night, and they assaulted the house by throwing stones at the door, going round to the back of it, and breaking the windows, and throwing in at the party of the Hotchkises large pailing stakes as thick as my arm, and from two to three feet in length, and which struck some of the party sitting in the room.

"What followed?—In consequence of that assault, Mr. M'Donald the sheriff came to Falkirk on Monday, and went to the Redding collieries along with myself, when we heard of it the first time, we instantly went down to the collieries at Quarrol, on the Monday evening the 18th, and from the information we got, I drew out a petition and complaint, as the Procurator Fiscal, against the individuals who were alleged to have committed the assault; two of them were that night apprehended, examined, and sent to Stirling gaol, and since then, other four or five have been apprehended and sent to gaol till they should find bail to answer for the assault.

"How were they repelled from the house?—They appeared to have gone off of their own accord; the Hotchkises remained in the house, and kept the door barred as well as they could; they remained there till the Sunday morning; two or three of them slept all night there; one or two went out to another relation's, and when they went out all was quiet, the parties who made the assault having gone away.

without the aid either of law or of police, might be accomplished by a mere spirit of determination on the part of masters. It exhibits a fine miniature specimen of the progress and the natural expiry of combinations, by the action alone of those natural forces and interests which are involved in them. We think that it goes to establish the safety wherewith (after Government has fulfilled its duty of protection from all outrages) the whole matter might be left to its own issues: and we do think it hard that the legislature should be called upon, either to brave the odium, or to sustain the burden, of a management which devolves more properly on capitalists themselves.

The following is the extract of a letter from a gentleman connected with a colliery near Ayr:—"Being firmly determined to withstand this system of dictation, we looked about us for the means of counteracting their measures; and nothing appearing to us so effectual as the taking or employing of

---

"The labourers?—In consequence of Mr. M'Donald's activity and exertions in making repeated apprehensions of the persons who had been guilty of the assault, and his coming almost daily upon the collieries, they all returned to their work, but I may mention that his Grace's manager was obliged to keep up what is called an armed force during the night-time to protect the machinery, he being afraid that a great body of colliers might have come and destroyed these, but the labourers have been going on from the week following the foresaid assault up to the time I left Scotland.

"Since that period when you and Mr. M'Donald were there, have any attacks in fact been made on the machinery, or on those labourers so employed?—Not to my knowledge.

"Is there an armed force now kept up?—It was kept up partially to the very day that I left Scotland.

"Watchmen?—Yes, armed watchmen."

new hands, we instantly set about preparing tools, and engaging every labouring man we could obtain. In about three weeks, we had introduced seventy men into our pits; and the produce of our colliery daily increasing, it became evident that we were ultimately to prevail in the struggle. The men whom we employed were mostly Irishmen, but were picked up by us about the place. Had we not succeeded in getting them in that way, we had determined to send a person to Ireland to recruit there. Our old hands, at least such as we have chosen to employ, have returned to their work, and have, in a submissive manner, renounced the system of associations. Our new colliers continue with us, and are doing well."*

---

* The worth and importance of Mr. Taylor's evidence, have induced us to present it to the reader entire.

"Are you concerned in extensive collieries in the county of Ayr?—I am.

"Have you conducted those collieries for a considerable period?—Yes, for a considerable period; above twenty years.

"Have you occasion to know the number of colliers in the county of Ayr, occupied in your own and other collieries?—I believe about 1,400; I do not know precisely the number.

"Have you at any period been subjected, in conducting your collieries, to any inconvenience from associations among your workmen?—We have, at various periods.

"At what periods have you experienced such inconvenience?—We have frequently had small combinations, but not to a great extent: the first great combination we had, commenced the 15th of November, 1817.

"Can you state to the Committee any particulars respecting the combination in 1817?—It was in consequence of a general association of the colliers about Glasgow, and in Ayrshire; it was principally originated by a weaver of the name of Fallhouse Wilson; in consequence of that association, all the colliers in Ayrshire resolved to strike work upon a fixed day. When our colliers told us they should strike at a fortnight's notice, we told them we would dispense with the fortnight's notice; that, if they were to

These are only two examples, selected almost at random from the mass that lies before us, and

---

strike, they might strike immediately. Accordingly, they did strike immediately. That continued from the 15th of November, to the 1st of December, when they all returned to their employment. We did not, nor ever thought of applying for legal proceedings, or legal measures, to put down combinations; we met it, by endeavouring to engage other workmen to execute the labour which those men had deserted; and it was in consequence of the numbers which were entering our work, and labourers becoming colliers, that we were enabled to put down that combination.

"What was their demand?—I do not remember the demand in 1817; it was for a rise of wages.

"Did they obtain that rise?—They did not.

"Was that attended with any acts of violence, or interference with you, to prevent your men working?—No, it was not.

"It was amicably settled at the end of that period?—It was.

"How many new men had you brought in?—About forty at that period.

"How many had you working at that time?—Above a hundred.

"Were those, whom you brought in to work, allowed to continue to work, after the old hands returned?—They were; such as chose to remain.

"And no acts of violence were committed?—No.

"Was there any other occasion, subsequent to 1817, in which the men demanded terms, which you were not disposed to give them?—Not any great strike was the consequence. When the colliers wish to obtain an increase of wages, their general mode is, by continuing to work, and endeavouring, by every way possible, to thwart the masters. When they observe a master has a demand for coals, they limit their supply, and perhaps will only do half work, and for days decline to raise coal altogether; in this way thwarting him so much, that they generally obtain their ends. When they follow that system, they will pursue it for a very long period of time, with a view of obtaining ultimately what they seek for.

"Are the men engaged in this colliery by the day, or per year, or piece work?—They are engaged for piece work.

"For what period are they engaged?—We consider them free to go at the end of each fortnight, when they are paid.

"What is the nature of their engagement; by the ton?—Yes, by the ton.

which serve to demonstrate the facility wherewith raw and unpractised labourers can be rendered ef-

---

" What do you reckon a ton?—Our ton weighs about twenty-eight hundred weight; indeed we seldom have occasion to weigh, because our engagement is only to deliver a certain measure.

" Has any thing occurred from 1817 up to a late period?—No strike at all; occasionally thwarting in the manner I have mentioned, to obtain their ends.

" Has any union or association taken place within the last year, different from what before existed?—Yes.

" State the time at which, and the circumstances under which, that association took place.—An association of the colliers in Ayrshire was formed, in which our workmen joined.

" At what period was that?—It might be in November last, I should think. The object of that association was to obtain in general a rise of wages, and to exclude other workmen from entering the pits.

" New men?—People that were not colliers before, but labourers.

" Were any demands made of you, on behalf of the men, your refusal to comply with which was stated as a ground of complaint by the association?—No; some time about the end of November, we voluntarily gave them a rise of wages, with which they were perfectly satisfied at the time. We deemed it proper, in consequence of the change of circumstances of the country, and the demand for labour, voluntarily to raise their wages.

" What was the rate of wages before such rise was made?—It was eight shillings per five waggons of coal; that was increased to nine shillings.

" What is the quantity in each waggon?—About twenty-eight hundred weight, I believe.

" Do you keep to the same weight nearly?—We sell by measure; we seldom have occasion to weigh them; the measure is regular.

" Can you state the rate of wages which your men were in general able to earn, at the rate of payment which you have mentioned?—From twelve to twenty shillings a-week, according as they chose to work.

" Before the rise?—Yes, I should think so.

" Did the average exceed half-a-guinea?—Yes; it greatly exceeded that.

" Did it exceed fifteen shillings?—No, I should think fifteen shillings might be about the average before the increase; but at the same time, if the workmen have any discontent hanging upon their minds, they will not work freely, so that we cannot say what it would be if they were giving their minds cheerfully to their work.

fective at least in this important branch of industry. In many other branches masters have precisely

---

" On occasions where there is no discontent, and they are satisfied, and work fairly, what might the fair average earnings of the men be?—I conceive, at present, good workmen can earn from four to five shillings a day. Our wages are one ninth part greater than they were at that period.

" How long had that rate of eight shillings continued?—It had been for, I should think, about two years.

" How many hours do you reckon that they must work to earn fifteen shillings a-week, under the old rate of eight shillings?—I should suppose about eight or nine hours. Sometimes the workmen are longer in the pit. The rule is, to relieve the collier of his coals in rotation: a collier who gets his coals taken first from him to-day, is second on the day following, and so it goes on till the last; and that last is detained in the pit a considerable period of time.

" What was the date of the voluntary advance?—It was about the end of November.

" When did the men express any dissatisfaction after that period?—About the 11th of December.

" In what manner did they express to you that dissatisfaction?—By a letter written.

" What was the nature of that letter?

[*The witness delivered in the same, which was read as follows:*]

" Ayr Colliery, Dec. the 11th, 1824.

" Mr. Deir Sir, this is to inform you that we want our Miser mad accorden to the standrt, and if not we well not work no mor until you but forten days after thies. Deir sir, we do not think that no man or set of men will thank that our Demands is on Just, for thier is no man or set of men that have goods to sell, eather by weight or misure, but would like to see their own Goods gaven away, but that have not bein the Cass with us, for we have bein Dennied that privilig thus two or three yeiars back; but, sir we wish to gave you the 32 bushel to the wagon, or 26 hunderwight, as you have marked upon your wagons, but we wish for to see the mesur oursalves accorden to the standert sir; and their is a nother theng that we will not gave untoo, and that is, the being orf to the score when you are not bingin sir. As you have the mens nems you can sand for anney two men out of each pet that you pleias, to gave them an answar; but thier is nine pance which belongs to the kanel pet, on account of them

the same resource; but instead of encumbering the text with any new cases, we refer for all our

---

gaven 35 to scor, which we wish to obten; and their is 6 pance more which belongs to the we pit, which they wish to obten.

" We Rinens, yours, &c.

(*Signed by* 84 *persons.*)

" What is the standard by which you regulate? You state it at twenty-eight hundred weight?—No, I stated it to be by measure. The dimensions of the waggons I do not at present bear in mind, but they are all of one size.

" Are not the waggons by law obliged to contain a certain quantity? —No.

" Is there any mark on your waggons of the quantity they should contain?—There is.

" What is that?—It is that stated in that letter. The mark is not put on by us, but by the Custom-house. At one period, the Custom-house marked our waggons twenty-six hundred weight and a half; on a subsequent marking, they marked them twenty-six hundred weight; but I know our coals were always more than twenty six hundred weight, from the manner in which they discharged in Ireland; the Custom-house were not accurate in that.

" What was the nature of the demand the men made for an alteration in the manner in which their work should be measured?—By that letter, they intended that the coals should be taken by weight, and that that weight should be twenty-six hundred weight; that we should be obliged to take the inaccurate weight affixed by the Custom-house officers upon our coals.

" They thought that whatever weight was marked upon the waggon should be the rule for you to go by, and that their wages should be regulated by that standard?—Yes; but our coals are sold by measure, and not by weight.

" Was there any increase in the measure of your coals at the time they brought forward their complaint, compared with what had been the practice at your colliery for many years past?—I believe there was a small increase of measure. A period of great dulness followed on the repeal of the distillery laws: we were obliged to store our coals; and the other collieries in the neighbourhood increased their measure, by which we were obliged to do the same: and for two years previous to that time, I believe a small increase of measure had taken place.

additional ones to the notes which are appended below.

" Had not that increase extended to twenty-nine hundred weight, by which the men were paid?—The men were paid by the same measure at which we sold.

" Did you then sell the coals at twenty-nine hundrd weight, the same as you paid the men for?—The same as we paid the men.

" If you had not stored the coals in the manner you have stated, would it not have been matter of necessity that you should have discharged a considerable number of your men?—It would.

" Is it not a rule with you to store?—Only at some collieries. At others, the men are prevented from working, unless they can sell. Some coal-masters will not store coals, because there is a loss upon them, a waste.

" What took place upon the receipt of the letter you have produced?—We stated to the colliers the same as we had said in 1817; that, if they were to strike, they might do it immediately.

" Did you refuse to comply with the demands herein stated?—We determined to listen to no demand made under that combination. That demand was made in consequence of directions issued at a general meeting of colliers at Kilmarnock: the object was, to attack the collieries in Ayrshire individually, and reduce them one by one to their measures.

" In what way do you know that orders were given by the association to the effect you have stated?—I cannot well say how I know it: I know it from the report of the colliers who had attended at that meeting, and from many of our workmen; the greater part of our workmen were extremely unwilling to strike, but it was forced upon them by the other colliers of the county.

" Did you understand that your colliery had been selected by the general meeting at Kilmarnock, as that at which the men had been desired first to strike?—I did.

" Why did you prefer an immediate strike to taking time to consider whether an arrangement could be made with the men?—Because we resolved on employing other men.

" You stated that part of your men unwillingly acceded to this; what consequences did they apprehend from refusing to join in it?—They apprehended personal consequences to themselves.

" Have any acts taken place of personal violence?—No.

" Were there any direct threats of personal violence?—Very few. There were some, and some few acts of violence; but not to any great extent.

But, secondly, we are aware that, in the greater number of trades, a labourer from the general

---

"Were there acts sufficient to induce the men to think that, if they persevered, there would be violence committed?—There was, but no act of violence.

"Was there any other object the men had in view but a rise of wages?—Yes; the great object was the exclusion of other work-people. I sent for the men to meet me. After receiving that letter, they assembled to meet me; but I was delayed for a very few minutes, by a gentleman on business, and the hour passed at which I had appointed to meet with them: they were waiting not fifty yards from me; and, under the direction of their leaders, when they found the hour had expired, they resolved not to wait one minute longer, but to take me at a minute's warning, and they went away. I felt very much displeased with them for such conduct, and I gave out that not one of them need return to their work.

"How did you give that out, by a written letter?—No, verbally to a few of the men.

"That they should not be allowed to work?—Yes.

"Did you mean the whole of them?—No: I do not remember the express terms I made use of; I meant all those who adhered to the combination, or the association.

"Was your object, by the conduct then pursued, rather to induce them by your firmness to agree to continue to work than to force them to leave?—My intention was, to state to them that I would not agree to any terms made under that combination.

"You had no wish to meet them afterwards?—None.

"You did not send to ask them to meet you again?—No.

"What took place?—They struck work; there was no more work of course by those men, and we set about immediately employing other workmen.

"What occurred in consequence of this?—In about a fortnight or three weeks we were enabled to raise very nearly half the quantity of coals which we had been doing previously by new workmen, principally Irishmen, whom we induced to go down to become colliers.

"Had all your own men left you?—Yes; those were all new men.

"The old men were forbidden to work?—They were forbidden to work unless they renounced the association; and we continued in this way increasing the number of our men until the 2d of February, when a number of the association came in and renounced the association, declaring that they

population is not so speedily convertible to use as in collieries; and that, therefore, with even

---

would have nothing hereafter to do with it, and that they had been misled and deceived.

" Did you take those men on?—We did.

" How many?—There were about twenty of them.

" From the time of that strike up to the 2d of February, had the men who had left you attempted by any acts of violence to prevent the men you had at work from working?—No; there were one or two acts of violence, but so trifling as not to be deserving of notice. On the 17th of February a still greater number came in; I may say all of them came in on the 17th of February, all whom we desired to take in, and they were all obliged to declare that they would hereafter join no association.

" Have they worked from that time to this quietly?—They have.

" You have had no disturbance and trouble with them?—No; and they harmonize very well with the new men; that was part of the obligation under which they were taken back.

" There was no violence to the new men?—No; they attempted to seduce the new men, and there is no doubt threats of violence were thrown out, but we showed that we were determined to protect the new men. I have great satisfaction in saying, that there is now great good temper among the men.

" What reason have you for saying that the men had been threatened?—It was reported to me by the men: one reported that he had been struck and abused, but that was to so trifling an extent as not to be deserving of notice, and only proceeding from the very worst of our men.

" This difference between you and your men has been amicably settled in consequence of the exertions you made to provide others?—Yes.

" Are there any other coal-masters in your neighbourhood?—There are.

" Is there any understanding between you and them in regard either to the rate or manner of working, or the rate you shall pay your men?—None.

" Has there never been?—Never.

" Has there been no agreement between you on the present occasion, that you would resist the demands of the men?—There was a meeting, which took place on the 18th of November.

" Where was that held?—At Ayr.

" Was it held by public notice, or by private letters sent about?—By private letters.

" Were the letters addressed to all the masters in Ayrshire?—I believe to the greater number.

full security for the new workmen, a time must elapse, and loss must be incurred, and a most in-

---

" Who attended?—I do not bear a precise recollection now of the names of all who attended; there were about thirteen or fourteen.

" Who took the chair?—I did.

" What took place at that meeting?—At that meeting it was resolved, that for six months no coal-master should engage those belonging to a neighbouring colliery, without he brought permission in writing.

" Unless he received a certificate of good conduct?—Yes, and of being discharged.

" Have you any copy of those resolutions?—I have not; I have only notes of them. It was further resolved, to oppose all interference on the part of the workmen in the management or the conduct of the work; but part of the resolution declared, that that was not to apply or prevent any master from giving such advance of wages as might appear to him to be reasonable in the altered circumstances of the country; it was only to prevent an interference in the regulations of the work, not to prevent a rise of wages.

" But to prevent any man belonging to the colliers club or association from being employed by you?—Those masters agreed not to employ each other's men.

" Did you come to a resolution, that you would not employ any man belonging to the colliers club or association?—No, we did not come to any resolution of that kind.

" What induced you, as there was no such resolution at that meeting of masters, to declare that you would employ no person belonging to the colliers association?—I said so, from a feeling of my own, that we never could have any satisfaction with our workmen while they were under an association of that kind; I conceived there could be no harmony or good understanding between masters and men where the interference of others was permitted; it was not against any combination of our own workmen that I felt so strongly, but against the interference of strangers, and a committee, sitting perhaps at Kilmarnock, directing the manner in which our workmen should conduct themselves.

" Do you know whether the same regulation was adopted by any other master collier than yourself?—I understand that the Duke of Hamilton has followed the same plan which we did at Ayr, of engaging no men in associations.

" The question was confined to any of those who had been requested to attend, or did actually attend, that meeting in November?—There was no other strike took place; the rest of the colliers of the county waited to see the result of the strike at our work.

convenient suspension of the manufacture must take place, ere it can again be set a-going in the

---

" Then the Committee are to understand that the colliers, save and except that attempt upon you, have been regularly at work all the time?—I understand so.

" Was not that attempt upon you in consequence of a general resolution? —Yes.

" That was the fruit of a general conspiracy?—Yes.

" The conduct of the masters, through you, prevented their carrying their object into effect?—It did.

" Have you seen the resolutions of the association at Kilmarnock?—I have.

" Can you state that that is a copy of them?—[*A paper being shown to the witness.*]—This is a copy of the resolutions, [*producing another.*]

" When your men were not in work did they receive pecuniary allowance from the association at Kilmarnock?—They did for about six or seven weeks; they received in all about £360.

" Among what number of men was that money distributed?—I believe between 140 and 150.

" Do you conceive the arrangements you have now made are such that you have no apprehension of fresh difficulty from your men?—I have no apprehension of it.

" Do you conceive, if a similar proceeding took place to that which took place last autumn, you should overcome it in a similar manner?—I conceive so.

" Do you know the Act respecting the wages of colliers that existed in Scotland, the Collier Act as it has been called?—There has been no Collier Act in operation for many years; I am not aware of the substance of any Act.

" You are not aware that there was an Act called the Colliers Act, passed in 1799, for regulating wages and disputes between master colliers and their men?—No, I am not.

" It never came to your knowledge that that Act had been repealed last year?—It did not; it never was acted upon in Scotland to my knowledge.

" The repeal of that Act as regarding coal, not being known to you, could have no effect on the measure which took place?—None whatever.

" You knew there were Acts against combinations?—No; I believed till lately that the combination laws had not extended to Scotland, and such was the understanding in Scotland till within this very short period, when I believe the Court of Justiciary in Scotland, on a late case, declared combina-

same effective way as before. The old workmen who have struck, cannot all at once be replaced by

---

tions to be a crime in Scotland; it was not before imagined to be so, and Scotland has not laboured under the idea of being under the combination laws until a very late period indeed.

"Do you speak of a decision in 1810, or the decision in 1817?—I believe the decision might be in 1817; indeed I did not know of that decision till very lately.

"In fact the combination laws have never been a matter before your notice?—Never; they never influenced me at all.

"Do you think it has ever influenced others?—I do not think it has ever weighed upon the minds of the masters, or any operative class in Scotland.

"What has been the price of your coals during the last year, was there any great increase took place in the price last year?—The price increased from 9*s.* a waggon to 10*s.*

"No greater increase?—No greater increase.

"Has that been the rate during the last two years?—No, it was 9*s.* until December, and since December it has been 10*s.*

"It continues at that price?—It does.

"Did you make any alteration in the mode in which you paid the men for their work, as to the measure or weight of the coals they worked, or did that remain as it was before?—We remain as we did before. In winter time we usually stock coals; and in winter time we take one to the score to hold out the measure; after a certain time in spring we give over that, when our demand commences; and we do not exact that from the colliers in spring, summer or autumn, nor again till the winter time comes round.

"Has that mode of measuring been a subject of complaint on the part of the men to you at any period before the present?—I believe the men at all times complain of the measure, they wish the measure always to be smaller, but they are at present in a state of high content; I have never known them so contented or satisfied as they are at present.

"Have not the men been anxious that a fixed rate or measure should be adopted, by which they should know that they are to be paid?—There is a fixed measure by which they are paid.

"You stated that it varied?—It varied in consequence of that great depression on our trade; circumstances of that kind will always occasion variances; and we were obliged to follow the small increase which was given at the neighbouring collieries, in order to keep those very people in employment, who could not otherwise have been employed.

the same number; and the new workmen who succeed them, cannot all at once acquire the habit

---

" Do not you conceive that you have at various times made efforts to keep your men employed, which you could not have been induced to make from your own feelings of interest?—Certainly, we had to prevent the imposing on the men the hardship of being discharged.

" Have you never discharged your men in cases of failure of trade?—We have sometimes, but not to any great extent; we have had a large stock of coals for two years on our hills.

If it was stated that the average of the wages of the men in your employ had been before the increase, from 10*s.* to 11*s.* a week, should you consider that as correct?—I would not.

" Do not your coals deteriorate considerably from lying exposed to the air?—I do not consider that our coals deteriorate much from being exposed to the air.

" Do they waste much?—I do not think they do to any great degree.

" Then why do you exact one in twenty from your workmen, if they do not diminish in quality or quantity?—Such has been the practice of our work, and such has been the practice of the whole country; it is part of the arrangement under which those men are engaged; a part of the understanding.

" Do you know any thing more of the history of the association at Kilmarnock; have they any oaths?—Not that I know of. Since our men returned to work we have increased the number of our men greatly.

The demand for coals has been sufficient to enable you to keep those additional men?—Yes. I would never think of applying to legal measures to put down combinations if I could possibly do without.

" Are there any points of your evidence that you wish to explain?—There was one point of additional evidence that I wished to give. Formerly, as the law was understood in Scotland, there was a summary process, by which a workman could be called upon to fulfil any engagement which he had entered upon: as the law is now explained, there is no means by which an engagement can be put in force, except through an action for damages, which renders all engagements in the country quite abortive, quite inefficient; there is the expense of an action for damages against a man who has not a shilling to lose. I know only one instance where an action of damages has been brought, and the master incurred an expense of between £40 and £50 in the prosecution of the suit.

" Are you not aware that there is an Act of Parliament, the 34 Geo. 3. giving power to all masters, by summary process before magistrates, to compel the fulfilment of every contract?—No, I am not.

and skill of their predecessors. It is certainly relieving to observe how soon an ordinary labourer

---

" And in point of fact it has not been acted upon in Scotland?—No, it has not. An application was made by some people in Kilmarnock to force an engagement, and the matter was sent to the crown lawyers in Edinburgh for their opinion, and their answer was, no proceedings could take place except through an action for damages.

" Had regular articles or engagements been entered into?—I know not the species of engagement which had been entered into by these Kilmarnock people, but an engagement of some kind had subsisted, and the answer was, that no redress could be got but through an action of damages; the person I applied to was the procurator fiscal.

" Is it your opinion, that if no law exist it would be convenient to have summary process, compelling the fulfilment on the part of the men of their engagements to their master?—I should think so; I think the ordinary redress by an action for damages is wholly useless to the master.

" Is there any other addition you wish to make to your evidence?—By an Act of Parliament which was passed in the year 1799, a collier is not liable for any debt he may contract to his master; I beg leave only to suggest that for the consideration of the Committee.

" Is that what is called the Collier Act?—I do not precisely recollect what the Act is called, but I understand it to have been passed in the year 1799.

" Is that what is called the Collier Act in Scotland?—I answered you just now, I do not know what the Act is called. It has been very little acted upon in Scotland, even before it was repealed; as a man was supplied with money, and the master got it in the best way he could.

" Is their any further explanation you wish to make?—A very aggravated case of combination occurred two years ago in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

" State shortly what combination?—It was by the colliers, at a colliery near Edinburgh; it subsisted for upwards of six months, and the colliers were maintained by the colliers belonging to the neighbouring colliery; that was a regular system of combination; the law was not resorted to, to put it down; acts of extreme violence took place; several men's ears were cut off.

" Was it a combination to resist the reduction of wages, or to demand an increase?—To demand an increase.

" How was it put down?—The workmen, after six or eight months resistance, gave way.

can be transformed into a good collier, and even made serviceable in many of the branches of cotton-spinning. Yet there can be no doubt, that in all those crafts and occupations which require a long apprenticeship to be accomplished in their mysteries, there might be a cessation of work which, if persisted in beyond a certain length, might be inconvenient to master manufacturers, and still more inconvenient to their customers. To look fairly and openly at all the possibilities, one can conceive a great extent of inconvenience from a universal strike of shipwrights, or house-carpenters, and still more, perhaps, of clothiers and shoemakers, and all classes of workmen that cannot be so instantly replaced, as some others, out of the general population.

Now, in the nature of the case itself, there is a sufficient protection even against this evil, alarming as it may appear; and that without any express interference of parliament in the matter. We mean the certainty, that, sooner or latter, the workmen who have struck must surrender themselves to terms of agreement with their employers. They cannot hold out against this self-inflicted blockade beyond a certain period. There must

---

"During the last year no such acts of violence have taken place?—I was informed by the master of the colliery, the matter was regularly debated which of these colliers should put him to death.

"Has any thing of the kind come to your knowledge in the proceedings of the colliers during the last year?—Nothing of the kind; we never had acts of violence in the western parts of Scotland."

of course be a rapid expenditure of their means; and, if living without work, and therefore without wages, their resources must soon melt away. No associated fund can, for a great length of time, afford the indispensable allowances to the men, and their families, of a very numerous combination; and so, of necessity, the combination must sooner or later be broken up. They may submit to very great privations, and put their faculty of suffering to its uttermost endurance, ere they will again resign themselves to a treaty with their employers. But stern necessity must at length prevail over their resistance; and a visit, in the first instance, from one or two stragglers, or the offer of some new and modified terms, will be the sure precursor to a general surrender of the whole body. It is altogether misplaced and unnecessary for government to meddle, but for the prevention or punishment of crime, with the steps of a process that will so surely terminate in the very result which it can be the only object of government to effectuate.*

---

* So far back as a good many months ago, the run of several of these combinations was finished in this way, and many more have since given in; and, we have no doubt, left a lesson of efficacy behind them, which will do more to tranquillize the working classes, than law could possibly do with all the terror of its penalties. The Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee record some of the earlier instances, beside being rich in such disclosures respecting the state of many of the existing combinations, as afford the surest presage of their inevitable and speedy termination.

From the examination of Mr. T. Hebblethwaite:—

"When did the men form themselves into an association?—I did not

And what we hold to be of prime importance in this argument, is, that the result brought about

---

know of it till last November; we had heard of it before, but the men would not confess they had joined it till the very last day.

" Are you certain no combination existed among your men previously to the repeal of the combination laws?—I believe not.

" You had no reason to suspect it?—None at all.

" Do you suppose the repeal of the laws tempted the men to form themselves into an association?—I think it did.

" Did they so form themselves into an association shortly after the repeal of those laws was known?—I cannot say how long after; but they have got a very large fund, they paid three halfpence a week; they have got a fund which keeps them now for six weeks.

" When did they begin to form that fund?—I cannot say.

" Do they keep those matters secret from you?—Yes.

" Are there other manufacturers of the same description near you?—Not very near, there is about a mile off.

" Have the workmen in those other manufactories also struck?—Some of them have, but none since they turned out with us, because as we did not submit to them, they have gone on at other places; if we had submitted they would have turned out in the other two manufactories.

" What reason have you to believe that?—That is what the people in the union say; we have got part of our own family turned in again, and they call them black ones.

" What has become of the men who have retired from the works?—They have been walking about.

" And living upon the funds of their society?—Yes.

" Do you know what they receive?—Some of them receive nine shillings a week, and three shillings for each child.

" How long have they continued to receive it?—There were many of them continued thirteen weeks; then they would not go any where else to seek work; then the committee said, that they would not pay them any more money; and then they turned in at their old wages."

From the examination of Mr. Alexander Guthrie, at Mount, near Kilmarnock:—

" Had you many strikes with your men before the year 1824?—Yes, I had one strike about ten years ago.

" What was the cause of that strike?—They wanted more wages, and I would not give it.

in this natural way, has a far more permanent and pacifying effect upon the workmen, than

---

"What was the consequence of that?—They lay idle probably about eight or ten days.

"Was there any mischief done by them at that time?—No, I do not recollect any."

From the examination of Mr. William M'Allister:—

"Is it the intention of your association to continue and to enforce in future the regulations contained in that printed paper?—How long or how short it will continue, I cannot say; it seems in a wavering situation at the present moment; perhaps it is the last meeting that will ever be.

"Do you wish the Committee to understand that the association is at an end?—I cannot say that it is at an end, but it is declining fast in numbers."

"For what purpose do you consider it necessary to have this association, and pay money out of your very small wages towards a fund?—It was just for that purpose of getting our wages advanced.

"Is the book you have presented a correct account of the receipts?—That is a full account of the whole monies we have ever received.

"On the 20th of December there appears the sum of £51 : 15s. received, how was that collected?—One shilling was required to make up that amount of every associated member.

"To what purpose was that applied?—To Mr. Taylor's men, to pay a hundred and forty-eight of them eight shillings a week during the time of strike.

"After making that week's payment, that left in the treasurer's hands two shillings and ninepence?—Yes.

"Was that account examined and settled in the association?—Yes, they have been all signed and settled, every one of them: there are the dates of each settlement.

"Is this an account of the ten weeks that Mr. Taylor's men struck?—Yes.

"What is the sum collected in that time?—£495 : 7 : 6d.

"How was it disbursed?—All to Mr. Taylor's men.

"That is attested by the delegates present, who sign their names?—Yes.

"What is the cash in hand?—£6.

"What became of Mr. Taylor's men after that?—About sixty of them went to Glasgow.

"Have you had any contribution since that?—No.

when overborne out of their combination by the force of legal restraints, and the terror of legal

---

" You are to have no funds until you require them again?—No.

" Do not you think it would be desirable for you to abstain altogether from the association, and to let it drop?—I think it was very near dying a natural death if they had let it alone; if the masters had not interfered, by their agitating it, and bringing men up to London, summoning them to London, and so on; that will agitate the men's minds against their masters."

From the examination of Adam Brown, one of Mr. Taylor's workmen:—

" Have you returned to the work?—Yes.

" Did you get what you wanted?—No, we did not.

" How came you to return?—I do not know precisely the reason.

" Did you think it best to give up?—Yes, I thought it was best to return, and there were many who were of the same notion.

" Is not Mr. Taylor always a good master?—I never saw any thing else.

" Were you discharged?—The whole body was discharged.

" He would not agree to any alteration?—No.

" Did you report to the association?—Yes.

" Did they make you any allowance?—Yes, we received eight shillings a week for a time.

" After that period what did you do?—There were a good many went away to different places, and some returned, and I returned.

" Did you return to work in the same manner that you had done before, or was there any alteration made in the measure?—There was a little alteration made, but it was on the same footing.

" Had any neutral men come into the pit during the time you were out of it?—Yes, there were.

" What were they?—The greater part of them were Irishmen.

" When you returned, did those who belonged to the association interfere with those neutral men, or did they allow them to go on working?—They allowed them to go on working.

" Had any of them joined the association?—No, the works are distinct from the association altogether."

" Do you think you have got any advantage by having belonged to the association?—No, I cannot say that I have.

" Should you not think it would be better for you to refrain from joining yourself again to such an association?—I will not think of that till I see better about it.

penalties. It will be of far more quiescent and satisfying power, when it is the result of their

---

"Do not you think these associations will soon fall to pieces; that the men will not continue to pay money, unless they see masters likely to take advantage of them?—I think if it was let alone, it would die a natural death.

"Has any body meddled with it?—Calling us up here.

"Do you think the stir about the combination laws has tended to keep up these associations?—I do not know whether it has not; but I know nothing about the proceedings of the association, I was only a few weeks in it altogether.

"You are all satisfied now, and every thing is going on quietly and peaceably?—Yes."

From the examination of John Swift.

"What makes a member?—3*d.* paid.

"How often?—He pays 3*d.* in the commencement, and subscribes 3*d.* a week till he subscribes £1, and then his subscription ceases, except in case of any strike for advance of wages, and then he takes his part of it, but that is kept as a regular fund; £1 each member.

"How many days did the men stand out?—Perhaps three days.

"You paid the wages of those three days out of the fund?—We did.

"What wages did you pay out of the fund?—We allow a married man who has a wife and one child, 9*s.* a week."

From the examination of Mr. Henry Taylor.

"Do you know whether at any prior period strangers were admitted to come to Bristol and work there without any objection being made on the part of the club?—Yes, the last four or five years, but not previously to that; for the last four or five years they had no money.

"Then if there was a long strike, from what source do you apprehend they could get funds to enable them to go on?—I have heard they could get it from London. I know they have it not of themselves. They could not stand out long in Bristol."

From the examination of Mr. Joseph Fletcher.

"Was that combination broken up?—It wore itself out by their having no money left. They had accumulated together, some said, as much as 15 or £20,000, the loss to the shipwrights on the river at that time could not be computed at less than £90,000, in labour, out of the pockets of the working people."

own experiment. They will be greatly more manageable, after having themselves made full

---

From the examination of Benjamin Lomax, Shipwright.

"You collect funds in your association?—Yes.

"How are they collected?—Men, when at work, pay a penny per day to the funds; if not at work, nothing.

"Do you know the amount of the fund?—We have not much fund now, because we have had such very heavy calls upon it.—I do not know exactly what balance we have now, but not above £200, or £300.

"You were asked a question just now respecting the amount of funds; can you state what was the largest amount of funds at any one period?—I do not think at any time we have had £500, in our possession."

From the examination of Charles Husband, Shipwright.

"Then, with the exception of those four days, and the fortnight you were at Mr. Castles', you have been out of employment?—Yes.

"What did you receive during that time from the Union?—I received one or two weeks at the rate of a guinea, and one I received at the rate of 12s.

"What was the reason of the difference?—Because our funds would not allow of it. I got about four or five days work for an owner of a ship; I believe four days and a half."

Of course these combinations must vary in greater or less degrees of obstinacy; and perhaps the following extract from the minutes of evidence before the Commons' Committee, furnishes us with one of the strongest cases of determination on the part of workmen.

From the examination of Mr. W. Richmond, Ship-owner in North-Shields.

"Do you think the ship-owners should be allowed to fix any rate of wages they think proper for the men, and the men should not be allowed to make what demands, or fix what rate they think proper?—The men have an undoubted right to demand what they please, and we surely ought to have a similar right to offer what we please; but if we will not give what the men demand, the influence of the committee is so strong, they will endure starvation and hunger, to my knowledge, rather than not carry their point.

"You think it hard that they will rather starve than work on your terms?—I am not capable of expressing myself upon that question."

"Have those resolutions been attended to?—No, we found it in vain,

trial of their own impotency, than when festering under a sense of the injustice and hostility wherewith, under the old combination laws, they conceived that the hand of government was lifted up against the interests and natural rights of their order. It was quite to be expected, that there should be frequent, and even fierce out-breakings on their part, after the repeal of these laws; but, most assuredly, this general experience of the upshot will be of far more healing influence, than any thing so fitted to exasperate and tantalize, as the re-enactment of them. And it should fur-

---

because the men are consistent and united in their purpose, even to the extent of starvation to themselves; and I am afraid masters never can or will successfully combine against their workmen.

"Do you mean they would rather starve, than work against the regulations which they thought right for their own protection?—I do really think so."

We feel quite assured that nought but perseverance is requisite in such a case as this, for bringing the men to a surrender; if they indeed demand more than the fair market price of labour in a free state of things.

From the examination of Robert Raven, a Cooper.

"Do you think your funds amount to £500?—No.

"£300?—No, nor £200, I think.

"How could you pay 18*s.* a week to seven hundred of the trade, even for one week?—If it would not amount to that we should not pay them; we could not do more.

"If that fund was exhausted, have you any means to resort to to raise more?—No.

"Have you come to any resolution what amount the persons striking on Wednesday are to receive?—They are to receive according to the regular rule as long as the stock may last.

"What is the regular rule?—18*s.* I have stated."

What earthly call is there for legislating against people so helpless; or of superadding the penalties of law to those still more effectual penalties wherewith nature visits every unfair combination in the shape of sore and unavoidable privations?

ther be recollected, that, when freely left, first, to their own experiment, and then to their own experience of its failure, all the accompaniments of the process are such as serve to deter from the repetition of it. They will not be so readily tempted to place reliance again upon an association that has failed, and from very powerlessness, to make good any of those plans and promises which had so deceived them. And they will be still further alienated from such an enterprise, by their recollection of the miseries to which it already had exposed them—of the hardships which they had to suffer while it lasted—and, finally, of the humiliating prostration of themselves to their masters, in which it terminated. For they will not forget, that, should the perseverance of their employers outlast their own, it places them on high vantage-ground, and themselves in a state of most submissive helplessness. Should the master have but partially replaced them by new workmen during the strike, then he may not have room for all, after the strike is over; and he might signalize the ringleaders of the opposition by a determined exclusion of them; and he might re-admit the rest on less favourable terms than before.* Under all these recollections, the

---

* It should be observed, that the success even of one master, over his own special combination, must have a paralyzing effect on all other combinations, and more especially in the same trade. Should he have replaced so many of his strike-work men by new hands, and rejected as many after they have given in; these are thrown upon the country in a state of idleness, and will naturally go in quest of employment, to other establishments of a simi-

proposal for another combination may be repeated, in the course of years, but it will not just have the same charms for them. And better security far, we affirm, for the quiescence of our working classes, that they should be conducted to it, at length, by the lessons of their own experience, than that they should be constrained to it, at once, by the laws of authority.

And it is really not for the interest of the masters, that there should be a revival of these laws. Greatly better for them too, that there should have been a trial of strength, after which both parties are landed in that state of settlement and repose, which comes after a battle that has been decisively terminated. We are aware of the spirit which is now abroad among the workmen, and that it is going forth in succession through the manufacturing districts of the land. But,

---

lar kind to that from which they have been discarded; and so bring a force of competition to bear upon other combinations besides that which has just been broken up. And as a very few unemployed workmen agreeable to the principles that we have tried to expound, can effect a very grievous reduction on the wages of a whole body of tradesmen, it has the effect of aggravating the natural penalty of these combinations, by making the reaction all the more tremendous.

From the examination of Mr. Alexander Guthrie.

"Do you expect that this association will endeavour to carry into effect its regulations, with reference to the workmen employed in collieries in the county of Ayr?—I cannot say exactly; I think that the check they got by Mr. Taylor's success will have a considerable effect in keeping them quiet for some time.

"You do not apprehend any trouble from them at present?—No, not for some time."

truly, we contemplate the progress of these outbreakings with no other feelings, and no other anticipations, than we should regard the progress of an ambulatory school, whose office it is to spread the lessons of a practical wisdom over the face of the country; and the peace and meekness of wisdom will be the inevitable results of it. Accordingly, we do find that the earlier combinations have been dispersed, and given place to the re-establishment of a good understanding between the workmen and their employers; while other and more recent combinations are still in progress. This is just to say, that in some places they have acquired the lesson, while in others they are only learning it. The country is still at school upon this subject; and it were a pity that she was not permitted to finish her education.* For ourselves

---

* We feel assured that, at this moment, there is a more pacific habit, the fruit of their recent experience, among the workmen of Glasgow, than among those of many parts in England; and that among the capitalists of the former place, there is a more general conviction, the fruit, also, of recent experience, that combinations, if simply let alone, will soon work themselves out, and that no other legislative remedy is called for than a sufficient protection against the violence of the outstanding workmen.

Besides, it appears very evident that the lesson is making rapid progress, and will, in all probability, if it meet with no interruption, be perfected in a very few months. We found this affirmation upon such articles of daily intelligence as the following:—

"We are happy to state that the proprietors of coal-works in Renfrewshire are discomfiting, in grand style, the colliers' confederation. Mr. Houston's works are fast filling with new men; and, from the quality of the coal, most of them will become expert colliers within a month. They are to be allowed at the rate of three shillings per day wages. They are to work from eight to ten hours, according to the work done, and which is to

we feel persuaded, that a lasting tranquillity will be the effect of troubles which shall soon pass

---

be-judged of by the oversmen. Each man to be furnished with what tools may be considered necessary for carrying on the work; which tools are to be sharped and upheld by Mr. Houston, and to be delivered back upon the men leaving his employment, they paying for what may be deficient."

"The contest between the master manufacturers and their workmen at Bradford, is happily at an end. The good advice given to the men has been taken. On Saturday, in the afternoon, nearly a hundred of the union men applied to Mr. Wood, one of the principal spinners in the town, for work at the old wages; and this morning, the combers and weavers generally followed their example. On Saturday the weekly allowance was, for the most part, paid to the turn-outs by the Union Committee, sitting at the Roebuck Inn; but the hopeless nature of the contest, as demonstrated in this paper of the 29th ult., had diminished the supplies, while the approach of winter was daily increasing the demands upon their funds, which could not be answered by a less sum than twelve or fourteen hundred pounds a-week. The danger of losing their work entirely by the introduction of machinery, and the arrival of workmen from other places, had its influence on their decision. The committee, bowing to circumstances, left the workmen to resume their work; and the masters seem disposed to receive as many of them as they can employ, which may be about one-half the number. The town of Bradford is, in the mean time, in a state of considerable excitation. The streets are filled with groupes of workmen, some of them deliberating upon the course to be taken, and others reporting the success or failure of their applications to their former employers. The inhabitants generally are congratulating each other very cordially upon the termination of the contest, and anticipating the revival of that prosperity which, for the last twenty years, has rendered Bradford one of the most flourishing and increasing places of its size in the kingdom."

"The meeting at Fair Weather Green took place this afternoon, John Yester in the chair. After some preliminary explanations relating to the conflicting statements which had been published on the subject of the amount of wages earned by the combers before the strike, the chairman announced, that, having found that the masters could not afford an advance of wages, at the price at which manufactured stuff goods were now selling, a number of men had applied for work at the former prices, and some of them had succeeded; others, it was hoped, would be equally fortunate, and those who could not obtain work would still continue to be paid the usual allowance from the union funds. In conclusion, they were congratulated on the re-

away. But, for this purpose, it is indispensable that they should work themselves out by their own

---

cognition of the union society by the masters, so far as not to require any of their workmen to disown it. With this explanation, and this consolation, the meeting, which consisted of from 1200 to 1500 workmen, seemed satisfied; and a vote of thanks was carried unanimously, on the motion of Mr. Yester, seconded by Mr. Walworth, to Mr. Wood and Messrs. Read, for the readiness they had shown to meet the men on the present occasion, and for their liberal conduct towards their workmen. The meeting dispersed in perfect good humour at nightfall, it having been previously announced from the chair, that no further meetings would be held at this place."

"We commence the printing of a second edition at a late hour, to announce to the public the gratifying information, that the long existing differences between the master manufacturers of this town and their men are now rapidly drawing to a close. This afternoon a deputation of Mr. Wood's men waited upon him, and made a tender of their services at the old prices. To this Mr. Wood has acceded; and many of his men have this evening fetched their combs, to be ready to commence their work on Monday morning. Mr. Wood is one of the largest worsted spinners in the town, and, of course, the number of men in his employ is proportionably great; so that, in fact, we may now consider the union at an end, and things in a fair way to revert to their former channel.

"We are glad that Mr. Wood's men have at length seen their own interests in the proper light; and the manly and handsome manner in which they have come forward to effect this reconciliation, reflects the highest credit upon them. We have no doubt that next week the example will be followed by the men who were employed by other manufacturers; and we trust they will be met in the same handsome manner as they were by Mr. Wood. The lateness of the hour prevents our saying more than that we hope, in our next number, to have the pleasure of announcing that the differences between all the masters and their men are consigned to oblivion, and the men engaged in their work as usual.

"Mr. Wood had previously, in the course of the week, engaged one hundred and twenty combers in the neighbourhood of Kildwick, (a village about fifteen miles from Bradford,) and the eighty which have returned to their employment to day make the number he has set on this week two hundred."

"During last week, upwards of a thousand combers, and a number of the Bradford weavers, have obtained work, leaving more than a thousand combers unemployed, and about half that number of weavers. The committee

natural effervescence, instead of being forcibly repressed by the hand of authority. One conse-

---

of the union society, now considerably diminished, for the purpose of saving expenses, still continue their sitting at the Roebuck Inn, and their principal endeavours are directed to supplying the unemployed workmen with such sums of money as the funds they have at their disposal enable them to apportion out."

It is with the utmost pleasure that we present the following extract, as recording an act of liberality on the part of the masters—the fruit, we have no doubt, of that spontaneous kindness which so frequently comes into play between parties after reconciliation :—

" We hail as a favourable omen the resolution taken by a number of the principal worsted spinners in Bradford, to diminish the rate of labour in the mills. Hitherto, forty minutes only have been allowed in the day for meals; but, in future, the work-people are to have an hour for dinner, and twenty minutes for breakfast. The honour of originating this improvement is, we understand, due to Mr. John Wood, junior; but the humane suggestion has been cheerfully adopted by Messrs. J. Read and Sons, Messrs. Penison and Whitehead, and Messrs. W. and J. Marshall."

Our concluding extract on this subject, we hold to be peculiarly instructive, as offering to our notice the weight of those penalties which Nature, and the necessity of things, have annexed to combinations; which penalties, we affirm, constitute a far more powerful and salutary check than any which law can devise.

A Bradford paper, alluding to the late dissensions in that quarter between the masters and their workmen, makes the following remarks :—

" It is now ascertained, that the number of men, women, and children, out of employment, amounts to no less than 3,280; and, as the Union funds admit of but one shilling a-week to each man, and two shillings if there be a large family, it is obvious, that the sufferings and privations of these individuals must be great. Difficulties, no doubt, present themselves in the adoption of any plan for their relief; and yet we are very certain, that there is no humane person, who will not feel disposed to extend relief, in some shape, to the wretched wives and children of these misguided men. Whatever is resolved upon, it seems desirable that relief, if afforded at all, should be by supplies of food, not of money."

The above article refers to the still outstanding workmen, who either persisted in the strike, or who were refused admittance to their old employment, because now supplanted by other workmen. Surely this severe natural chastisement supersedes the necessity of any legal one; and the

quence is very obvious. It will serve to bring out more singly, and therefore more impressively, to

---

remembrance of it will do more for the future peace of the community, than could be done in a legal way by all the wisdom of Parliament.

We cannot refrain from the insertion of one notice more upon this subject, as being quite conclusive of the point, that the chastisements of Nature and Necessity on rash combinations are severe enough in themselves, and require not the superadded chastisements of law.

"*Disasters of the Bradford Turn-outs.*

"We stated last week," says the Leeds Intelligencer, "that about 1,700 of those misguided men found it impossible, on any terms, to obtain employment, and that the resources of the Union were entirely drained. It now appears, that, including the wives and children of the unfortunate beings, the total number at present in a state of the most abject destitution, is nearly 3,000. All hope, too, we believe, of collecting from the working classes sums capable of affording this vast mass of sufferers as much as one penny a-week each in future, are vanished. The appalling extremity of distress and despair into which they have fallen, is described by an eye-witness in terms that freeze the soul. They are said to be without fires, without beds, nearly naked, and many of them entirely destitute of food. Two instances are particularized. One, of a family at White Abbey, who have not a bed to lie on; the other, of a family living near the White Sheaf, which a neighbour went to see on Thursday, and found them without either fire or coals, without a morsel of any thing to eat or drink, without money, and without employment. This family consisted of a man, his wife, and five small children. Innumerable instances of a similar nature might be produced; but the heart sickens at such details of misery."

The following extract illustrates how beautifully the natural mechanism of trade brings round again, even to these wretched outcasts, the comfort and sufficiency of their former days—making the correction, after all, temporary, though severe—and so causing it to purify, and not to destroy. We have no doubt, that the now brisker demand for work and workmen, is the result of a market now very much cleared of its commodities.

"The following letter we received last night from our correspondent.

"Bradford, Nov. 23d, 1825.

"The number of workmen out of employment is gradually diminishing. A meeting has been called, to be held in the Court-House this afternoon,

the view of workmen, the natural control and ascendancy which masters have over them. It has an influence the very reverse of pacific, when servants are led to regard their master in the light of one who is invested, by arbitrary laws, with the power of a tyrant. But let Government and the laws be kept out of this controversy altogether. Let it be reduced to a single-handed contest between the power which should belong to the one party of giving or withholding employment, and the power which should equally belong to the other party, of giving or withholding their services. Let Parliament not meddle in this altercation at all; and it is impossible, but that at length, by the simple operation of its own rival and conflicting forces, a fair adjustment must come out of it. And a solid peace will be the fruit of this adjustment. After the artificial checks to combination have been withdrawn, workmen will be taught, and become intelligent as to the real power and operation of the natural checks; and they will not be so readily thrown agog by the plausibilities which now so

---

to devise some means of immediate relief to the suffering unemployed workmen and their families; and I have no doubt but what can be effected by the kind benevolence of the gentlemen and tradesmen of the town and neighbourhood, will be done in mitigation of the present extreme distress."

"We are happy to find that the demand for stuff goods in the Bradford market, on the last two market days, has been nearly equal to that of the five months preceding; and though there is not yet any material improvement in prices, the indications of an improving trade are already too clear to be at all mistaken."

mislead and agitate them. More especially, they will come to perceive, that apart from the authority of law altogether, there is a natural power which belongs to the holders of capital; and we are persuaded, that the demonstrations which have been recently given of it in the defeat of many associations, will do more to compose the turbulence of workmen, than all the threats and penalties of the statute-book. And better, greatly better for the masters, that their security should be founded upon this, than upon any odious and unpopular legislation, which has the effect of alienating from their persons, the respect and gratitude of their own servants. Let this hateful intermeddling of law be withdrawn from their negotiations; and, on both sides, there will at length be felt the sweets and the ties of a natural relationship. The mutual dependence, and the mutual obligation will be far better understood. And employers will never be on so secure and kindly a footing with their workmen, as when the latter have been taught, by sad experience, precisely to estimate how much they have to fear from any scheme of hostility against the interest of the former, and how much it is they owe for admission and continuance in their service.*

On every view then of this question, we feel as

---

* In Mr. Taylor's testimony it appears, that there was, after the entire defeat of the combination against him, "a great good temper among the men." We hold it quite in keeping with human nature, that when, instead of firm

if there was nothing so much to be abjured and deprecated, as any regress, on the part of Government, towards the combination laws. It were endangering the peace of the country for the interest, and that, too, the imaginary interest, of merchants and master manufacturers. It were bringing upon Government the burden of a popular odium, which, for the cement and security of the social fabric, every friend of public order should rejoice in seeing it delivered from. It were setting the authorities of the land in array against the population; and that, for a purpose which is abundantly provided for by the workings and the influences, and the actions and re-actions of the natural mechanism of society, if that mechanism were only left to its own free operation. We are reminded, while on this argument, of the delusions which have been so well exposed by Dr. Smith; and which were practised by the traders of other days upon Government, when they attempted, and but too successfully, to enlist her on the side of their own peculiar interests. Hence the wretched jealousies of

---

resistance, there was partially a giving way to the men, and some concessions made in their behalf, there should still be an unquelled spirit of turbulence and discontent.

The following is from the examination of Mr. Alexander Guthrie:—

"What answer did you give to the delegates?—I told them to work away peaceably, and come to me and that if we could see the means of raising our prices we would raise theirs also.

"Since you made the advance, the men are working satisfactorily?—Yes; they are grumbling sometimes, but they work pretty fairly.

"Do they belong to the association?—Yes."

that mercantile system, which is now verging to an overthrow; and by which the relation of Great Britain with all foreign nations, was placed on a footing the most vulnerable and precarious. In like manner, there are certain home jealousies, to which we trust that Government will not lend herself as the instrument of any subserviency whatever, else her own relation to the plebeian orders of the community, which it were so desirable should be a relation of kindness on the one side, and of grateful and confiding attachment on the other, might be turned into a relation of hostility and discontent. By the late enlightened reformations of her economical code, she has done much to propitiate the favour of people abroad; and of consequence she is now strong in the admiration and approving regards of all Europe. Let her proceed in the career upon which she has entered, of economical improvement at home, and higher achievement still, she will become equally strong in the affections of her own population.

The mercantile system, with its competitions and jealousies, has been the fertile source of many foreign wars, which we now trust will not be so easily or so frequently kindled as in past generations. And the same system turned inwardly upon ourselves, has been the prolific source of many intestine divisions, which we trust, by the wisdom of a more enlightened policy, will henceforth be effectually superseded. It is too much, that Government, to appease the premature and ex-

aggerated alarm of our capitalists, should be called forth to interfere in such a way, as must excite against her the heart-burnings of a whole population. Her wisdom is forbearance; and save for the punishment of crime, or the defence of obvious and natural equity, she might safely leave the whole question to the determination of the parties themselves, to the adjustment, in which it will of its own accord settle down by the way, in which the claims of the one are met and limited by the counteractions of the other.

Government might, with all confidence, leave the price of labour to find its own level, in common with all other marketable commodities. The recent outrages that have arisen from the repeal of the combination laws, called most certainly for an exercise of legislation, but an exercise altogether distinct from that by which any great principle of natural liberty is trenched upon or violated. It will really be too much, if any premature or imaginary alarm on the part of interested capitalists, shall precipitate our rulers into a departure from that wise and liberal policy, by which they have earned both the attachment of the people, and the admiration of all those who are any way versant in the philosophy of human affairs. The best friends of peace and order in our land, will ever regret that most useless waste of popularity which they must incur, if they give way to the sensitive fears, or the sordid wishes of traders and manufacturers upon this subject—a class of men,

who, centuries ago, led our lawgivers into that Ishmaelitish policy, which laid us open to the hostility of all surrounding nations; and some of whom would now have us to brave the hazards of a still more fearful hostility at home, and despoil our truly paternal Government of her fair and natural inheritance in the affections of her own children.*

---

* There can be no doubt, however, that a very great number, and, perhaps, even the majority of our capitalists, desiderate no enactment whatever against combinations, and would be abundantly satisfied with security against the violence of the outstanding workmen.

The following is from the examination of Mr. Walter Glascock, proprietor of the Irish Times Newspaper:—

"Is it within your own knowledge, that in former years outrages arising out of combination took place in Dublin?—I have been so very short a time employing operatives, that I could not say from my own knowledge; but I understand, from other people, that while the combination laws existed there was always a great deal of that going on in Dublin; but I can assure the Committee that it is not the idea of any gentlemen that employ people in Dublin, that there should be any thing more done by the Legislature than that they should prevent this system of outrage; for they, every one, to a man, consider that the trade ought to be as open as possible; all they say is, if a man can earn but 5*s*. he shall have but 5*s*.; or if he can earn but 1*s*. he shall have but 1*s*.; and that he shall take what he knows he earns without afterwards resorting to any measures of outrage."

CHAP. XXI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

It is competent for masters too, to frame such articles of agreement with their workmen, as shall protect them in a great measure from any sudden or unlooked-for cessations; and for the violation of which, these workmen shall bring down upon themselves, not the arbitrary, but the rightful penalties of law; and which penalties, should it be found necessary, might be still further aggravated, without any offence to the principles of an obvious or natural morality. They could engage their labourers for a service of months, instead of weeks or days, and then put forth a most legitimate strength to compel their fulfilment of the stipulated period. To make the security more effectual, they could hire their workmen in separate classes at all separate periods; so that, at worst, it could only be a partial, and never a universal strike at any one time. They could further ascertain beforehand, as in domestic service, whether any of them mean to leave their employment at the termination of their bargain; and thus masters, with time to look about for new workmen, could never be caught unprepared. We do not imagine that all these devices will be found necessary, but it is well that they lie in reserve, as so many natural expe-

dients for preventing a mischief, the prevention of which, ought not to be the office of law, but the office of the parties concerned. All that law has to do, is to avenge violence and to redress injustice; and a master, secure of these, should make no further demand upon Government, but take upon himself the burden of his own arrangements, for the right and the prosperous conduct of his own affairs.*

---

* Perhaps there might be additional law requisite, to enforce, with more adequate penalties, the fulfilling of engagements on the part of workmen; and this were altogether in a right spirit of legislation.

From the examination of Mr. W. Richmond:—

"Have you any power by law to compel these men to fulfil their engagements?—Yes, I believe there is, on application to the magistrates; but it is an inefficient remedy in such a case.

"Was any application made to magistrates to compel the men in this case to fulfil their engagements and proceed on the voyage?—I should think not; I am pretty sure there was not.

"Are we to understand that the demand on the part of the men was yielded to by the owner rather than take the men before a magistrate to compel the execution of their contract?—The affidavit gives as a reason, that she was a large ship, and if she had lost that opportunity of sailing, she might have laid there a very long time at that season of the year.

"Was there time for the master of the ship to have made a regular complaint before the magistrate, so as to have got his ship to sea?—I do not know how far that might be the case, as it was near high water. The magistrate could not have compelled them to go to sea; he could only commit them; nor would any other men have come and taken their places. That is a principle amongst them, which nothing will induce them to deviate from."

From the examination of Mr. Henry Heath:—

"You are aware that there is a new Act enabling you to bring any seaman, who shall refuse to perform the articles he has signed, to immediate punishment?—Yes, I stated I was aware of it. I beg to state that I be-

And, more than this, such is the plenitude of his means for the counteraction of his associated workmen, that he can not only protect himself from them, by the system of prevention which we have now adverted to; but, failing this, there is a way in which he may find compensation for any losses which he may have sustained by the suspension of his works. Masters and manufacturers can lay an assessment on the wages of the re-admitted workmen, or, which is the same thing, can take them in again upon reduced wages, till they have recovered, by the difference, a complete indemnification for all that they have suffered by the interruption of the manufacture. This has often been held out as a threat, although we are not aware of any instance in which it has been put into execution. Still it is an available method, which, if adopted, would at once make up for the strike, and afford another security against the repetition of it. It were a competent, and, in many cases we believe, a fair chastisement inflicted by the employers upon their workmen, and so would serve to increase the weight of all the other chastisements, which, by the very nature and necessity of the case, are sure to follow in the train of such a combina-

---

lieve the Act only runs in this way, that if any seaman should refuse, after having signed the articles, to proceed to sea, he may be taken before a magistrate, and he hears him; and on his continuing to refuse, the magistrate may then commit him to the house of correction. So far the Act is certainly defective: it does not punish the act of refusal if the man afterwards thinks proper to go."

tion. There is no need that to these there should be superadded the terrors of the law, or that masters, with such a weight of natural ascendency as belongs to them, should call in the aid of Government for the settlement of their own private quarrels with their workmen. They have ample means for this in their own hands; nor is it fair to saddle our legislature with the odium and the responsibility of a most objectionable law; and that, for the purpose of bringing about a result which their own power and their own spirit should fully enable them to achieve.

At the very worst, and though masters should not be wholly able to protect themselves from inconvenience and loss by combination, this should just be regarded as one out of many other hazards to which their business is exposed. Manifold are the casualties to which they are subjected, whether from fire or shipwreck, or unlooked-for fluctuations in the state of the market. It is not more the part of Government to interfere for their defence against the uncertainties of the market for labour, than against the uncertainties of the market for those commodities in which they deal—against the fitful elements of discontent or cupidity in the minds of their workmen, than against the fitful agitations of the weather or of the ocean. It is for them to lay their account with the chances and the changes in the price of labour, as well as in the price, whether of their raw material or of their finished commodity, and just to charge or to cal-

culate accordingly. In a word, it is altogether their own affair; and Government has acquitted itself fully of all its duties to them, if, watching over the preservation of the peace, it simply protects all, and provides for all, in the exercise of that full natural liberty which belongs to them.*

But what completely exonerates Government from the duty of protecting masters against the losses that may arise from simple combination is, that, in the mere workings and effects of such a transaction, there does naturally, and at length, cast up a most liberal compensation, we will not say to each individual master, but certainly to the general body; so that their interest, viewed as a whole, does not suffer by it. The master, in truth, is only the ostensible, or at worst the temporary sufferer by this conspiracy of his workmen; and if there be any sufferer at all in the long run, it is not he but the customer. He loses profit for a season; but it is all made up to him by the eventual rise of profit that ensues on the production of

---

* This is somewhat brought out in the examination of Mr. Eli Chadwick.

"If I might be allowed to make an observation, this case involves a more serious inconvenience to us than seems to be apprehended; for our orders were taken at a certain price, and we were obliged to give an advance that interfered most seriously with our profits.

"You made no contract with your men?—No.

"Would you not suffer the same inconvenience if a rise in the raw material was to take place after you had made a contract?—We were labouring under that at the time.

"Have you suffered that inconvenience also?—Yes."

his commodity being suspended. This is the well-known effect of a general strike among operatives. It relieves the overladen market of the glut under which it labours, and, by the time that workmen at length give in, the manufacturer enters upon what to him is the most enriching of all harvests, the harvest of a brisk demand upon empty warehouses. These cessations are the very calms which not only precede, but ensure the gales of prosperity that come in between them. This paltry attempt of the legislature, to regulate and restrain the monsoons of the trading world, works nothing beneficial to the one party, while it hurts and harasses the feelings of the other. Would they but withhold that perpetual interference by which they are ever cramping and constraining the liberty of things, they would find how much better the laws of nature, and the laws of political economy, provide for the great interests of human life, when unchecked by the laws of parliament.*

---

* Even during the currency of a partial strike, masters may find a harvest in combinations. This is exemplified in nothing more remarkably than in coals. The smaller quantity which is thrown out of the pits, in consequence of the colliers working less than their masters would have them, or in consequence of inefficiency on the part of the new men who have been brought in to replace the outstanding colliers, tells instantly on the price of the article; and, from the principles already stated, tells all the more powerfully that coal is a necessary of life. This accounts for the advantage which so many coalmasters have derived from the combinations; an advantage accruing to them necessarily from the law which regulates the fluctuation of prices—and an advantage that has come, in all probability, without foresight or contrivance on their part. The price which they obtain is the fair mar-

There is one consideration more on which the friends of the combination laws would plead for the re-enactment of them, and that is, the difficulty of legislating effectually against outrages. When once an association is formed, there are innumerable ways by which it can control workmen out of their liberty, and which are utterly beyond the correction or the cognizance of law. There is a formidable authority in the very contempt and ha-

---

ket price for the quantity of coal actually wrought; and it is a price, which, by inciting competition, and encouraging an entry upon new mines, may soon fluctuate so as to make coals as unnaturally cheap, as they are now unnaturally dear in the west of Scotland.

We insert the following, only for the sake of the fact which it unfolds, and without participation in the reflection against masters, wherewith it is accompanied.

"Sir,—A constant reader of the Free Press, respectfully recommends to the Editor, an inquiry into the present exorbitant price of coals. The honest coal-masters have added 3s. to 3s. 6d. to the waggon of 24 cwt. on the plea of giving their colliers a corresponding increase of wages. But, Mr. Editor, this is not the fact; these gentlemen having only given their workers, (unless the writer is greatly misinformed,) additional wages in the proportion of 9d. to the waggon, thus kindly affording the public an opportunity of paying to them the difference of 2s. 3d. to 2s. 9d. which they take as a *solatium*, perhaps, for their unhappy disputes with their workmen. For the perfect accuracy of this statement, the writer cannot vouch, though he derived his information from the manager of a coal work. The rise, however, is of great importance to the community, particularly to the poor, and calls loudly for the interference of the independent press. The fault lies somewhere;—there is no deficiency in the bowels of the earth, and it is therefore an intolerable oppression that the masters or servants should have it in their power to give an adventitious value to their coals, at this inclement season of the year. Were some of the Joint Stock Companies to turn their speculating energies to coal mining, a profitable result would certainly attend their enterprising exertions. Allow me to apologize for obtruding myself on your attention, and I remain, yours, &c."

tred of a large body; and thus, by the bare existence of a combination, although no overt act can be charged on any of its members, might all those who are willing to work, be despoiled of their natural freedom, and brought under the power of a virtual despotism. And better, it may be thought, that by a law against combinations there should be a preventive security established against a very sore oppression, against whose acts and whose positive outbreakings no law can be devised which might operate with efficacy as a corrective. A law against combination, it may be contended, that has this preventive power, even though it should contravene the abstract principles of legislation, is to be preferred to a law against outrages, which, however accordant with the dictates of natural justice and morality, is utterly devoid of that corrective power which is essential to the ends of practical utility.*

---

* From the examination of Mr. Robert Hutton:—

"The law, with respect to threats, being not relaxed by the late Act, do you attribute that increase of the system of intimidation to the change of the law?—The law, as it stands at present, is completely nugatory with respect to threats; it requires two witnesses to prove a threat; no man will make a threat where there are two witnesses, and in many cases, even if only one witness is necessary, there is an easy mode of evading the name of a threat; A. comes to B. and says, you are a friend of C., C. had better go away, if he does not go away, he will receive some bodily injury, but you must not mention my name in the matter, or I shall be injured; I have known a number of instances of that kind."

From the examination of Mr. William Chippendale:—

"Has any violence, or acts of intimidation, or any ill conduct on the part

But here it is altogether forgotten, that if there be difficulties, which we most fully admit, in de-

---

of your men taken place?—None whatever; we know this, that some men would work if they dared."

From the examination of Robert Raven, a cooper:—

"What is the consequence to a man if he will not obey?—We say, if you will not do so and so, we shall not work very agreeably with you.

"Do you really mean to say that is the whole penalty that a man is subject to, the not working very agreeably with the other people?—Yes.

"What do you mean by not working very agreeably?—We certainly should distinguish ourselves from that man.

"Do you mean by that, you would not work with him?—No; we do not mean that we should turn him out of the employ, or any thing of that kind.

"Do you mean by that you would not work with him?—Oh! dear no.

"Then what do you mean by distinguishing yourselves from that man?—Keeping ourselves separate from him, treating him as one who did not belong to us.

"Would you not make the thing so disagreeable to him, that he could not possibly remain in the shop?—That is the probability I think.

"Is it not a rule in your opinion not to admit a man to work with members of the union who will not pay to this fund?—We have never, in the employ I am in, been put to any circumstance of that kind; they always agreed to do it; when they come in they always agree to belong to it, if they have not before.

"You have stated that in certain cases you would make the situation of a man so disagreeable, that he would be obliged to go; would you not do that to a man who did not belong to the union?—He would not work so comfortably with us as the others.

"So that, in point of fact, a man not belonging to the union would not, to use your own expression, be very comfortable, where men belonging to the union were acting together?—No; I think he would not feel himself comfortable."

From the examination of Mr. Henry Heath:—

"Did the union make use of any intimidation, or any acts of violence against them?—Only the objection before-mentioned. The Committee will clearly understand it is a sort of moral violence, which the union men use towards the other sailors; they only objected to sail with them, and the non-union men being the minority, were obliged to go and join the union."

vising an effective law against the outrages of workmen, there are equal, we think greater difficulties,

---

From the examination of Mr. John Oldfield:—

"What became of the other?—The other left me and remained with the union. After that, two of the weavers who were desirous of remaining with me, joined the union. One said, he could not possibly remain at peace or be at all comfortable, that he was obliged to enter the union, and if I could not allow him to continue in it, he could not help leaving me. Another said the same, viz. that he had not entered the union, but he should be obliged to do so for safety.

"Did he tell you why?—He told me they were so constantly wishing him to enter, and when he went out of doors they were pointing at him and annoying him in every possible way, so that he could not be peaceable or comfortable in the neighbourhood, and amongst the people with whom he usually associated. It was represented to him that it would be so beneficial to them generally, that it was really his interest to enter the union.

"What became of the forty men?—They have remained with me. But I found it would be really impossible for me to keep on my business if I did not allow them to enter the union, and as I did not wish them to be longer persecuted, I gave them permission. Having abided by me three months, they had given sufficient proof of their willingness to oblige me if they could do it with safety. I did not discharge any of them in consequence.

"Did any individuals in your factory receive personal violence in consequence of working with you?—I have not a factory. My work is given to the men at their homes. They have not received personal violence, only intimidations by gesture and threats. One of the bad effects which must result from the union is, that it will separate the masters and work people in a moral point of view. It will make them enemies to each other. We had, previously to the union, been accustomed to act with a kindly feeling towards each other."

From the examination of Mr. Chadwick:—

"Can you state any acts of violence which have produced that sort of danger which you think prevented your obtaining men?—It is not requisite that there should be acts of violence in order to deter men, who are not in the union, from engaging in any manufacturer's employ, because they are marked objects of ridicule and contempt."

From the examination of Mr. Jonathan Cockerell:—

"Do you think that from the want of numbers of those who have not

in devising an effective law against combinations. It is quite notorious, that, previous to the repeal of

---

been obliged to join the union, or from the apprehension of those who have joined the union?—I think from the apprehension; the men would be afraid to go on board.

"Do they apprehend personal violence?—They are subject to a degree of ridicule; they are called scab men, and pointed at and insulted:

"Have you ever seen any of this ridicule going on?—I have heard sailors express that they have been so abused and ridiculed, and called scab men, because they would not join the union."

From the examination of Mr. Henry Taylor.

"Although they have refused to work, they have not, as far as has come to your knowledge, been guilty of assaults and attacks?—No.

"But the moral effect of the union is such as to prevent any person from working?—It is."

From the examination of Mr. J. Fletcher.

"Are there not ways of insulting and annoying a man, without any offence against the law, that are well understood, and make it impossible to continue at work without acts of violence?—Certainly.

"Could you advise a perfect stranger to come from the outports and work at your yard, unless he belonged to the union; could you tell him he would be safe from annoyance?—I could not.

"In point of fact, is labour free on the river Thames? Certainly not; no man dare work on the river without he belongs to the union.

"Has it an impression on all their minds, so as to prevent their seeking work at this place?—It has. There is an instance of a ship our men finished in February; I asked them to go and do a little more work by the day, they had finished their job; not a man in the yard would touch it, they said they dare not.

"Do you think if Charles Husband had persevered in working in your yard after the meeting of the shipwrights' union, he could with safety have appeared in the open day in a lonely place?—Not without being greatly abused and insulted. The men have told me that if they did it, it would be more than their lives were worth.

"Have they received any act of violence?—They have been extremely insulted; and I was obliged to take up two union men before Mr. Ballantine, the magistrate; but it was not my wish to proceed personally against those men, because I knew they were acting under a delusion.

these laws, combinations were frequent, and fully as atrocious in their proceedings, upon the whole, as they have been since. After the repeal, there has been a most natural imagination among the workmen, which is making progress from one district of the land to the other, as if now they were on the eve of some great coming enlargement. This imagination has nearly finished its course, and has had also its correction—a far more salutary correction, from the hand of experience, than any which could possibly be administered by the hand of authority. And, meanwhile, the statute book is purged of the old unpopular aspect which formerly sat upon it. It now represents more truly the real spirit and design of Government towards the humblest peasantry of our land—a spirit of undoubted benignity and good will, if the people would only think so; and to conciliate the affection and confidence of these people is a mighty object, and an object that will at length be promoted mightily by the repeal of the combination laws.*

"What kind of insult?—It is a very easy thing to insult a workman, and to drive him almost out of his mind, without coming within the law; crying after him, 'There he goes;' getting up when he goes into a public-house, and crying, 'Get out of his way.' Two of our men, who are at work, told me this morning, they must join the union, or leave the country."

* The testimonies are various, in regard to the comparative atrocity of the outrages before and since the repeal of the Combination Laws. The following are a few specimens out of the many.

It is not that we imagine of these laws against combination, that they can really keep down the

---

From the examination of Mr. Michael Farrell.

"Will you state what, in your opinion, has been the character for outrage and violence or ill humour of the strikes in Dublin since the repeal, compared with what existed in prior years?—The general spirit of combination is greater, but the number of outrages has been less.

"You mean to state that combination is more frequent, but it is more openly done, and not attended with such acts of violence as formerly?—There have not been so many acts of violence; but I consider the sudden death of Chambers, the carpenter, to be a great cause of terrifying all the other men into the measures of the body."

From the examination of Mr. W. Richmond.

"Do you think the refusal would have been attended with violence?—I should think not; there is a degree of regularity and quietness about the seamen in all their contests now, which I never saw before.

"They are less disposed to acts of violence than formerly?—Decidedly; but much more determined in their purpose.

"Do you mean to say they are more systematic in their arrangements?—Decidedly so.

"Have there been any instances of their acting with violence against their masters, or being guilty of any thing improper?—No, I am not aware of any thing of the sort, as relates to personal violence.

"In your experience, have there been any disturbances on the subject of wages between the seamen and ship-owners in the port to which you belong?—Several.

"Do you recollect any in the years 1815 and 1816?—Very well.

"Were there not very serious disputes then between the men and the owners?—Very.

"What was the nature of the disputes?—The sailors demanded an increase of wages, the same as they have demanded lately.

"Did any acts of violence then take place on the part of the men?—Certainly there were acts of violence, because I had a ship at that time confined for several weeks in the harbour, in company with many others; the ships went adrift, and they would not allow any seamen to assist them.

"Do you recollect a remonstrance being addressed to the Secretary of State at that time, stating that the property was in imminent danger, and calling for the interference of government to put down the riotous proceedings of the seamen?—Yes.

wages of workmen, or that, by so doing, they can secure a larger profit to the capitalist than he would

---

"Were you one of those who signed?—I should think I would.

"Do you recollect the government issuing a proclamation in consequence of that, and sending the military down to crush and put down this disturbance?—I recollect a large fleet of men-of-war, and the military also coming down.

"Do you recollect any individuals who suffered personal violence, or lost their lives on that occasion?—No, not the smallest; I do not recollect any personal violence to any individual.

"Were there no duckings amongst each other?—I think I never saw more decorum among men than there was at that time; quite a military organization among themselves.

"Was there any military employed?—The horse soldiers were employed.

"How long did they continue?—I suppose six or seven weeks.

"Do you recollect whether, at that time, several vessels of coals were not despatched under the protection of soldiers?—There were some attempts made; I don't recollect how many succeeded.

"Is that the only case of serious disturbance that you recollect taking place on the river?—No, I recollect several others previous to it.

"Any subsequent to that time?—No, that was the last. It was settled in one hour. As soon as the military acted, the sailors never put forth a pretence after it. All the objects they contended for they quietly lost sight of, and resumed their ordinary duties.

"Since this association of seamen has been formed, have there been any such acts of violence as took place during these years you have mentioned?—No, I have remarked, in my own observation, a very considerable difference in the mode of conducting these things among the seamen. Formerly, it was the mere angry ebullition of a parcel of school-boys. They did a great deal of mischief, with a great deal of apparent good humour; (there are many good and valuable men among them;) and there it ended. They were not slow in showing their indignation at that period: I now see a marked difference, and I trace it, in my own mind, from the mutiny at the Nore. I now hear professions of order and decorum, at the very time they are violating the law in the strongest manner possible, by refusing to myself and others liberty to do with our property what we choose."

From the examination of Thomas Worsley.

"What advantage have you derived?—There has been a great deal

obtain in a state of perfect freedom between the parties. The truth is, that a large profit goes to

---

more pleasantness between the operatives and masters since the repeal of these laws, and a better understanding than there was when they were in force.

"What was your situation before?—We viewed each other with extreme jealousy. Whenever the operatives met together, they generally met in that secret way, that the masters considered the object of their meeting was something which they did not wish to be publicly known. Their meetings were generally at that time held in secret, and that secrecy has been removed, and their meetings are now quite open."

"When was the union entered into?—Last year.

"Before or since the repeal of the combination laws?—Before the repeal."

"Has any alteration been made in the nature or constitution of the society, since the repeal of the combination laws?—No.

"Then it remains precisely as it was before, except that they now do openly what they did clandestinely?—Certainly."

From the examination of Mr. J. Fletcher.

"And is one of the regulations of the Provident Union to this effect: 'That if any member endeavours to persuade others, or form a conspiracy with them, for the purpose of destroying the said union, it is requested that all such persons, members of the union, who may be so tempted or forced, do give immediate information to the committee, who shall investigate the matter, and on proof of it to the satisfaction of the committee, as to the guilt of the conspirators, the committee shall award such punishment as they may consider just:' is that one of the regulations?—It is; and the terror of that regulation deters every man. There are hundreds of shipwrights who would willingly go to work if they dare, but it is at the peril of their lives to attempt it.

"Does not the former part of the regulations speak of a fine of one guinea, to which every member shall be subject, who shall bring forward a proposition to break up or destroy the said union?—It does.

"Do you not apprehend that the punishment spoken of in the latter part of the regulation refers to some other punishment than a pecuniary fine, or do the men apprehend it?—They not only apprehend it, but, if they dared to dispute the regulations, not one shipwright on the river will work with them. We had one man who held out for a considerable time, and he was almost starved. The impression on the minds of the men, which they have

augment capital, and so eventually to reduce itself. Should manufacturers, by any artificial means, be

---

stated to me, is, that if they did any thing contrary to the rules of the committee, they can no longer be employed, (that is to say) that no member of the union shall work with them.

" Do you not believe it would be infinitely better for a man to renounce his employment on the river altogether, and seek subsistence in some other employment, than, having been a member of the union, to enter into your service, declining to comply with the regulations of the union?—Certainly; because, while the union exists, it is utterly impossible for us to get the men to work.

" Would not a man's life be so uncomfortable as that he could not remain?—I am sure it would; I have experienced instances of it before.

" What instances do you allude to?—To the standing out in the year 1802, when the shipwrights stood out for six months, and kept the river in the same state.

" What took place then?—Intimidations and violence. One shipbuilder nearly lost his life.

" Was there any union then amongst them?—There was a combination of the shipwrights, exactly as there is now, called the Convention.

" What other instances of violence took place then?—Many of intimidation, and of people being ill-used: I cannot particularize them, but there were many. The shipwrights were as determined then as they are now."

From the examination of Mr. Alexander Campbell, Sheriff-Substitute of Renfrewshire.

" Will you describe the character of the Renfrewshire combinations prior to the passing of Mr. Hume's Act?—The first that I remember, was that of the weavers in Renfrewshire; and I think the first occasion on which the magistrates had to interpose, was between the years 1810 and 1812. In point of numbers, this combination is certainly the strongest. Their organization was very perfect, and their proceedings were, at the period I have alluded to, attended with a good many petty acts of violence; but in no case was there any act of great criminality or cruelty committed by the weavers, as far as I can remember.

" What is the next case?—The next is that of the calico printers, which was about the year 1814.

" Were they organized at all?—They were very well organized; they had a permanent secretary, with a salary; they had district managers; and

made to realize a larger profit than they would otherwise do, this at once creates and allures to their

---

they were in correspondence with similar societies in England and Ireland.

" What was the result of that?—The principal cause of the interference of the magistrate was the degree of compulsion exercised by the members of the combination towards their fellow-workmen, particularly in regulating the admission of apprentices, and levying fines, and making those who did not go into the measures of the combination feel themselves extremely uncomfortable, and in some instances suffer violence.

" How was it put down?—It was put down by the seizure of their papers in Renfrew, and some other counties, simultaneously, and by the imprisonment of some of their leaders; I rather think one of them was tried, but I really forget what was the result.

" What was the third combination?—That of the cotton-spinners, which has been by far the worst, and it was particularly troublesome from the year 1820 to 1823 inclusive.

" By what acts did this show itself?—Their proceedings were marked by very great cruelty in several instances, and by great oppression of their fellow-workmen.

" What description of cruelty?—Their mode of effecting their objects was chiefly by means of intimidation, and without that I do not see that the combination could hang together for many weeks; for when a struggle takes place between the cotton-spinners and their masters, it is necessary to the success of the workmen that they should all join together, and therefore it is quite indispensable for them (as experience has shown with us at least) to control their fellow-workmen, so as to procure that unanimity by any means. Those who do not go into their measures are termed 'knobs,' and it is quite an understood thing that these knobs are to be persecuted in various ways, and if necessary their lives are to be attempted.

" Were there any attempts at the lives of any of these individuals?—There were several such attempts; many assaults; a variety of instances of firing into the windows of houses during the night, not attended however with any casualty to human life; and there have been at least four instances of deliberate attempts at assassination; and two to burn cotton-mills.

" Are there any of these cases in which you have distinctly traced the acts of intimidation that have taken place to persons connected with the society?—That is a point that was looked upon as so extremely clear, that it never was doubted at all; but as to my own means of knowledge, independent of positive private information, on which I had reason to place per-

manufacture that additional capital, which will bring down the profit to the rate at which it would

---

fect reliance, there were several circumstances, sufficient in my mind to indicate that these acts of extreme violence could have no origin but as connected with the measures of the combination.

"Have you the names of those who were tried?—M'Connell was one, Cameron another, and Callaghan the third. This case of Mr. Orr was in the end of 1820. The next case that was followed by trial and conviction was that of William Kerr, in November 1823. Two persons of the names of Morrison and Shirley were tried and convicted. The circumstances were shortly these: a person of the name of Fullerton, who was a leader among the cotton-spinners, had been apprehended on a charge of some offence, and was dismissed by his employer. It was found difficult to supply his place in the cotton-mill, because, in this, as in all such cases, the cotton-spinners well know that to accept of work in place of a member of the combination, is attended with great personal danger. But this Kerr, who was out of work, and poor, accepted of employment in the place of Fullerton. He was threatened, but being a man of determination, he disregarded the threats; and this fellow, Morrison, was employed to shoot him, being an entire stranger to the man, and, as usual in such cases, a cotton-spinner out of work. He came from a distance for the purpose, and got another person to point out to him the house of Kerr, and having selected his time when Kerr was returning about eight o'clock at night from his work, the night being then pretty dark, he concealed himself just beside the stair which the man had to ascend, behind his house, and pointing the pistol, loaded with small shot, through the railing of the stairs, discharged it, about a yard's distance from the man's left side; but the man happened to make a stumble at the time, and in place of receiving the shot in his side, he received it in the inside of his right thigh and the inside of his right arm. This Morrison, who committed the deed, and Shirley, who was accessary, were both convicted, and are both now in the House of Correction in Paisley, one of them (Morrison) having received a public whipping.

"You believe him to have been employed by the committee?—I know he was; and this same Morrison was himself one of those who employed the three persons to assassinate Mr. Orr, and was in a public-house in Paisley waiting the result, and was called on by the assassins after the attempt had been made. This came out incidentally; for, upon the trial, it appeared that these people, after having fired at Mr. Orr, had left town, and gone into a public-house at some little distance, where their pistols having been noticed by the landlord of the house, and his wife, they listened at the key-hole,

have settled in a natural state of things. That process, by which it might appear at the outset, that profits will be increased at the expense of wages, must very soon work in favour of the labourers, so that the increase shall again come back to them, and bring their wages just to what they would have been, although no disturbing force

---

and heard these people talking of shooting some person for not paying them £10. This was inexplicable to me at the time, and seemed to have no connection with the facts on the trial. On subsequent inquiry, it appeared that this was to be the reward to be paid, and that the payment had been refused, because they were not quite certain the 'job' (as such things are called) had been done."

"Will you state those instances? There was the case of Alexander Fisher, in 1820. That man had belonged to the combination, but had been guilty of the crime of 'knobbing,' that is to say, he had accepted of work, having found that he got no support for his family, as he expected, from the combination. His house was twice fired into, and he was waylaid, and vitriol cast upon him, so as to disfigure his face in a frightful manner.

"Did that come before you officially? There was an official investigation (what we call a precognition in Scotland) taken, and a trial, but no conviction followed. It is extremely difficult to get evidence; for after nightfall it is easy for a man, without the smallest appearance of violence, to toss a quantity of vitriol into his neighbour's face as he passes, and the very circumstance of doing it prevents the unfortunate man from distinguishing his assailant. The other case was that of a man named Doran, at the end of the same year. The man was also waylaid, and burnt dreadfully in his face and breast, and his left eye was in such a state, that the poor man when examined, stated that he believed he should never recover the sight of it."

It will be observed that all these cases are previous to the Repeal. And then follows this question:—

"Have any cases of this kind taken place at Paisley within this last year? We have had no personal violence of any description arising from combinations within this last year, except in the case of the colliers."

The testimony of Mr. William Rose Robinson, Sheriff-Depute of Lanarkshire, goes, on the other hand, to fix a greater atrocity on the outrages which have taken place since the repeal.

had ever been brought into operation. So that though all combinations of workmen were forcibly put an end to, there would yet remain an effective security for fair and adequate wages in the competition of the capitalists. However much the interference of Government, in favour of the latter, should raise their profits in the first instance, the ultimate effect would be to allure more capital into their branches of industry than otherwise would have flowed into them; and so, by producing a larger demand for workmen, would just cause the wages to rise to the very height from which they had fallen by the adverse and unpopular law. In other words, it is not possible for any legislature, even though it would, permanently to ensure a higher profit to the masters, and that, by means of a lower wage to their workmen than what would take place on a free and natural adjustment of the matter betwixt them. It cannot, by the force of any enactment, bring up the average rate of profit in a land, by reducing the market price of labour. On the moment of this being done, there would, by the now higher profit, be the formation and the influx of more capital into all the departments where these profits were realized; and thus, by the greater competition of capital, which is tantamount to a greater demand for labour, the price or wages of this labour would be speedily brought up to the level from which it had descended.

Were there no other depressing influence then brought to bear upon wages than combination laws,

these would be altogether harmless; and the friends of the lower orders might cease from all alarm and indignation upon the subject. But there is an evil in these laws which might well alarm the friends of loyalty. However innocent they may be in effect, they bear towards the working classes an aspect of hostility. The artizan or the labourer understands them in no other way than as looking adversely towards himself; and, instead of recognizing a friendly and a paternal Government, in the reigning authority of the state, he will view it as leagued with his employers in the fellowship of one common tyranny. The only interpretation which he puts upon the enactment, is, that it is on the side of the masters and against the workmen; and it is quite fearful to contemplate the advantage which such a feeling, when widely diffused and deeply seated in the hearts of our peasantry, might give to the demagogues of our land. There should be some very strong and imperious necessity made out ere the burden of such an odium be laid upon Government, or a task in every way so invidious be put into its hands. It were surely better for peace and for public order, if capitalists and workmen could be left to settle their own affairs; and it is hard that the tranquillity of the state should be endangered for the sake of an interest, which the natural economics of the case seem most abundantly to have provided for. It perhaps is all the more provoking, that for the object on account of which the interference is made, it is altogether nugatory—

that after all, neither masters are the better, nor workmen are the worse for it—that the hand which Government lifts up in this business of regulation, is a hand of entire impotency, but that, felt at the same time, by the labouring classes, as a hand of hostile and menacing demonstration, it should have the effect of alienating, from the established order of things, the largest class of society.

On the other hand, if there be an utter impotency on the part of Government to depress wages beneath the fair market price of labour, there is just as great an impotency on the part of workmen permanently to raise the wages above this level. The fair market price of labour, is that at which it would settle in *a free state of things*, on the given state of its demand and supply. Labourers, themselves, cannot force a permanent elevation of the wages above this level, but by excluding from the competition a certain number of their own body; or, in other words, by a monopoly more hurtful and oppressive still than that of any mercantile society that has ever been recorded, and which Government does a most righteous and equitable thing in preventing. Workmen cannot raise their wages above the fair market price of labour, but by the infliction of a grievous injury on certain of their own body, whom they would violently eject beyond the pale of that competition to which all are equally admissible, both by justice and by law. Government is only acting in discharge of her most beneficent functions, as the parent, and the

equal protector of all, when she interposes against the restraints and outrages of labourers upon their fellows, and that with penalties just as strong and as severe as shall be adequate to put them down. But though this way of advancing the remuneration of labour cannot be permitted, there is another and a patent way by which labourers may most effectually, and, at the same time, most legitimately secure the very advancement which they are aiming at. When they succeed in raising their wages by violence, it is just by lessening the supply of labour, and this supply is lessened by the number of labourers whom they have forced away from the field of competition. The very same rise would have taken place, if, instead of that number being forced away, they simply had not been in existence; or, if the whole population of the country had just been equal to that portion of them who maintain their ground on the field of competition, after having made outcasts of the rest. Had there just been a less population by these outcasts, their object would have been carried without any assertion on their part, and simply by the operation of the demand of capitalists upon a smaller supply. It is the redundancy of their own numbers, and nothing else, which is the cause of their degradation. They charge their masters with depressing them; but the truth is, that they depress and elbow out one another. And in spite of all the ridicule, and of all the sentimental indignancy which have been heaped on the doctrine of population, it

remains as unalterable as any of nature's laws, that nothing can avail for the conducting of our peasantry to a higher status, but a lessened competition for employment, and in virtue of there being somewhat fewer labourers.

This guides us to the view of another great mischief in these combination laws. The former mischief, that of creating a disaffected peasantry, is more felt by the patriot, who has conceived a strong affection for the cause of loyalty. The other great mischief to which we are now to advert, is more felt by the general philanthropist, who has conceived a strong affection for the good of the species, and more especially for the enlarged comfort and intelligence of the lower orders. He who looks to the wrong quarter for a disease, will, in all likelihood, betake himself to a wrong remedy. And this, perhaps, is the very worst consequence of combination laws. They have turned the attention of our artizans and labourers away from that only path on which they can reach a higher status in the commonwealth. They are misled as to where the disease of their economic state lies; and are, therefore, alike misled as to the application of the remedy. It were well, if they had no pretext for referring to the policy of Government, that degradation and misery which are altogether due to their own habits. They behold an adverse enactment against them in the statute book, and they look no further. They conceive this to be the only bar in the way of their elevation, and they

ply not the expedient which is in their own hands; and by virtue of which, they might attain an independence which Government can neither give nor take away. They would lay upon the state the whole burden of that responsibility, which, in fact, lies upon themselves; and this at once makes them resentful to their superiors, and reckless of that alone way by which themselves can be guided onward to a more secure and permanent comfort than they have ever yet enjoyed. It is altogether a way of peace and of sobriety; a way that "cometh not with observation;" and by which, without the din or disturbance of any popular ebullitions, the solid interest of the people will come at length to be established on a basis that shall be impregnable.

Should the present repeal law be superseded, not by a law that is restrictive, but by a law that is perfective of freedom, this will conduct the people to a state of things, the best possible for enlightening them both in what that is where their weakness, and in what that is where their strength lieth. Let the principle, in the first place, be left untouched of the utmost freedom to all workmen who, either conjunctly or severally, are not willing to work. In the second place, let this be followed up by the principle, not yet adequately provided for, of the utmost protection and freedom to all workmen who, either conjunctly or severally, are willing to work. For this purpose, let law put forth all the preventions and all the penalties which can be devised to secure every willing workman

from the terror or the violence of his fellows—and then the whole machinery of these combinations will proceed in that very way which is most fitted to develope, even to the popular understanding, the real cause of a people's degradation, and so the real and only corrective by which it can be efficaciously met. It will then be quite palpable, that they are the new, or unassociated workmen, who have broke up the combination—that the outstanding workmen have not been able to enforce their own terms, just because of the numbers beside themselves, who are thankful for their employment on lower terms—that their masters stood upon a vantage ground, not because of any legal power over them, but because of the natural resource which they had in the men whom they could find, or in the men who offered themselves out of the general population. For this purpose, these masters have only to enlist the willing, and do not need to compel the unwilling—or, in other words, they prevail in this struggle, just because there are so many who are willing to be thus enlisted. If, instead of finding so many, they had found that the population of the land were barely enough to satisfy the demand for labour, and to fill up its various departments in the country, then they could not have allured new workmen into their service, but by the offer of a higher remuneration than they were earning in some previous service. This would reverse the competition; and, instead of workmen pressing for admittance into employ-

ment upon a lower wage, we should behold masters detaining, by a higher wage, those whom others were endeavouring to seduce from their employment. Workmen would come at length to perceive, that the question between them and their employers all hinged on the single element of their own numbers—that if there be too many labourers, no combination can keep up their wages—or, if there be too few, no law against combinations can keep them down—and that, in short, with the command which they have over this element, they have themselves, and neither their masters nor their rulers, to blame as the authors of their own degradation.

They are not in circumstances for making this discovery, so long as the imagination lasts among them, that in every effort to better their condition they are thwarted and kept in check by the oppressive enactments of the statute-book. Better far that all these enactments should be swept away, and that workmen should be let forth on the arena of a free competition with their employers. On this field, let them be made welcome to every attempt and every expedient for a rise of wages which is not criminal. They will soon arrive at a sound experience upon the subject; and at last acquiesce in the conclusion, that they have no other control over the price of labour than that general control, wherewith, by means of their moral and prudential habits, they can limit and define the number of labourers.

And certain it is that this will avail them, without the expedient of any organised association at all. For the sake of simplicity, let us confine the argument to any one branch of manufacture which we might suppose to be in the hands of a certain number of capitalists, and that it is somewhat straitened for a supply of labourers. In consequence, the commodity will be produced in somewhat less abundance than can fully meet the demand for it in the market, and its price inevitably rises. This increment of price, in the first instance, raises the profits of the masters; but its final landing-place is among the workmen, for, in the second instance, and without combinations, it will go to the raising of the wages. The rise of profits in any trade tends both to create more of capital within the trade, and to allure to it more of capital from without. In other words, master manufacturers will not long be permitted to enjoy this additional profit; for out of it there will almost instantly emerge a busier competition, either among themselves, or from new adventurers enticed to this more hopeful walk of speculation. The prosperity of any trade is ever followed up both with the means and the efforts to extend it; but this cannot be done without a call for more operatives than before. Each individual master, while the demand is brisker than the supply, and therefore profits encouraging, will try to widen and enlarge his own establishment; and, as the effect of this competition among all, a higher

wage will be held out than before to labourers. Let there be an endeavour, on the part of every capitalist, to make out a full complement of workmen; and nothing more is necessary than a difficulty of doing so, from the smallness of the numbers to be had, in order to secure for these workmen a liberal remuneration. Apart from any association on the side of the operatives, their object is gained by a competition on the side of their masters. And all which they have to do, is to cultivate, each in his own family, those habits of foresight and sobriety, without which it is utterly impossible, either by device or by violence, to save them from the miseries of an over-peopled land.

It is true, that we have only reasoned on the case of one manufacture; and it is a possible thing, that any deficiency in its workmen may be recruited from the general population, either by enlisting those who are without employment, or by alluring from previous service those who are engaged in the service of other manufacturers. But the supposition of a more intelligent and better-habitted peasantry, precludes the idea of any being without employment. It would secure the state not merely of one, but of all manufacturers having barely enough of labourers to keep them a-going. It would extend the competition from masters in but one line of employment, to that of all the masters and capitalists in our land.

This of itself will elevate the condition of the working classes. Let there but be somewhat more of virtue in their conduct, and somewhat more of prudence and delay in their marriages, and there will forthwith commence that progress, by which, silently, and gradually, and indefinitely, the price of their services must rise, and themselves must ascend to a higher status in the commonwealth. And all this, without the turmoil or effervescence of combinations. These can never permanently raise the price of labour. There is one precise point at which this price settles; and this point is altogether determined by the proportion which obtains between the work to be done, and the number of workmen that are to be had for the doing of it. The effect of strikes, and associations, and long suspensions of work, followed up by hurricanes of prosperous trade, and high wages—the effect of all this may be, to produce large oscillations on each side of the average price of labour, but certainly not at all to raise the average itself. This average is fixed by the proportion before specified; and labourers have a command over this proportion, because they can command one of the terms of it. Their own number is wholly dependent on their own general character and habits; and, if they will but limit the supply of workmen, a higher recompense for work, not in virtue of any concert among themselves, but in virtue of competition

among their masters, will be the inevitable result of it.*

---

* It has been questioned by Mr. Malthus, whether a higher standard of enjoyment among the labouring classes would diminish the population of a country upon the whole. We have often thought, that it facilitated a right apprehension of the result, to conceive of all the labourers in a land as divided into three classes; first, the agricultural, employed in providing the first necessaries of life—secondly, a class employed in providing the second necessaries—and thirdly, the class employed in the preparation of luxuries, and who, on that very account, and because luxuries may either be shifted or dispensed with, might be aptly enough termed the disposable population.

It is obvious that, if by the term "second necessaries," we include every thing additional to food which enters into the maintenance of labourers, then the second class, all other circumstances being equal, will increase with every increase in the standard of enjoyment; and increasing as they must at the expense of the disposable population, we behold, as the effect of such a change on the habits of our peasantry, both a smaller rent to the landlord, and fewer people employed in the service of administering to his luxuries.

We do not take into the account at present the effect of machinery, or of any improvement in the productive powers of labour, on the proportion of these three classes. This may, in the first instance, diminish the agricultural class, the same produce being raised with fewer hands than before. It may also diminish the second class, even although there should be a higher standard of enjoyment among the people, the same number being able to work a much larger amount than before of all the conveniences of life. It is thus that the disposable population may receive accessions, with the progress of machinery, from both these classes; and landlords, with a larger surplus in the shape of rent of agricultural produce than before, can enlist a larger disposable population into their services than before; and the services of each be more effective, in virtue of the improvements in labour which have taken place. We should certainly incline to a higher standard of enjoyment among labourers, even though there should, in consequence, be a positive decline of enjoyment among the proprietors of the soil. But it is pleasing to observe, that, by the operation of another cause, there is room afforded, in the progress of society, for a contemporaneous increase in the enjoyments of all.

But abstracting ourselves for the time from the consideration of this particular cause, we can perceive, first, that if an effective demand, on the part

Every thing in the state and history of the commercial world, announces how little capitalists have it in their power to sustain an extravagant rate of profit, for any length of time, at the expense of their customers or of their workmen. It is a prevalent impression among workmen, that they are too much at the mercy of capitalists. If they only knew the whole truth, they would soon perceive that capitalists are wholly at the mercy of each other; and in such a way, that without being able to help it, they are very much at the mercy of their workmen. At least, if it be not so, it is altogether the fault of the workmen themselves;

---

of labourers, for higher gratifications, take an exclusive direction towards the second necessaries of life, this will not diminish the population, and will but affect the distribution of them. The second class is extended thereby; a greater number is taken into the service of labourers, and withdrawn from the service of landlords. An addition is made to the wages of the one party; and without that addition being necessarily made (as many of Ricardo's disciples imagine) at the expense of profit, it may in fact consist partly, nay wholly, of the consequent diminution that has been made on the rent of the other party.

But should the demand of labourers for higher gratifications take the direction which it might partly do towards a more liberal use of the agricultural produce, as by the larger use of bread, or beer, or spirits, or confectionaries, or animal food, this would absolutely lessen the population, and have just the same effect ultimately on the rent of the landlord, as if the soil of which he is proprietor had been stricken with a certain degree of barrenness. There is nothing in this change of habit to lessen the agricultural population; nothing to lessen the proportion which the second class of labourers bears to the whole body, provided that each, over and above his more abundant use of agricultural produce, has just the same demand for the second necessaries of life; and so the landlord would be the alone sufferer by this change—he having both a less rent, in virtue of the greater wage now given to farm-servants, and having a greater wage to bestow for the service of each individual of the now lessened disposable population.

who, by the simple regulation of their numbers, might, not in a way of turbulence, but in a way of order and peace, become the effectual dictators in every question between them and their employers. These employers cannot, though they would, reserve in profit to themselves any part of that, which, in the state of the labour market, must go in wages to their labourers. They cannot keep up their profits beyond a certain rate at the expense of their workmen, and in the progress of things, too, this rate is constantly falling. For how short a time can any lucrative branch of trade be upheld in its lucrativeness! In a few months the rush of capital fills it to an overflow. Let but a stage coach upon any road, or a steam boat upon any river, have realized the smallest centage of excess above the ordinary profits of the country, and in a moment, by other coaches and other boats, the excess, or perhaps the whole profit together is annihilated. The same holds true of every other department. Each is crowded with capital—and profit, all over the land, is rapidly verging to a minimum. This is satisfactorily demonstrated by the fall in the interest of money; and perhaps a still more striking exhibition of it is the way in which capital is going about among all the schemes and possibilities of investiture that are now afloat, and absolutely begging for employment. With such a creative and accumulating force in capital, the labouring classes may be in perfect security, that any hostile combination of their

masters against them must speedily be neutralised, by competition among themselves. On the other hand, would labourers but restrain their own numbers, and so guard their wages against the depressing effects of competition among the members of their own body, this would have in it all the force, without any of the ferocity or turbulence, of a most overwhelming combination. This is the high-way to their independence—a noiseless way, on which they will neither strive, nor cry, nor cause their voice to be heard upon the streets—a way on which every philanthropist would rejoice to witness their advancement, and by which, without danger or disturbance to society, they will raise the whole platform of their condition, and secure a more abundant share of the comforts and accommodations of life, than they have ever yet enjoyed.

Nevertheless, and although it is by a process altogether independent of combinations, that the state of the working population is to be elevated, yet for reasons, which have in part been already given, we should deprecate any return, however slight, to a law against combinations. The whole mischief of them will at length be wrought away in the violence of their own fermentation. It is right, too, that all the occasional violence which has attended combinations, should be repressed by the utmost force of legislation; and this is a legislation, which, however severely it may bear on the radicals or the ringleaders of a popular tumult, will at length have the full consent and acqui-

escence even of the popular understanding to go along with it. A government never does excite any permanent or wide-spread hostility against itself, by those laws which recommend themselves to our natural principles of equity; and it is only when the equity is not very obvious, that a sense of oppression rankles in the hearts of the people, and carries them forth to proceedings of turbulence and disorder. Now, the equity of a law of protection for all who are willing to work, is obvious. The equity of a law of compulsion against any, even although in concert and joint deliberation, who are not willing to work, is not obvious. Let the latter law, therefore, be expunged, but the former be instated in full authority, and have the weightiest sanctions to uphold it. After this, workmen might, with all safety, be left to themselves. They will soon feel their way to the evil of combinations, and make discovery, that, apart from them altogether, there is a secure and a peaceful road by which the people might help themselves onward to a state of greater sufficiency. It is a great lesson to teach them that this is the only road;—a lesson which they never can be taught, so long as law debars them from any other expedient which possesses a virtue in their imagination. It were the most precious fruit of their liberty, that this imagination should be dissipated; and that so they should be shut up by their own experience, that most authoritative of all schoolmasters, to the only remaining expedient which

can avail them. It is well for them to know, that it is the weight of their own numbers, and nothing else, which degrades and depresses them; and that the cause of all their sufferings does not lie in the want of protection from the legislature, or of kindness from their masters, but in the want of prudence and economy among themselves.

And, for ourselves, we confess it to be a cheering anticipation, that the labouring classes shall, not by a midway passage of anarchy and misrule, but by a tranquil process of amelioration in their character and habits, make steady amelioration at the same time in their outward circumstances. We believe it to be in reserve for society, that, of the three component ingredients of value, the wages of labour shall at length rise to a permanently higher proportion than they now have, either to the profit of stock or the rent of land; and that thus, workmen will share more equally than they do at present, with capitalists and proprietors of the soil, in the comforts and even the elegancies of life. But this will not be the achievement of desperadoes. It will be come at through a more peaceful medium, through the medium of a growing worth and growing intelligence among the people. It will bless and beautify that coming period, when a generation, humanised by letters, and elevated by the light of Christianity, shall, in virtue of a higher taste and a larger capacity than they now possess, cease to grovel as they do at present among the sensualities of a reckless dissipation.

This dissipation stands often associated with a stout and a sullen defiance; and the two together, characterize a large class of the mechanics of our present day. But these are not the men who are to accomplish the enlargement of that order to which they belong;—at one time on the brink of starvation by their own extravagance, and then lying prostrate at the dictation of their employers; at another, in some season of fitful prosperity, made giddy with ambition, and breaking forth in the complaints and the clamours of an appetency which is never satisfied. It is not by such a process of starts and convulsions as this, that our working classes are to be borne upwards to that place of security and strength, which, nevertheless, we believe to be awaiting them. But there is no other foundation than that of their own sobriety and good principle on which it can solidly be reared. And the process in this way may be easily apprehended. In proportion as man becomes more reflective and virtuous, in that proportion does he seek for something higher than the mere gratifications of his animal nature. His desires take a wider range; and he will not be satisfied but with a wider range of enjoyment. There is a growing demand for certain objects of taste and decency; and even the mind will come to require a leisure and a literature for the indulgence of its nobler appetites, now brought into play by means of a diffused education. Altogether, under such a regimen as this, the heart of

a workman is made to aspire after greater things than before; and in perfect keeping and harmony with a soul, now awakened to the charms of that philosophy which is brought down to his understanding in a mechanic school, is it that he should hold, as indispensable to his comfort, a better style of accommodation than his forefathers, whether in apparel, or furniture, or lodging. And it is just by means of a more elevated standard than before, that marriages become later and less frequent than before. This we deem to be the precise ligament which binds together an improvement in the character with an improvement in the comfort of our peasantry; and makes a taste for certain conveniences, the very stepping-stone by which a people do arrive at them. It is enough that these conveniences should be regarded as among the essential ingredients of maintenance; and then will a sense of their importance come to operate with effect, as a counteractive to the temptations of precipitate or imprudent matrimony. The man who counts it enough for himself and his family, that they have rags, and potatoes, and a hovel, will rush more improvidently, and therefore more early, into the married state, than he who feels that, without a better provision and a better prospect than these, he should offend his own self-respect, and compromise all his notions of what is decent, or dignified, or desirable. We are aware of the exceeding difference between one individual and another in the same country; but this does not

prevent a certain average standard of enjoyment in each country; and thus, in respect of this average standard, may the difference be very great between one country and another. And, if we except the case of still youthful colonies, we shall be sure to find, that, corresponding to this difference in the average standard of enjoyment, is there a difference in the average period of marriage. The higher the one is, the later the other is. The greater the demand for family comforts, the smaller and the fewer are the families. The larger the ambition of labourers, the less is the number of labourers;* and sure consequence of this, the greater are the means in the hand of each for satisfying his ambition. This is one of those felicitous cases, in which the desire of good things is at length followed up by the power of obtaining them. It is thus that workmen can enforce their demand for higher wages. Those distempered outbreakings which approach to the character of rebellion, will retard instead of forwarding their cause. But nothing can arrest the march of light among the people; and when this light is conjoined with virtue, it will guide their ascending way to a vantage ground, where they will make

---

* See the last note, from which it will appear that, in as far as the higher taste of the people leads to their more abundant use of the second necessaries of life, it does not lessen the number of the people, but only affects the distribution of them. And it is only in so far as this higher taste leads to a more abundant use of agricultural produce in families, that the population is diminished thereby.

good the precise status to which their worth shall entitle them—a status for all whose comforts and accommodations, they will then be in circumstances to prefer their demand with a small and a still, but yet an irresistible voice.

It is by a tranquil process, such as this, that the general condition of our people will at length be elevated. It is by a slow, but a resistless movement, which combination cannot speed, but which will be sure to make its way, though in the absence of all combination. In none of its successive steps is there aught that can endanger the peace of society, or that should give alarm to the rulers of it. The triumph that awaits the humbler classes, will not be extorted from the higher by the outcry of popular discontent, but silently and insensibly gained from them, by the growth of popular intelligence and virtue. What is there to convulse our land, in the multiplication of schools, in the exchange which our people make of loathsome dissipation for respectable scholarship, in their habits of improving comfort and cleanliness, in their general postponement of marriages, and in the consequent result of smaller but well-conditioned families? In the whole of this beautiful progression, there is nothing to alienate, but every thing to attach the people to that established order of things under which they find that industry meets with its recompense, and that, with the labour of their own hands, they can rear their children in humble, but honest in-

dependence. Instead of so many fiery spirits, now in bitterness, under a sense of difficulties, and in the vain imagination that they are so many wrongs inflicted by the hand of an arbitrary government, casting resentment and reproach on the politics of the kingdom, we should find each in busy occupation with the management of his own thriving affairs, and recognizing, in the hopeful prosperity of his own household, the best evidence of a sound public administration. The question of wages, instead of being agitated in stormy debate between the parties, may be decided with all the quietness of a common market transaction, yet decided in favour of the workmen; and that simply because, in virtue of their now purer, and more prudential habits, they have not overdone the supply of labour. Ere this result is arrived at, there may, or there may not be frequent combinations. In themselves they are altogether useless; but let workmen be at full liberty to make the experiment. Let not government, save for the sake of justice between man and man, interpose in this controversy between them and their employers. Let not labourers be driven from their associations by the penalties of law, and they will soon be schooled out of them, by those chastisements of Nature and Necessity which follow in their train. They will, all the sooner because of this liberty, be schooled into the lesson, that wages must, by a necessity which no force or artifice of man can

overbear, be fixed by the proportion which obtains between the work to be done, and the number of workmen to be had for the doing of it—that for this number they are themselves responsible—and that, without the education to which all the good and the wise of the land are inviting them, and the moral and religious culture to which they are bound by far higher than any earthly obligations, and the consequent elevation which must ensue in their whole taste and standard of enjoyment—and, lastly, as the result of all this, that, without the prospective economy which of itself will push forward the average date of marriages in the country, no power under the sun can help them out of the degradation into which nothing, on the other hand, can plunge them, but their own recklessness and folly. Let them look as fiercely as they may at the other classes of society, there is most gross and grievous injustice in all their indignation. They are only wreaking upon the innocent the mischief which they have brought upon their own heads; for, in truth, government and the wealthier orders of society are most innocent of it all. And should, in the wild surges of a popular frenzy, the institutions of this fairest and most flourishing country in the world be ever swept away, it will be the impartial voice of justice in all distant ages, that, under pretence of resentment and resistance to the tyranny of the few, all the equities of human life had been most oppressively

lorded over by the iniquitous tyranny of the multitude.

In the act of dealing equally with the various classes in society, it is perhaps impossible to avoid saying what might occasionally be offensive to them all. And if, on the one hand, there are labourers who need to be rebuked out of their turbulence and unjust discontent; so, on the other hand, there are still a few of the British aristocracy who eye with jealousy and dread all the advances that are making by the people in knowledge, and even in the sufficiency and style of their enjoyments. More especially have the recent outbreakings of workmen engendered in certain quarters a dislike of Savings Banks, as the likely organs of building up such a capital for the lower orders, as might be the instrument at length of a popular despotism, at once the most fearful in itself, and the most destructive of all the great political and economic interests in our land.*

---

* From the examination of Mr. Oldfield:—

"Can you suggest any means to prevent the inconveniences you complain of?—If the government could prevent them from accumulating funds."

From the examination of Mr. Eli Chadwick:—

"Does it occur to you to suggest any mode by which that inconvenience which you have suffered from the men could be prevented?—I should conceive, one great means of preventing it would be, preventing their accumulation of funds; it is that which gives them the chief portion of the influence they now possess, in disturbing the manufactory in the neighbourhood."

These testimonies, however, apply to associated funds;—and certain it is, that the accumulation of funds individually by workmen, would have an influence adverse to combinations.

We think that we can discern pretty obvious manifestations of this jealousy brought before the eye of Parliament itself. And therefore, before closing our remarks upon this whole subject, we should like, in a few sentences, to state our opinion of the result that would ensue from a habit of accumulation amongst the working classes of society.

The connection of this habit with a higher rate of wages, we have already endeavoured to explain. It is not in the foresight or the contemplation of such an ulterior effect that the habit is adopted. Each individual who does accumulate, has been led to do it from the mere impulse of a taste and an affection for a property to himself. He does not consider the effect which such a taste and habit, if they became general among workmen, would have upon society. Nevertheless, it is not the less true, though he should not perceive it, that a spirit of economy among the lower orders would land us in a more reflective, and rational, and sober peasantry; and that a certain postponement of marriages would surely accompany this growing taste for property, and for the enjoyments which property can command. The consequent rise in the price of labour, is from the quiet operation of an economic law, even the law of dependence that subsists between the price of an article and its supply; and so in the present case is the result of a somewhat diminished number of labourers.

This result is arrived at by a peaceful process,

and not by the power which a capital would give to labourers of holding out for a greater length of time in combinations. The truth is, that when once a property is built up by a man, and embodied into a given sum, and expressed by the bank credit which he holds in his hand, and made the object of his strong and distinct affection for it, he feels a pain in any violation of its entireness; and this new feeling comes into play against those combinations which impose a protracted season of idleness upon their members. Such a season, in the present state of the working classes, only brings privations upon them, which they can weather from day to day by the mere power of endurance; and far more readily, we are persuaded, than a man can suffer the careful product of the economy of many long and laborious years to be melting away before his eyes. In other words, we should hold this habit to be more a security than otherwise against combinations. By him who had won his way to the possession of a small and cherished capital, the waste of this capital would be felt as one of the sorest evils. He would bethink himself well ere he submitted to those repeated draughts upon his capital, which a suspension of labour must surely bring along with it; and so he, and such as he, would not be so prone to the rash or misguided adventure of a strike, as our present race of desperadoes.

And there is a very substantial, and, at the same time, a very pure compensation, awaiting the

higher classes of society, for this encroachment, or rather for this appearance of an encroachment, that is made upon them by the increased wages of the lower. It is founded upon this: the greater amount and value of the services that will then be rendered. We are not indulging any Utopian imagination; but speaking, in fact, to the experience of practical men, when we say that there are a power and a charm in a certain generous style of remuneration, the whole benefit of which will come to be realized in that better state of things, to which we believe that society is fast tending. We are aware of the union which often obtains, in large manufacturing establishments, between the enormous wage, and the reckless, loathsome dissipation of its workmen. But, ere the higher wage that we contemplate shall obtain throughout the country at large, this recklessness must have very generally disappeared, and a sober, reflective, and well-principled character, substituted in its place. Now we pre-suppose such a character, when we prophesy a sure compensation to the higher orders, for the then more elevated status of the population beneath them; and for the experimental proof of our anticipation, we appeal to cases where servants are at once well-principled and well-paid. We are confident of being fully met by the recollection of many masters, when we affirm an overpassing worth in the labour of such servants; and that, where there are that higher tone of character, and that self-respect, and that

fidelity, which can only be upheld by the well-conditionedness of a better remuneration, then the difference in the worth of the service greatly more than atones for the superior wage which has been rendered. If masters will reflect, they will generally find, that those men whom they found to be perfect treasures as servants, were never so because of the lowness of his wage, but always so because of the trustiness of their own character; and that the difference in the amount of that *materiel* which they render out in wages, is far more than made up in the larger return which comes back, because of that higher and better *morale* which pervades the workmen of their establishment. The same lesson is afforded by the reverse experience of those farmers, who employ a set of worthless, degraded, and half-paid paupers, in the business of their agriculture. They are far more unprofitable, as workmen, than the regular servants who obtain a full and respectable allowance. This points, it is obvious, to a very delightful consummation—a higher peasantry, yet a fuller tide of affluence all over the land, in which, too, the great and the noble will participate more largely than ever—the basis of the social polity more elevated, yet, at the same time, its pinnacles towering more proudly, and blazing more gorgeously than before —the labourer upholden in greater comfort, yet the landlord upholden in greater elegance and enjoyment,—the fruit of that exquisite, but substantial harmony, which obtains among all the truly desirable interests of human society.

And, upon this subject, we have often felt that the legislature have missed an opportunity, but which still, we fondly hope, is not irrecoverable. They should have combined the two questions of combination and of pauperism, and made a compromise between them. In the act of expunging from their statute-book that law of combination which bore an aspect of hostility to the lower orders, although it does them little harm, they were most favourably situated for expunging from their statute-book that law of pauperism, which bears an aspect of friendship to the lower orders, although most assuredly it does them no good. They should have availed themselves of this balance between the partialities and the prejudices of the popular understanding. The people of England might have acquiesced in the abolition of that law for which they have a predilection, because feeling it compensated by the abolition of that law for which they had a dislike. When the burden was removed from the industry of workmen, then was the time for attempting a removal of the burden from the property of landlords. The thing is not yet so definitely settled, as that it can be said to have conclusively gone by, or as to have precluded the adjustment of a great and comprehensive question of equity between the labourers and the landlords. When to the one there is conceded the entire right to make the most, without the old legal obstruction, of the product of their service, to the other let there be conceded the entire right to

make the most, and without the present legal obstruction, of the product of their soil.* It were a fair reciprocal acquittance between the two parties—the higher and the lower classes of society—leaving to the one an unburdened property in their land, and to the other an unburdened property in their labour.† And even though a high wage should be the ultimate consequence of such an arrangement, there is no country where this

---

* We, of course, must be understood to point at the abolition of the law of pauperism, only in the way which we have already attempted to explain, in a former volume of this work—a gradual way, by which it might be accomplished, without violence done to any of the existing paupers, and without disturbance to the commonwealth. It would remove the hazard of disturbance still further, if, for the imaginary loss which the people have suffered by one law, there could have been devised a compensation to their prejudices and feelings, even though it were by an imaginary gain secured for them through the abolition of another law.

† For the fancied bereavement which they sustain by the abolition of pauperism, the people might find a *solatium* in the boon which is rendered to them by the entire abolition of the combination laws. Or, if this opportunity be now regarded as lost, there are other boons in reserve for them. Such is our view of the incidence and effect of taxes, that we do not hold it possible to make them fall upon labourers; and, though ostensibly paid by them, they are really paid by the purchasers and employers of labour. Still, a poll-tax, or a house-tax, or a tax on the necessaries of life, have all the odium of so many felt burdens upon the poor. So that, by a reform in the system of finance, by a transference of taxes from the lower to the higher orders, or from the necessaries to the luxuries of life, there might at least be the imagination of a relief to the former, without the reality of any additional burden upon the latter. This suggests another expedient for making the removal of pauperism more palatable to the labouring classes—even by accompanying it with the removal of one or more of those taxes that bear on the subsistence of their families. The gratification which they should feel in the one measure, would neutralise the grievance which they might feel to be in the other.

ought to be more thankfully acquiesced in by the higher ranks of society than in England. For to her, of all others, there would accrue the most abundant compensations. She, in the first place, would have a compensation in those better and more productive services that are rendered by well-paid labourers, rather than by labourers sunk as they now are, in the sloth and degradation of pauperism. And secondly, she would have still more palpable compensation, in being eventually disburdened from that enormous tax of six millions in the year for her poor, which were enough, of itself, to afford a much higher sufficiency to a perhaps somewhat reduced, but greatly more sound and serviceable population.

CHAP. XXII.

ON CERTAIN PREVALENT ERRORS AND MISCONCEPTIONS, WHICH ARE FOSTERED BY ECONOMIC THEORIES, AND WHICH ARE FITTED TO MISLEAD THE LEGISLATURE, IN REGARD TO LABOUR AND THE LABOURING CLASSES.

III. It is not alone in the minds of the common people, that we have misunderstanding and prejudice to contend with; nor is their ignorance the only obstruction in the way of a right adjustment between masters on the one hand, and workmen on the other. We admit, that it might go far to effect a reconciliation between the two parties, if the latter could be rationalized into a just discernment of all that economics which had to do with Profit and Wages. But we are fully persuaded, that the former are nearly as destitute of the true principle on which the question hinges, and that, ere the reconciliation can be completed, they have both much to learn, and much to unlearn. We even think, that, among our most influential classes, there is a deal of false imagination as to the real economic interests of the country; and that still restrains our Legislators from that full march of liberality, on which they have lately broken forth, and made a progress that fills the sanguine friends of humanity with very high

and bright anticipations. There is with all this, however, a certain remainder of fearfulness, in virtue of which they at times shrink back again, even from the proper advances which themselves had made on the career of amelioration. So that, in retracing their path, they, along with the errors into which they have fallen, do occasionally recal the real improvements upon which they had entered. We have no doubt that they are on the way of being speedily unfettered from the last drags and difficulties by which they are yet in some degree held; and that the soundest Economical System which has ever been promulgated by our philosophers in theory, will also be realized by our statesmen in practice. The tendency of our present rulers is all in this direction; although, even in spite of the great and glorious advance which they have made, it can still be perceived, that, even on the path which themselves have struck out, they walk with somewhat trembling and unconfirmed footstep. The truth seems to be, that they would proceed faster than the country will let them; and that they must for a period defer to the voice of a public, who, in light and liberality, are greatly behind themselves. We often hear of men of science, who, in their speculations, but seldom of men of office, who, in their acts or in their actings, outrun the spirit of the age. Now, this is the rare and honourable exhibition by which our rulers are at present signalized. They are fast freeing our

mercantile code of its many errors, yet still in such a way as to evince that there is still a leaven of the mercantile system, either in their own spirits, or in the spirits of those who have ascendancy over them. We can imagine that we can perceive no slight tokens of this, in their whole treatment of the question of combinations; and if to rectify the notions of workmen, we hold it desirable that the light of economic science should be let down to the very basis of society, it is not because we conceive that to be a pure and a perfect light which shines in its upper places. There may not be the utter darkness of the lower region. But there is often, at least, a glare of false speculation, which, if it do not altogether blind, is sure to bewilder those who are exposed to it; so that, even among the guides and legislators of the community, there may be notions which admit of being rectified.

Now, one of the most inveterate of these we hold to be that by which, not only the conduct of Parliament, but almost our whole authorship in political economy, is infected. If, before illustrating what it is by examples, we were required briefly to express this erroneous notion in language of the utmost generality, we should say, that it proceeded on a preference of the means to the end. Capital and commerce, and the various branches of both, which are distinguished by so many interests, such as the shipping interest, and the manufacturing interest, and the trading interest;

these supply so many high-sounding terms, by which the public understanding has been juggled into a false estimate of the magnitude of things. The truth is, that this whole apparatus of commerce and of capital is but of instrumental subserviency towards an ultimate and a terminating object; and it is not surely by casting one's eye along the steps of a process, but it is by settling our regards on the result of it, that the good of the whole is to be perceived. It has all the self-evidence of a truism, and yet is strangely overlooked both in economic reasonings and in economic regulations, that the worth of that *by* which a thing is done, is all derived from the worth of that *for* which the thing is done. It is *by* several hundred ships that coals are carried from Newcastle to London—and it is *for* the comfort and utility of good fires to the families there that they are so carried; and we affirm the latter to have the precedency, in consideration and importance, over the former. Now what we complain of is, that this is lost sight of both by philosophers and by statesmen; by the one in the construction of their theories, by the other in the business of their practical administration. The shipping interest of the Tyne is an object of greater moment and magnificence in their eyes, than the cheapness or the abundance of fuel in the metropolis. It is forgotten that the end is greater than the means; and although Smith has formally asserted that the end of all production is consumption, yet even he, in the course of his ar-

gument, seems often to have forgotten this maxim, in a certain value, *per se*, which he attaches to trade and manufactures. Now, it ought ever to be kept in mind, that trade and manufactures have all their worth and significancy as subservient to, and none whatever as apart from, the enjoyment of consumers. The worth of commerce lies wholly in the *terminus ad quem*, and not in the *iter per quod*.

Now, both by politicians and political economists, this principle is traversed. It is in the working up of the commodity, in the buying of it, and selling of it, and transporting of it, in the succession of various movements and exchanges which it is made to undergo, in that whole series of transactions through which it passes from him who first put forth his hand upon its raw material, to him who made the final purchase of it, so that it ceased to be an article of merchandise any more —it is in these various steps which properly belong to the manufacture of the commodity, or to the merchandise thereof, that the whole prosperity of our land is conceived essentially to lie. And yet they are of no farther signification, than as constituting a mere train or progression of stepping stones to the very last or concluding act of the whole process, even that by which the consumer turns his purchased commodity to use or to enjoyment. This is the *terminus ad quem*, for which it was conveyed through the busy hands of a factory, and had to travel from one shop, and from

one market to another, till it reached its final destination. Without this destination, all the preceding industry which had been expended on its preparation and conveyance, is but laborious idleness. And yet this last consequence, for which the whole apparatus was set agoing, is felt to be of no consequence. They lose sight of an article of trade on the moment that it enters the house of the consumer, because then all the game of trading and trafficking with it is over. Its benefit there, is deemed of little account by those who expatiate most on the blessings of commerce. They in fact regard commerce as a thing set up for the good of producers, and not of consumers. They look to the play of its mechanism, and not to that landing place, whither its products are ultimately carried, and where the whole purpose of commerce is fulfilled, by there directly ministering to the comfort and accommodation of man. The process, and not the end of the process, is all that is in view of the disciples of the mercantile system; and even they who have obtained emancipation from many of its errors, can occasionally manifest to what amount the residuum of its spirit still adheres to them.

For by combinations, or by any other cause, let there be a suspension in some quarter of the coal trade. It is on the stoppage in some anterior part of the process, and not on the suffering that is felt at the place where the process terminates, that a genuine disciple of the mercantile system

will look. And even still, what is the spectacle which on such an occasion calls forth the chief notice and sympathy of Parliament? Not the loss or inconvenience that is sustained from the higher price of coals by the families of London. But what engrosses them most, is the spectacle of commerce at a stand, of vessels laid up, of capital lying idle, of a certain portion of the national industry being suspended, and the property of merchants and owners melting away, because not alimented by the wonted returns of profit. This carries in it to their eye, a far more louring aspect on the prosperity of the country, than all the abridgment which may have taken place in the fuel, and so in the household comfort of families. This last is regarded only as a private inconvenience, but the other as a public loss. There is a strange perversion of the judgment, certainly, in thus counting the means to be more valuable than the end; and hence grieving far more because of a diminution in the work of commerce, than because of a diminution in the only thing that commerce works for. But such is the nearly universal delusion of the country—a delusion in which Parliament fully shares, as is enough manifest, in that they feel a higher price, or a greater privation of coal in London to be a bagatelle, when compared with the calamity which hangs over the shipping interest in the Tyne.

To estimate the mischiefs of this suspended trade, we observe no examinations of the incon-

venience sustained by consumers, but only of the loss sustained by producers. That is the quarter where the mighty evil is apprehended to lie. The distress, or the destitution of families from the want of coal, is not inquired into. It is only the derangement that has come upon capital, and upon the plans of capitalists from the want of the coal trade. In virtue of certain interruptions which this trade has been made to suffer, there is a limited supply of coal in the metropolis. That is the essential evil—and one should think that the way to ascertain its dimensions, would have been to call witnesses from the various ranks of citizenship there, as to the amount and soreness of the consequent privation. The natural investigation would have been into the degrees of hardship and of additional expense that it laid upon the humbler classes; and, perhaps, whether it had the effect of compelling any families to apply for aid from the parish. Had the Committee on the Combination Laws taken this direction, we should have had the fathers of poor families in London, and perhaps the overseers of its parishes, or managers of its work-houses, brought under a close questionary process. It was no doubt natural to look to the seat of that which was the origin of the mischief, with a view to the application of a remedy; and this may in part explain the peculiarity to which we are now adverting. But it is by no means the whole explanation. For, in truth, upon these topics our most enlightened men are exceed-

ingly apt to look the wrong way; to seek for information, not from the place where commerce lands her commodities, but from the place where commerce plies her machinery for the carriage and preparation of them. Any distress in the former place is not half so formidable to their imaginations, as a derangement in the latter place. Commerce, in truth, is regarded as an end, and not as an instrument. The wants of consumers are not in all their thoughts. The great engrossment is about the producers—the stoppage that has taken place in the processes of trade and manufactures—the withdrawment or transportation of capital—the disappearance, one after another, of the branches of our national industry.

It is further instructive to perceive by what kind of mischief a committee on mercantile affairs would be most impressed, when offered to their notice on the examination of witnesses. One evil of a suspended coal trade, is the privation, or the additional expense which it would lay on private families. But let this further evil be made out, that some manufactories, such as iron works in the neighbourhood, were in danger of being suspended. This second would be felt as the heavier calamity of the two. The evil to ultimate consumers of abridging their fuel, would be regarded as nothing when compared with the evil to producers of abridging or stopping the processes of their manufactory. And yet these processes, like all others in trade, are but processes of subservi-

ency to the wants of consumers. Trace the progress of the evil in this ramification a little farther, and its whole amount is a privation, or a higher price to families, not of the fuel which upholds the fire, but of the grate which contains it, or the fire-irons which stir it, or the pots and pans which are laid upon it. Now, a legislature would never busy itself with this last consideration. It is only when the evil is in prospect or menace, through an interruption of the works, that it appears to be of national magnitude. When the evil has reached its consummation in the inconvenience to which customers are subjected, from a more limited supply of the things which are wrought, the whole of its national importance is dissipated.

The delusion is still more glaring when the article of trade is less essential to the comfort of families. Among many others who were examined on the effects of combination, there were manufacturers of shawls. There is enough of magnitude to fill the imagination in the shipping interest. But one can scarcely uphold in his mind any associations of greatness, or of public importance, with the shawl-making interest. Still it is a branch of fancy-work; and that again a branch of the general manufactures of the country. So that the making of shawls, and the making of toilinette waistcoats, and the making even of most frivolous toys, all merge into, and serve to swell the account of what in sound, and in appearance, at least, is sufficiently imposing—the manufactur-

ing interest. At all events there are a good many hundred workmen employed in the fabrication of shawls; and if they choose to strike, shawls will cease for a time to be multiplied. Now, our simple position is, that the real good of these shawls lies in the wearing of them, and not in the weaving of them. The whole "*cui bono?*" of this manufacture, lies in the gratification of the taste and fancy of the wearers; and the counterpart evil to this, from the suspension of the manufacture, is the vexation or disappointment which they must feel in not meeting with their wonted supply. But were either the one seen to be the whole good, or the other seen to be the whole evil, the legislature would most certainly never interpose at all in the matter; and that they actually do interpose, proceeds from their imagination of a good in this and in all other manufactures, distinct from the subservience of their products to the use or the enjoyment of customers. There were something grotesque and ridiculous in an assembly of senators, sitting in grave deliberation on the comfort of shawls, or the tastefulness of fancy waistcoats; and, therefore, when they do enter upon this subject, they never bestow one thought upon the good which the supply of these brings to the consumers: it is altogether upon the good which the making of these brings to the producers. They figure some sort of inherent virtue in trade, that is separate from and independent of the enjoyment which lies in the use of its

commodities. They have elevated commerce from the state of a handmaid, to being the very goddess of their idolatry; and would anticipate something far more tremendous to the country, from the destruction of the shawl-making interest, than a negation to the country of shawls.

But it will be said, that the worth of a manufacture is not to be measured by the mere worth of the articles which are thrown off by it. It is contended, that there is something more of importance in it than this; and really something more is necessary to be made out, in order to vindicate the high place to which it has been exalted in the imagination of many a statesman, and the system of many an economist. For ourselves, we are not aware of one other earthly contribution which a shawl-maker renders to the interest of his country, than simply his shawls; or a stocking-maker, than just stockings; or a coach-maker, than coaches. These are the respective parts which they perform; *and they are their whole parts.* More has been ascribed to them; and though neither the glory nor the strength of a nation lies in its shawls, its stockings, or its coaches; yet both its glory and its strength have been conceived, as somehow bound up with the occupations of the men who are employed in making them. It is this which constitutes another and most inveterate of our delusions, that a manufacture does more for the public and political importance of the state, than simply furnish its own commodities for the grati-

fication and use of the individuals who compose it. A false halo has thus been thrown around commerce; and not, we believe, till it be wholly dissipated, will legislators cease to meddle with that which they had far better let alone.

And herein it is that the delusion appears to lie. It is agreed, on all hands, that a manufacture does thus much for a country. It furnishes its own products for the accommodation of those who live in it. But, over and above these products, it is further conceived, that it calls into being the returns which it obtains for them. To the articles which it works off, and by which we would measure its whole importance to the community, there are superadded the articles which are gotten in exchange for them; and it is precisely this superaddition, which gives to manufactures all the exaggerated importance that has been ascribed to them. In rating the worth of any one manufacture, we should make account of nothing more, than simply the goods which it issues forth upon society. But, on their way thitherward, they have to pass through a market, and undergo the operation of a sale, when a value is given for a value that has been received. Now these two values are generally blended together in the imagination of the observer, and he credits the manufacture with both; first with its own produce, and then with the price that has been given for it. It is out of this price that masters are enabled to live in splendour, and workmen to live in decent sufficiency.

A thriving village is perhaps the result of it; or, however the dependent population may be arranged, there stands visibly associated with the manufacture, a flourishing groupe of cheerful and industrious families. The legislature would, in all probability, never let itself down to a deliberation, the sole object of which, was the due and regular supply, either of ladies with shawls, or of gentlemen with toilinette waistcoats. But that is no reason why it should not bestow its most anxious care, and give all the benefit of its wisdom to a matter that seems to involve in it the employment, and, along with the employment, the subsistence of many thousand members of the British commonwealth. It is neither in the shawls, nor yet in the waistcoats, where the national importance of the question is conceived to lie; but it is in the spectacle of so many human beings, whose whole revenue and support are linked with the fabrication of them—a revenue that forms, it is imagined, an integral part of the wealth, and a support, without which we should lose an integral part of the population of the empire.

In this whole process, the distinction is lost sight of, between the two sides of every mercantile transaction, so as that the separate functions are not adverted to; first, of the manufacturer who makes the article, and, secondly, of the purchaser who uses it. There is positively nothing but the article that comes from the side of the manufacturer; and maintenance, or the power of acquiring it, comes alto-

gether from the side of the purchaser. There might be some derangement upon the one side, in virtue of which, the article is no longer forthcoming; but this can never send across, upon the other side, a devouring blight on the maintenance that was in readiness there to be discharged, as usual, in the purchase of the article. It may so happen, that in virtue of suspended work, or of now exhausted material, the article in question has disappeared from the market, and is nowhere to be found. But the maintenance that went for the article is still in reserve, as entire in the amount, and as effective in the support and sufficiency which it can diffuse through families as before. It will neither be destroyed, nor yet will it be suffered to lie idle. It will go forth, if not in the purchase of the old article, at least of some others; the preparation of which, will draw to it as many hands as were before employed in the manufacture that now has vanished from the land. We do not deny, that a temporary distress must be felt while this change in the distribution of the people is going on. Neither do we affirm, that the very individuals who have been discarded from that branch of industry which is now at an end, will all find a ready admittance, and as liberal a recompense as before, in such other branches as are sure to spring up or be extended. But we are sure that there is nought in the destruction of any one manufacture, which can at all impair the ability of those who want to purchase its commodities, and so to effuse both

among masters and workmen, all the maintenance which they ever desired from their connection with it. This maintenance will go forth upon as great a population as before, in return for some new services; not, perhaps, for shawls, but for something else in their place. And after a short season of inconveniences, and disquietudes, and boding alarms, we shall behold the spectacle of as many industrious families, as well upheld in the comforts of life as before.

There is really too much of virtue attributed to a manufacture, when it is figured, that it both gives employment to a people, and gives them maintenance also. It gives employment, but it does not give maintenance. The fruit of the employment is a marketable commodity, and the maintenance which is given in return for it, comes from some other quarter of society, than from the manufactory where the employment was carried on. Although the manufactory should come to a cessation, the same amount of subsistence for human beings will spring up in that quarter as before. Shawls will cease to be produced; but that other produce, which wont to subsist the shawl makers, will come forth as abundantly as ever. And they who have a power or a property, in the first instance, over that produce, will not cease to transfer it to others as before, merely because there are no more shawls to be purchased. They who go a-shopping will be at no loss to spend as largely as they wont; and if they cannot find shawls, they

will find something else on which to expend the price of them. In so doing, they give a shift to the employments of the people. They do not support less of industry than before—they only impress a new direction upon it; so that, in place of the thousands of shawl-makers, we shall have as many thousands employed in the preparation of certain other articles of taste or convenience. With every fluctuation in the demand of customers, there will be a corresponding fluctuation in the direction of industry; but that, without ultimately affecting either the amount of work that is required, or the amount of wages which are paid for it. And, if the Legislature would only weather the period of transition, with all its uncertainties and fears, they should at length find with what safety they might abstain from all interference: sure as it is to terminate in as great an abundance as ever, discharged on as great a population.

Our Legislature would be less tremulously alive upon this subject, were the calamity of a suspended, or even an annihilated manufacture, reduced to its proper dimensions. It is only a shift, and not a substraction. It is apprehended to be the latter; and hence as prompt an alarm on the part of government, as if on the eve of having a portion of the British territory wrested away from us. Were it, on the other hand, perceived to be only the former, government would remain at quiet, amid the slight internal agitations that were

caused by the disappearance of an old manufacture, and the substitution of a new one as great in its room. It would acquiesce in the new distribution of its family, could it only be satisfied, that it was to remain as great and as prosperous a family as before; and that, after the transition had been undergone, not one fraction of its own strength or importance had forsaken it.

These statements, though general, have a direct application upon the present question. When a manufacture stops, an alarm is felt for the stability of the manfacturing interest; and because, through the mistiness of those indistinct apprehensions which we have endeavoured to expose, the importance of this interest has been most unduly magnified, a consequent alarm is felt for the strength and the vital prosperity of our nation. It would mitigate the alarm, could the precise nature of the mischief be clearly understood—even that all which the nation loses, is its wonted supply of those goods which the manufactory issued, and that, at the very worst, it has no other character than that of an inconvenience to families, more or less tolerable, according to the kind of that commodity whose fabrication has for a time been suspended. It loses for a season the employment of the men who have struck, or rather, the fruits of their employment. But it has not lost the maintenance of the men. If consumers cannot obtain their wonted gratifications, the price of them remains in their pockets; and

the maintenance which this price, in the hands of workmen and their families, would have called forth, remains in the storehouses of the nation. The country sustains no other suffering than that which we have mentioned. It is as full of power for the subsistence of men, and has within its limits the same rewards and encouragements by which to stimulate their industry, as before. If the public can afford to want the products of their industry, there are none who seriously suffer but the foolish men themselves who choose to be idle for a little, and so will not take that support and nourishment which the country has to give them, and which lies in reserve, to be discharged again upon them, when they return to their wonted occupation. And even though they should, in hard and heroic obstinacy, resolve rather to starve than to surrender, the nation will survive in as great vigour as before, the loss both of them and of their services. That aliment which they refused, will still continue to be produced and to be poured forth in as great abundance from its granaries as ever. And still, after the little hour of effervescence and of fear, which their discontents may have occasioned, will the old spectacle be restored, of an industrious population as great, and a maintenance as liberal, spread abroad among all its families.

In reference to all those manufactures where combination is practicable, Nature has given such superiority to the purchasers over the producers,

that, for the protection of the former from the latter, it seems quite unnecessary for law to interfere. In agriculture, there is less danger to be apprehended of a strike among the labourers, than even of a combination among the capitalists; and it will in general be found, that, when a conspiracy among workmen for higher wages can be most easily formed and supported on the one side, then the article wrought can be most easily dispensed with on the other. It is not difficult to perceive which of the two parties has the advantage in this contest, and whether the public, on the one hand, can hold longer out with the want of the manufactured commodity, or the workmen with the want of their maintenance. There are forces in operation, and which are enough of themselves to decide this question against the labourers. It is a pity that government should step forward with a show of hostility, and anticipate the result. The terrors of a poverty that is growing apace, and looking more ghastly by every day of their perseverance in a state of idleness; at length, their own sensations of hunger, and the cries of their famishing children,—these are the guarantees of a sure and speedy termination to the warfare. The wisdom of government is forbearance. Save for the interests of obvious and substantial justice, they should leave Trade to the unfettered play of its own mechanism; and, secure in the consciousness that the basis of our nation's prosperity is

more deeply founded than to be within the reach of its fluctuations, they should cease to feel as an interested party, and leave the determination of this controversy between the manufacturers and customers, to those who are immediately concerned.

On this question, then, we should feel less inclined to defer to the alarm of capitalists, than to the alarm of their customers—of those who fabricate, or who deal in any of the articles of trade, than of those who consume them. One can imagine of the operatives who make the shoes, that they might cease from work, and hold out so long as to bring a real inconvenience upon all who wear them. And the more that the article approaches to a necessary of life, the greater is the inconveniency that might be felt; as if, for example, a whole city population were subjected, from such a cause, to an artificial scarcity of coals. This alarm, on the part of the purchasers or the users of a commodity, is altogether distinct from the alarm of its manufacturers or venders, and is therefore entitled to a distinct consideration.

In reference, then, to those articles which are not of prime necessity, it will at once be perceived, how unequal the conflict is between the maker and the consumer. The former depend upon the latter for their whole income; and, so soon as by the cessation of their work any accumulated capital has been melted away, this dependence becomes urgent and immediate; and they can hold

out no longer in the want of all subsistence for themselves and their families. Whereas the latter depend on the former, only for the product of their industry, which, by the supposition, not being indispensable to the support of human life, can for any indefinite season be dispensed with. The workmen, for example, of a toy manufacture, could never starve the public into a compliance with their terms, but would themselves be starved in time out of all their refractoriness, by a public resolved against the extravagance of their demands. This applies more or less to every species of work, when the thing wrought did not essentially enter into the maintenance of those who purchased it. They can keep aloof from the purchase, whenever they feel the price to be exorbitant. They who purchase have a clear superiority over those who prepare the article. The former can want the article. The latter cannot long want the employment, for their employment is to them the vehicle of all the necessaries of life which are brought to their doors.

Even in regard to many of the more necessary trades, the determination of customers not to pay more than a certain price, can far outlast the determination of the workmen not to work for less than a certain wage. Let the instance be again taken from shoes, and a competition of this kind be imagined between those who make shoes, and those who wear them; a competition, it will be observed, between the single want of one party,

and that not for a first, but a second necessary of life, and all the wants of the other party for all the articles whatever of human comfort and subsistence. Even a single pair, with all its capacities of being patched and prolonged, though by household hands, for months together, could give enough of advantage in this very unequal contest; and still more, if there was aught like the possession of a decent stock: an expedient, by the way, whereby the wealthier classes might arm themselves, in all time coming, against all that appears most frightful in this bugbear of combination. By enlarging somewhat their various stocks of consumption—by means of an additional outlay on all their present stores, whether in the cellars, or the wardrobe, or the outhouses, they strengthen and prepare themselves for any future warfare of this kind. It will be found, that by this simple arrangement, an arrangement, too, which naturally follows in the train of advancing wealth, there is raised an effectual defence against that indefinite power, wherewith it may be dreaded that a growing capital would invest the working classes of our land. It would reduce itself to a contest of endurance between one species of accumulation and another; and it is not difficult to estimate with which of the parties the inducement would be strongest to terminate the contest—whether with the workmen, from whom every day of idleness would take away a portion of their general means, and so make them poorer than before, or with the cus-

tomers, who, in the season of some outstanding trade, were only becoming more bare and destitute in some one article of human enjoyment. We feel, indeed, as if it were a vain expenditure of argument, to reason at all upon any such distant anticipation. But we deem it of the utmost practical importance, that legislators should feel a greater confidence than they are often inclined to do, in its own proper workings of the mechanism of human society; and that when they brood over the apprehended mischiefs of a strike among taylors, or masons, or house-carpenters, they would bethink themselves of the natural correctives which are already provided against it, in the very state and composition of the body politic. It should be enough to lull their disquietude, that it is far easier for the public at large to put up for months with such clothes, or houses, or furniture as they have, than it were for the operatives in these branches of industry, to put up for the same time with an utter suspension of all revenue.

And it is comfortable, as one goes in detail over the various articles which enter into the maintenance of a family, to perceive that those which are most indispensable are also most beyond the reach of being rendered artificially dear by means of combinations. Of those articles to the fabrication of which a long apprenticeship is necessary, and for the making of which, therefore, in the event of a strike, we cannot draw on the general population, there are many which have such a dura-

bility in themselves as will enable their possessors to stand out any season of combination that shall be at all practicable for the workmen. This applies particularly to furniture and houses, the customers in which cannot be reduced to a total destitution of them so soon as the workmen would be reduced to a total destitution of the necessaries of life. There are other workmanships, which, though abandoned by the regular operatives, can be served in such a way by domestic industry, or by more general labourers, as must at least hasten the breaking up of a combination. It is so with the mending, and even making, of all sorts of apparel; and as to that most important commodity, fuel, we have recent and most satisfactory experience, for the facility wherewith the transition can be made, by people drawn at random from other branches of industry to that of working in a coal mine. And then, as to the very first of human necessaries, as to the supply of food, or agricultural produce, there is nought more palpable than the readiness wherewith men of any, or of all works, can be turned to field labour. There is less, we are sure, to be apprehended from a strike of ploughmen than of any other class of operatives whatever. For, besides the ease wherewith they could be replaced, there is the difficulty wherewith they could be associated for any general or concerted plan of operation among themselves. The same obstacles, which have been so well and forcibly represented by Dr. Smith, against a com-

bination of farmers for a rise in the price of grain, exist in much greater strength against a combination of farm servants for a rise in the price of country labour. There could be no common understanding established among men so spread as they are over the whole surface of the land. It is among congregated, and not among widely diffused workmen, that such plans are hatched and brought into any degree of maturity; so that, save for the one purpose of interposing against crime and violence, there seems no call upon Government to meddle in the rivalry between workmen and their employers. In the case of luxuries, the public interest does not require any such interference; and, indeed, there is, in this instance, a control on the part of customers over workmen, to which the whole of the adjustment between them might very safely be left. In the most important necessaries, there are other, and still more effective securities against the damage that might be apprehended from such combinations; and the security is most complete of all in the article of food, that prime and vital necessary which is the most indispensable of all.

But there is another aspect of mischief in these combinations that is apt to alarm our legislature. In the suspension of so many works, they not only apprehend the disappearance from our land of so much industry; they further apprehend the loss or the disappearance of so much capital. The one we hold to be a bugbear, insomuch as we deem

the essential evil of the stoppage to lie in the cessation, for a time, of the products of industry, and never in the cessation of a power to maintain the producers. They choose to become outcasts for a season, from the benefits of this power; and so to bring upon themselves the hardships of an increasing poverty, and, at length, the sufferings of penury and starvation. On the side of the consumers, there is an inconvenience that can be borne with. On the side of the producers, there is a hard and ever-growing necessity, that must at length compel a surrender; and when the surrender is made by a return, on their part, to their wonted employments, they will just come back again to the fountains of sustenance which they had forsaken, and find them as generous and abundant as before. To the one party there has been a stagnation of their wonted enjoyments. To the other, there has been a period of severe but salutary discipline, which we should like to see fully accomplished; and without interference, if possible, by the hand of authority. We think that labourers would come forth of the trial, wiser and better than before; and that after having made full proof of their own favourite expedient, and found its inefficacy, they would be far more effectually schooled into a state of quiescence, than by all the terrors of legislation. The petty fermentations which are now in progress over the empire, will never amount to a storm that shall overthrow the fabric of its economic prosperity; but will rather demonstrate the sta-

bility of that basis upon which it is reared. The experience that should be earned in this way, would put a most impressive mockery on the dark conjurations of many philosophers and many statesmen.

But the other we hold to be a bugbear also. We have just as little to apprehend for the destruction of a nation's capital from these combinations, as for the ultimate disappearance or diminution of a nation's industry. The one delusive fear, however, is fully as inveterate as the other; and, accordingly, in the Report by the Select Committee on the Combination Laws, we find a strongly expressed alarm, lest "capital be withdrawn, or transported;" and so, lest "the source of every branch of our industry should gradually be cut off, and the whole labouring population of the country consigned to the distress and misery, which it is the tendency of the ill-advised combinations, in which so great a portion of it is implicated, rapidly and inevitably to produce."

This introduction of capital into the argument, suggests a new topic of alarm. It serves to complicate, and so to cast an obscurity over the whole subject. We know how closely associated fear is with indistinct vision; and in as far as the import and the precise function of capital are dimly apprehended, in so far is the mind liable to dread and to disturbance, from the imagination of any hazard to which it may be exposed. Were the darkness that hangs over this quarter of economic

speculation dispersed, these spectres would fly away along with it. It is the mist that lies spread over certain departments of political science, which so magnifies the terrors of our political alarmists, and this by distorting to their vision the real shape and magnitude of things. On no subject has this been more signally manifested than on that of capital; and we even think that the views here of our most celebrated economists, have a tendency to nurture a false alarm rather than to appease it.

One thing is obvious, that after capital is formed, it is the lure of a profit which draws it to any employment; and it is the continuance of that profit which detains it there. But this profit is just an ingredient of the price that is rendered for those commodities, on the preparation of which for the market, the capital is vested. The profit of the master is just as resolvable into an antecedent ability on the part of his customers, as are the wages of his workmen. The one channel through which the wealth of these customers found its way, carrying both to labourers their remuneration, and to capitalists their gain—this channel may be obstructed for a season; but it is one thing to shift the conveyance of wealth, and altogether another thing to annihilate it. The price that wont to be given by a family for shawls, if shawls are no longer to be had, is in reserve for some other article of expenditure; and in the purchase of that article, it will pass onward, and contribute as liberally to profit, and as liberally to wages as

before. We are quite aware of the temporary inconvenience which attends every change in the direction either of capital or industry. But we are not to confound this evil with that of a total disappearance, and so a permanent diminution either of the one or other in our land. So long as the agriculture is as productive, and so the first necessaries of life are as abundant as before, capital will be as fully replaced, and labourers as abundantly recompensed as before. The fund for both is in every way as efficient—even that fund, which consisting as it does of the indispensable aliment of human life, is both that which calls a population into being, and impresses any direction that the holders of it will upon their industry. If this great primary source flow with the same copiousness, then the wealth of its holders is of the same force, both to replace stock, and to remunerate labour. The tide of it may be diverted, but neither the amount nor the strength of it is taken away; and when either the suspension of any manufacture is ended, or the shift from it to another is made out, we behold as flourishing a merchandise, both for masters and workmen, as ever.

We are aware, that what we count a delusion on the subject of capital, has been very much fostered by the speculations of Dr. Adam Smith, who every where speaks of capital as the fruit of a laborious parsimony; and who imagines, that if by any cause a portion is taken away from the trading capital of our nation, a new course of painstaking

accumulation must be entered upon, till in a series of years, perhaps, we recover that fulness from which we had been reduced. Still he regards the departure of that capital, which has now to be replaced by the strenuous economy of our more industrious and sober-minded citizens, as a permanent loss to the nation; for, had it remained with us, we might still have had the benefit of those savings by which it has been made up, and so we might have had two capitals instead of one. It is this which in his eye constitutes the chief evil of our national debt, by which he conceives that so much of capital has been absorbed, and for ever lost to the nation. He calculates how much richer the country would have been, with a sum of so many millions still performing the functions of a capital; and in that capacity dispensing such an amount of revenue to its owners, and of subsistence to the people whose revenue was upheld by it. It is not to be wondered at, then, if the disciples of this great economist—the habitual and unquestioning followers in the train of such a speculation as this, should read the approaching downfal of a nation in the disappearance, by successive portions of its mercantile capital. Those enlightened ministers who proceed so fearlessly on his whole doctrine of free trade, do no more than catch the alarm of their master; when, associating with the combinations of workmen the withdrawment from the country of one branch of capital after another, they anticipate as the still gloomier

consequence, " that the source of every branch of our industry will gradually be cut off; and the whole labouring population of the country be consigned to distress and misery."

We hold that there is much of exaggeration in these forebodings; but to demonstrate our views of the subject, we shall have recourse to examples. Let a capitalist, with ten thousand pounds, have his money all vested in some of the simpler manufactures, as that of bricks. We specify this, as being one of those that require almost no fixed capital, and that can chiefly be carried on by means of a circulating one. The money thus laid out is repaid to him with a profit; so that, at the end of the year, he may find himself in possession of eleven thousand pounds; of which he may appropriate one thousand as revenue to his personal or family uses, and embark the ten thousand in his business, as before. Or, instead of this, we might conceive him, at this point, to be suddenly transformed into a spendthrift, that greatest enemy, as he is represented by Dr. Smith, of the public interest. He may be seized by a fit of extravagance, and squander the whole of his eleven thousand pounds in the course of the ensuing twelvemonth. By this proceeding, there is certainly so much of capital effaced from the country. An integral portion of that capital which was vested in the employment of brick-making, is now withdrawn from it. A fund, out of which a certain population obtained the wages of their industry, and a certain

addition was made to the annual produce of the labour of the country, has now been dissipated. The prevalent conception is, that the country is thrown permanently aback by such an event; and that, though it should recover the distance which it has lost, it is by means of a force of parsimony, which, had there been no loss to repair, would have carried the country permanently forward. Now, we think it easy to demonstrate, that the deficiency could be made up in another way; and that, without any greater parsimony on the part of other brick-makers, or without any influx of capital to this manufacture from without. We hold, that ere a single year pass by, the capital embarked upon this business will regain its former extent, and so be of avail to maintain as liberally the same number of labourers, who shall work off the same produce as before.

To make this palpable, let us imagine that there has been withdrawn for a year from the business of brick-making, some sensible proportion, as one tenth of the capital that had been vested in it. There are two ways in which this deficiency may be made up; and in one or other, or both these ways, the certainty is, that it will be so made up in the course of a twelvemonth. By the disappearance of this portion of capital, there are so many men thrown loose from employment. The same master can no longer hire them; for the fund out of which he paid their wages is no longer in existence. They will, therefore, go in quest of

other masters; and we may first conceive that they offer themselves to those in the same trade. This would be the natural direction for them to take; and in which case, we should behold the competition of workmen for employment from a smaller capital than can well afford to maintain them. The capital engaged in brick-making has been reduced to nine tenths of what it was; and on this diminished capital, the discarded workmen, to the amount of one tenth of the whole number, are seeking for admittance. A general reduction of wages must ensue; and, although it is not necessary to our argument, yet, in point of truth, this reduction would greatly exceed the fraction by which the capital has declined. In other words, the remaining masters would be able, and more than able, to enlist into their service the same number of labourers as were employed in the preceding year; and upon this capital, though diminished to nine tenths of what it was, the same quantity of bricks is still brought to market. But on the supply being the same, and the demand the same, (and there has nothing happened which should lessen the demand,) the price of this article will continue as before. In other words, the masters of the present year have as large an aggregate return upon their reduced capital, that the masters of the former year had upon their full capital. If ten thousand pounds be taken from one tenth of the whole capital that wont to be engaged in the business of brick-making, then the aggregate capital of the

former year was an hundred thousand, and the aggregate return, by our hypothesis, of the profit, must have been an hundred and ten thousand pounds. But this return, consisting, as it does, of the whole market-price of the bricks, is just as great in the second year as the first. The same number of men is employed on reduced wages. The same quantity of bricks is wrought off, and the same prices given for them. There comes in the same sum of a hundred and ten thousand pounds as before; and the remaining capitalists of ninety thousand pounds, have not only this old capital with the old profit replaced to them; but, over and above, they have returned into their hands both the capital and profit of him who had squandered away his property, and so was forced to retire from the business. It is thus that the capital which had disappeared re-appears; and that not by any strenuousness of accumulation on the part of the remaining capitalists, but by the operation of a simple economic law. By a force, as unfailing as that of a hydrostatic pressure, the capital, in a few months, rises to its wonted level; and becomes as commensurate to the business as before. And the men, after a year of depression, are now met again by a capital as large, and may be restored to wages as large.

The capital in this case is repaired at the expense of one year's reduced wage to the labourers. The deficiency that had been created costs them a year of sufferings and privations, ere it

can be made up. This is a mischief, we admit; but it is the whole mischief; and, after the straitening or the hardship of a short season, leaves no further trace behind it. It is a mistake, that the want of capital, occasioned by the extravagance of one master, must be atoned for by the parsimony of the rest. To them it is followed up by a season of prosperity; and the fruit of this prosperity is, that they become the possessors of that capital which their brother in the trade had dissipated. At all events, the capital is fully built up again; and by a process which demonstrates how little the care and the effort of a legislature are requisite to assist that law in the mechanism of trade, which ensures both its speedy and its complete restoration.

But, should this process fail, there is still another, by which a shrunk or a reduced capital is sure to be expanded to its former dimensions. The workmen who had been discarded from brick-making, in virtue of the fund which sustained them being dissipated, might. not think of trying to obtain service from the remaining masters in the trade. They might seek about for other employments, and be merged into the general population. The remaining capitalists in the brick manufacture continue with their old labourers; and, having just the same number of men, and the same capital in their hands as before, they will employ them on the same wages. It is not, therefore, from the fall of wages, that

they in this case will obtain any extension of their capital; but there is another source from which they will obtain it. They can only work up the same number of bricks which they did on the preceding year; or, in other words, from the disappearance of so much capital and industry in their line of trade, there is only nine tenths of the usual quantity brought to market, upon the whole. But there is nothing in the state of things which we now suppose, that can affect the rate of demand. Purchasers will go in quest of the same quantity as before, but will only meet with nine tenths of the amount that would satisfy them. The effect of this is, a competition on the part of the customers, and a rise in the price of the article. It may not be easy to compute the proportion which the increase of price will bear to the short-coming of the supply. This will depend on the place which the article possesses in the scale of comforts or necessaries. We know that in the case of a first necessary, the rise of price would greatly exceed in proportion the deficiency of the supply; and that if grain were deficient by one tenth from its usual abundance, there might be a rise of at least one third in its usual price. Bricks would not rise in so high a proportion; but, it is likely, higher than by one tenth. But let us only assign to it the average rise of one tenth; or, in other words, that, although the supply falls short by one tenth of what it used to be, yet that, in virtue of its augmented

price, the same money is expended by all the customers that there used to be. We shall still have in this second case, the aggregate return of £110,000 to the remaining brickmasters. From this source, they will have, as before, their old capital and profit replaced to them, along with the capital and its profit, which the extravagance of their now retired colleague in the business had swept off from the employ. And all this, without any extraordinary forcing upon their part. The want of capital is filled up by an influx from without, just as water flows in to fill up a vacuum. It is not they who work this effect; but the laws of the economic machine work it for them. They are the passive subjects of a prosperity which they have not caused. They have become, as before, the proprietors of that fortune which their companion had dissipated; and, just as before, in the course of a few months, their trade is reinstated in that full capital which had been previously embarked upon it. The supply of the article will again be enlarged with this enlargement of the capital; and on the price again falling to the average of profits in the country, this trade will settle down to its even and ordinary tenor.

In the first way of it, the capital is repaired at the expense of the labourers. In the second way of it, it is repaired at the expense of the consumers. Whether in either way exclusively, or (which will happen most frequently) by a mix-

ture of them both, it will recover, and in a single year, the magnitude from which it had fallen. We deny not the evil which there is, in workmen, for even this short period, being compelled to subsist on inferior wages. Neither can we deny the evil which there is, in the country, for the same period, being compelled to put up with a scantier supply of those conveniences which are suited to it. All we affirm is, that these are the only evils; and that they are not such as entitle them to all that anxious care wherewith our legislature, in the brooding anticipation of evils still more dire and irremediable, professes to watch over the preservation and entireness of our national capital. The due increase of capital may in fact, with all safety, be confided to the force of its own native and essential buoyancy. This certainly is not a consideration for which any obvious principle, either of freedom, or of natural justice, ought to be sacrificed; and just ranks among many other of those economic interests which governments are prone to meddle with, but which they had better let alone.

These processes for the almost immediate reproduction of extinguished capital, explain what, in the eyes of Dr. Smith and others, is a seeming mystery *—the sufficiency, or rather the super-

---

* "During the course even of the most expensive wars, the frugality and good conduct of individuals seem to have been able, by saving and accumulation, to repair all the breaches which the waste and extravagance of Go-

abundance of capital, in spite of its great absorptions by the national debt. The sum of ten thousand pounds may have been withdrawn from the brick manufacture, by the owner of it becoming a subscriber to a public loan; and, although one tenth of the capital vested in this employment had been thus removed from it, there is nothing in this that will, immediately at least, lessen the demand of the country for bricks. Even when in the progress of taxation and of public debt, the revenue of private consumers comes to be shared in larger proportion by government and the creditors of the nation, the joint expenditure of all those parties among whom it is divided, will set the same amount of industry in motion, or give maintenance to as great a number of servants, as

---

vernment had made in the general capital of the society. At the conclusion of the late war, the most expensive that Great Britain ever waged, her agriculture was as flourishing, her manufactories as numerous and as fully employed, and her commerce as extensive, as they had ever been before. The capital, therefore, which supported all those different branches of industry, must have been equal to what it had ever been before. Since the peace, agriculture has been still further improved; the rents of houses have risen in every town and village of the country, a proof of the increasing wealth and revenue of the people; and the annual amount of the greater part of the old taxes, of the principal branches of the excise and customs, in particular, has been continually increasing; an equally clear proof of an increasing consumption, and, consequently, of an increasing produce, which could alone support that consumption. Great Britain seems to support with ease, a burden, which, half a century ago, nobody believed her capable of supporting. Let us not, however, upon this account, rashly suppose that she is capable of supporting any burden; nor, even be too confident that she could support, without great distress, a burden a little greater than what has already been laid upon her."—*Smith's Wealth of Nations*, Book V. chap. iii.

when more of that revenue was untouched by the impositions of the state, and permitted to remain in the hands of its original proprietors. At all events, the capital absorbed by the national debt is replaced by the same speedy operations with the capital that has been dissipated by extravagance. When a proportion of capital is thus withdrawn from any employment, either the wages of labour in that employment fall, by so many of the now disengaged workmen being unwilling to leave it, or the article which they prepare is manufactured in less quantity, and so rises in price. From one or other, or both of these sources, the capital is again dilated to its former bulk with the force and almost with the speed of elasticity, so as to be as commensurate as before to the demand which there is for its products, to the business which it is called upon to do. And, accordingly, it is quite palpable, that no sooner was capital withdrawn from the trade of the country to its funds, than its place has been filled up again; that, in spite of its immense absorption, it has never fallen behind the business of the nation, but rather overcrowded and pressed upon it; and now that the absorption has ceased, instead of a season of accumulation being needed, in order to recruit, as from a process of exhaustion, the commerce of our land through all its branches, absolutely labours under a weight of capital greater than it well can bear. We see throughout no privation of capital, but rather every symptom of a plethora. We no-

where see any employment, that wears even the remotest likelihood of a decent return, languishing, or at a stop for the want of capital; but everywhere we see capital at a loss for the want of employment. It now riots in sportive abundance among all sorts of chimerical enterprizes and wild imaginations. And this exuberance of capital, after that it had been drawn upon to the extent of nearly a thousand millions, speaks most decisively to some vast creative and multiplying power by which it is sustained.

We are aware, that this view does not harmonize, nay, that it may be in jarring contrariety with the political economy of those whose habits of thought and of speculation have been moulded by the study of the most approved writers in the science. Certain it is, that Smith seems not to have adverted to this sudden re-ascent of capital, when a portion of it has been dissipated either by the extravagance of its individual holders, or by their having become creditors, in consequence of what he would term the extravagance of the nation. And yet the way in which it regains its former magnitude, *per saltum*, and not by any slow or laborious process of accumulation, may be clearly educed from those elementary principles that have been so well illustrated by this great master. It is, in fact, the immediate consequence of that re-action which a variation of capital has upon profit. Let a part of the capital vested in any business, (the extent of which is measured by a demand exoteric to the

business itself,) be lopped away; and then, both from a fall of wages in that business, and from a rise in the price of that article which it brings to market, but whose supply is lessened for a time, profits rise, and sink not to their former rate, till the capital resumes the extent from which it had been reduced. It is true that this process may be anticipated by a rush of capital from other quarters; and then, instead of a sensible oscillation in one branch of trade, there will be a slight oscillation in several, after which the old state both of capital and profits will be restored. But it is by an oscillation, and that a pretty quick one too, that the re-adjustment is made. And it has this property of an oscillation belonging to it, that, in proportion to the wideness of the deviation which has been made, is the regressive force that carries capital back again to its old state of quiescence. The more that capital is lessened in any trade, whose commodities are as largely and effectively demanded as before, the higher are the profits of it raised, and a greater impulse towards a recovery brought to bear upon it. It is thus that a nation's capital is fitted to survive the disturbance and the rough handling, from which many would apprehend its deadly overthrow; and that it re-attains the bulk from which it had been at any time contracted, with almost the speed of an explosion.

In Dr. Smith's chapter on the Division of Stock, he describes what may be termed the great economic cycle which is performed by the annual pro-

duce of the land, and labour of the country. In the course of its revolution, this produce is distributed into three parts. One part goes to repair the fixed capital. Another part goes to replace the circulating capital; and a third part enters into the stock that is reserved for immediate consumption. It is certainly possible, that during the revolution of one year, the consumption may be unduly extended, so as that too much of the produce shall go to the third part, at the expense of the other two; and so both the fixed capital may be impaired, and the circulating capital may be diminished. This distinctly took place with our brick-master, when he forsook his business, and squandered on his own personal gratifications the ten thousand pounds, wherewith he wont to pay the annual wages of those in his employ; and it would have alike taken place, had he, instead of continuing in the trade, lent the money which was vested in it to government. In either case, it is that year transferred from the circulating capital to the stock of immediate consumption; being either consumed by himself in dissipation, or consumed by the servants of the state, the fruit of whose labour does not reappear in the shape of a capital for the support of future labour, instead of being consumed by the servants of a manufactory, the product of whose labour will command a price that is to purchase and maintain their labour for the year which is to come. All this undoubtedly takes place for that year—an increase of unproduc-

tive consumption—a diminution of capital. But in the very next revolution of the cycle, there is a restorative process which brings all right again, and that, whether with the now diminished capital, there is the same work performed for less wages, or less work for the same wages. In the one case, less of the annual produce than before is consumed on the personal and household expenses of labourers. In the other case, a smaller product is served out to customers than before, in return for that price by which dealers are enabled to recruit their capital: even that product, which, turned to immediate use by its purchasers, may be regarded as entering into the stock for their consumption. It is thus, that if, on the preceding revolution, too much of the produce may have passed from capital into consumption, on the next revolution, it will, by a sure economic law, vibrate back again from consumption into capital. In other words, there is a *vis medicatrix* in the economic machine itself, that should supersede much of that anxiety which legislators have expended on it; and in virtue of which it is, that much of their vigilance, and many of their labours are uncalled for. It is a want of confidence in this, that has wholly misplaced their care, and wholly misled their policy on many questions of commercial legislation. It is true, that on most of these topics, they have now ceased to be sensitive. But they are still sensitive on the subject of capital; and, in their treatment of this very question of combinations, we can perceive the

fearful imagination of certain irrevocable evils that will ensue, should either the functions of capital for a time be suspended, or a portion of capital itself be forced, in some season of difficulty and embarrassment, to take its departure away from our borders.

But before proceeding to this application, it might be right to allege something further, in illustration of our general views on the subject of capital. Although the waste created by an occasional extravagance, on the part of a few individuals, can thus easily be repaired, does it follow, that capital is indestructible by any amount or degree of extravagance whatever? Even though it has maintained itself against the most expensive wars, and borne up under the oppression of a large public debt, every shilling of which was abstracted from capital, are we thence to infer, that no process of abstraction can be set agoing, which might utterly exhaust it? Must there not be a limit to the possibility of capital thus surviving the adverse influences which are brought to bear upon it; and though, at a certain rate of bleeding, it may keep as strong and healthy as ever, may it not still be made to bleed so profusely, as gradually to consume away, and finally to expire?

But though we must admit, that there is a possible way of bringing on the decay, and at length the extinction of a nation's capital, it does not therefore follow, that there should be any practical alarm of such an event, as at all probable,

or like to be realized. There is just the same possibility, and might be the same alarm, on the subject of population. A war could be imagined of utter extermination in the country, or a pestilence which might carry off the last man of its inhabitants. But history has scarcely, if ever, given authentic record of such a war, or of such a pestilence; and, in point of experience, after almost all the actual visitations of this sort, we have witnessed in a few years the population so replenished, and made up again, as to have presented no voids or vacancies, as vestiges of the many thousands that had fallen. Such is the expansive force of population, that it has now ceased to be the care of our rulers, or rather their care has of late taken the opposite direction. There is no alarm lest the numbers should not keep up to the subsistence. The anxiety is, that they shall keep within the subsistence. At all events, the old policy upon this subject has been completely superseded. It is no longer conceived of population, that it needs the fostering hand of a legislature, for the purpose either of augmenting it, or of keeping it up to that amount which the country's good shall render expedient. We do not hear, as formerly, either of checks to emigration, or of fears lest disease should waste away the inhabitants of our land.—Neither would it now be one of the arguments against a new war, that it might permanently bring down the population of our empire, and so inflict an irrecoverable damage

on this great element of national prosperity and strength. We are now familiarized to other views upon this subject, and have become satisfied of the force and facility wherewith the population repairs the inroads that are made upon it. An unwonted mortality, caused by the ravages of an epidemic in one year, is followed by an unwonted number of births through two or three succeeding years. And so of the ravages in any country of our most desolating wars. And so also of the drain that is caused by a continued efflux of our people in the way of emigration. It would just create space for a larger influx in the way of births; and the influx would take place accordingly. It is conceivable, nay, possible, that there may be such an epidemic as shall wholly depopulate our land—and such a war as may turn it into a wilderness—and such an emigration as may leave it altogether empty: but practically, we do not stand in dread of any such; and so population has ceased to be one of those topics which influence the calculations or the measures of government, in the way that it used to do. It has now become one of those interests, for which those apprehensions are no longer felt, that wont to embarrass and mislead the policy of our rulers. It is found to have a *vis medicatrix* of its own, which requires no helping hand from any other quarter. There can be no question as to the individual suffering which disease, and war, and even emigration, bring in their train; but their effect on the general aggregate of a country's population

is but slight even at the time, and can easily be recovered; and as it is with aggregates that a legislature have properly to do, they have begun to regard population as one of those self-regulating interests, from which it is far better that the regulations or encouragements of the state should be altogether withdrawn.

It is not so yet with capital. This is another of our economic interests, which has been the subject of kindred alarm, and we think fully as groundless as any of those which were felt aforetime on the subject of population. There is a like expansive force with both; in virtue of which, each in every given state of a country's progress, will be of that magnitude which the country can best sustain, and in all seasons will vary just at the rate which is best suited to the country's circumstances. A superabundance of food will afford room for large families by which to increase the population. A superabundance of business, created by the wants of this growing population, will afford large profits by which to increase the capital. There is no danger of either not keeping pace, and by its own proper forces, with the natural course of things; and it were just as unwise to force a capital upon a business whose profits could not afford an adequate return, as to force a population upon a country whose food could not afford an adequate subsistence. The food will certainly draw a population; and the population under a system of secure property and equitable laws, will as certainly

draw a capital after it. The legislature have been led to regard the one, but not yet the other, in the light of a self-regulating interest. They are still haunted by the visions of a diminished, or of a departing capital. They do not yet apprehend, as in population, the sufficiency of those restorative forces, by which it is not only kept up to that amount which is most for the advantage of the country, but by which, like population, it tends to an overplus. The views still, in fact, of our best economic writers, have led them to regard capital more as a leader, than as a follower in the train of national prosperity—more as the creator of that prosperity, than as itself the creation of it. They do not yet perceive, when a vacancy is formed in capital, how instantly there are forces set agoing by which it can be filled up again, as surely as a vacuum in Nature by a collapse of the surrounding atmosphere. They fear, lest, with any inroad on capital, there shall be an inroad on all those economic interests which constitute the strength and fulness of a nation; and this fear still continues to embarrass a policy which has now been emancipated from the thraldom of many other fears. If this were to appear in any question at all, it was most natural that it should on a question between masters and workmen. There is no longer the apprehension now, lest our nation should suffer from the declining numbers of the latter; but there is the apprehension still, that it may suffer from the declining capital of the

former. The one we hold to be as much a bugbear as the other; and in this controversy between the two parties, we should regret if government were to be misled by any bugbear, from the path of evenhanded justice between them.

They are now in full possession of the confidence, that population will soon recover itself from the horrors of war or of disease, or will maintain itself under the copious and repeated draughts of a system of emigration. But so also will capital. The armies that, in passing over the face of a territory, should destroy one third of the capital of clothiers, will leave the soil in possession of all its capabilities; and, when the population does come up again to the level of these capabilities, will leave as many men to be clothed as well as fed, and willing to offer their services, or the price of them, for their wonted supply of the second, as well as the first necessary of life. But till the capital is repaired, the supply of cloth is short, and the profit of cloth-making is high; nor will it cease to be so, till the capital be fully built up again. Ere this is accomplished, the people are worse clothed, at the same expense, than they had used to be. This is the great hardship; but it is a temporary one. This is the way in which the loss has to be borne; but after the season of endurance is over, all the vestiges of the desolation are filled up, and no longer visible. The country emerges again into its old state, and recovers not merely the symptoms, but

the stamina of a state as healthy and flourishing as before.

And there is a like analogy between population and capital, in respect of the waste which the former undergoes by disease. A prevalent physical distemper might seize upon households, and carry off many families. The consequent abundance of provisions will speedily bring forward other families in their room. A prevalent moral distemper, even that of ruinous extravagance, might seize upon merchants, and sweep away many of our capitals. The consequent abundance of profits will construct other capitals, and raise up other capitalists, with a rapidity like that of magic. We question not the individual distress that is caused by the death of relatives, and the downfal of fortunes in families. But we are reasoning on the public calamity which, it is feared, might ensue from these events, in virtue either of a deficient population, or a deficient capital. The individual distress is a dire and dreadful reality. The public calamity is a mere imagination. There takes place an almost immediate adjustment to neutralise it; after which, the country is as full of people, and as full of capital, as ever.

But population has its preventive, as well as its positive checks. Instead of disease carrying off families from the stage of existence, families may be prevented from ever entering on the stage, by the celibacy of our present generation. It is true,

that, if the celibacy were universal, the present generation would not be replaced by a succeeding one; but it is also true, that, though very many were to refrain from marriage, this would just make room for others to have families, who could not otherwise have been able to rear or to dispose of them; and with a very large proportion of celibacy, the population of the country may still be fully kept up to its means of subsistence. And, in like manner, there might be capitals, which come into the hands of thoughtless and extravagant men, who dissipate them in some rapid whirl of extravagance; and so they are never brought upon the field of business at all. This will just permit a freer and more prosperous operation to the capitals that are brought forward, and ensure to them a safety and a profit which they could not else have realised; so as that, at any rate, a capital is upheld, commensurate to the need which there is for it, or to the business which it has to do. It is true, that, should all the owners of capitals either withdraw or withhold them from business, and choose to waste them utterly, capital would wholly disappear. Still it is also true, that capital does not suffer in extent, though there are many spendthrifts; just as the population does not suffer in extent, though there are many old bachelors.

Neither in population, nor yet in capital, are the preventive checks carried so far as to supersede the positive. It is because of the too frequent

and too early marriages, that the field of competition for labour, and for its wages, is overcrowded; that families jostle out each other; that so many are outcasts from well-paid employment; that disease is engendered among them by spare living, and thins the overpeopled land of its numbers, by the premature deaths of infancy and childhood. To the mere student of political science, it may wear the air and the boldness of a paradox, when we affirm of capital, that too little goes into the stock for immediate consumption, and too much is adventured upon the field of commerce—that the competition for business, and for its profits, is greatly overcrowded—that traders jostle out each other, and so many become outcasts from safe or gainful merchandise—that what disease does with the redundant population, bankruptcy does with the redundant capital of our land; relieving the overdone trade of its excess, and so reducing capital within those limits beyond which it cannot find any safe or profitable occupancy. This might appear wild and extravagant to a disciple of any of our reigning schools; and yet we describe nothing but the daily and familiar experience of practical men. Should the capital of a million suffice for the trade of Britain in the one article of pepper, and half a million more, at a loss for employment, and seeking about for a proper investiture, be adventurously thrust into the business by its side, it would be absorbed in losing speculations. And so of capital in all other

trades. There is a limit beyond which, for the time being, it can find no return; just as there is a limit beyond which, for the time being, the population can find no subsistence. In both cases there is a check to further extension, and in neither case does the preventive check keep capital or population within their limits, but each presses upon them, and encounters the positive check by which the one is kept even with the food, and the other with the business of the world.

Legislators have now ceased from their alarm for the emigration of people. They have truly as little reason to be alarmed for the emigration of capital. To meet the first alarm, we may quote the authority of Dr. Smith, when he says, that man, after all, is the most sluggish, and the least transportable of all commodities; so that it will be only a few out of the many who will renounce home, and all its charms, for the perils of a distant and untried land. This is very true; but another security is, that although many were to go out from amongst us, their place would speedily be filled up again by the elastic force of population. To meet the second alarm, we may quote the authority of Ricardo, who speaks of the heavy disadvantages to which the vast majority of traders will submit in their own country, ere they can be tempted to transfer their operations to another. This also is true; but there is a farther security in the elastic force of capital,—the effect of its withdrawment from any business upon the profits of

that business—the certainty wherewith, under this principle, it will speedily regain its greatness, and be as commensurate as before to the work which it had to do; so that, if we have nothing to fear from the egress of our country's population, we have just as little to fear from the egress of its capital.

At first sight, we perceive not the error which is involved in the regret of those who would calculate on a much greater population in this our day, had there been no wars in the last or in former generations, or who think that the census of our numbers would have yielded a much larger return, had the vaccine inoculation been discovered earlier. This is quite a process of reflection, that many an economist of the last century would have gone along with. And still the economist of our present century will both feel and utter a kindred regret on the subject of capital, as if there would have been more of trading capital in the land at this moment, had it not been for the expenditure of so many wars, or the extravagance of so many spendthrifts. This is precisely the regret which Dr. Smith indulges in; and it is quite evident, that he could never have anticipated such a fulness of capital, along with such a weight of public debt, as are both verified so strikingly at present. It is evident from his work, that he occasionally had bright glimpses of the true theory of population; and that had he entered on a distinct prosecution of this subject, he would soon have per-

ceived by how speedy an operation it was, that all its gaps were repaired. There is likewise a speedy operation for filling up the gaps or deficiencies that either public or private expense effects upon capital; and we have as little reason for believing that it would have been greater now, had it not been for the dissipation of so much treasure in our wars, as that the population would have been greater now had it not been for the loss of so many lives in battle, or for the ravages of the small-pox.

From the description which Dr. Smith has given of what we have ventured to term the great economic cycle, it will be seen how much the annual produce of the land and labour can do, even in the course of one revolution. It can replenish the circulating capital of the country, and it can keep in repair all its fixed capital; and, over and above this, it supplies the whole of the immediate consumption. If too much have been taken in any one year into the stock for immediate consumption, both an encroachment may have been made on the circulating capital, and the fixed capital may have fallen thereby into a certain state of disrepair; and, altogether, the trading capital of the nation will, in some of its branches, be less effective than usual; and some commodities will become scarcer and dearer than before. We have already experienced how this causes the annual produce of next year to vibrate back again from the stock of immediate consumption into capital,

so as to restore it to its old amount and efficiency. The same produce, out of which, in one revolution, all that capital which circulates is replaced, and all that capital which is fixed is upholden, can surely in one, or at most in a very few revolutions more, make up the fraction by which, through the extravagance of any one year, both those capitals have in some degree been diminished. This is done by the action of a diminished capital upon profits, which restores the capital as surely as the population is restored from any diminution which it may have sustained, by the action of that diminution upon wages.

There is much of palpable history which can only be accounted for by this regenerating power of capital, and without which principle many things can only be wondered at without being understood. Even in the hands of Smith, the buoyancy of our nation, under the weight of the national debt, was an unresolved mystery; and there is much in the state of other nations, which even our most approved systems of political economy are too meagre in experimental truth thoroughly to account for. The confident imagination of Mr. Pitt, as to the impending ruin of France, because of her commerce being in a state of stagnation, and her capital wasting away, or languishing for the want of productive employment, was the natural error of a devotee of the mercantile school, from the lessons of which we never can gather the explanation of that strong

and youthful prosperity into which she so suddenly emerged. It belongs to the same class of phenomena, that Russia and Austria, and the other states of the continent, recruited so speedily from the desolations that passed over them, and that now, as healthy in their economic condition as ever, there is not one trace to be found in them of the footsteps of the destroyer. These facts are still gazed at by the politician, as so many anomalies; whereas they are but the confirmations of a general law. For let the agriculture of a country, that has just been delivered of its ruthless invaders, yield its wonted quantity of subsistence, and the high wages that are given to its surviving labourers will speedily bring on the families which shall replace its population; and the high profits that are given to its surviving traders shall as speedily replace its capital; and the country, indestructible as the phœnix, shall, in a few years, rise again out of the ruins of its overthrow, unto all the freshness and glory of its proudest days.

So that capital, like population, is one of those self-regulating interests, the care of which does not properly belong to a legislature. The fear lest it should depart from our kingdom by successive removals, is altogether chimerical. The very first portion that went abroad, if only large enough for the effect, would cause a larger profit at home, which should act first by a detaining power on the capital that was left behind, and then, by an extending power, again to fill up the vacancy. It is

not for government to concern itself about an interest which the laws of political economy have abundantly provided for. There may be a call upon its justice, when the rights of any one order of men are encroached upon by the aggression of another, but let not this be complicated with other objects, as on the occasion before us; nor let it imagine any call upon its wisdom or its authority for the protection of an economic interest, that is abundantly safe without its interference.

If, any where, a combination could force an indefinite addition to wages, we should regard that of the sailors in the Tyne, as, perhaps, one of the most formidable; not because of its effect on the shipping interest there, but because of its effect on the supply of coals in London. One might imagine the two parties, the sailors and shipmasters, to be most obstinately at a stand; and each resolved not to comply with the terms or propositions of the other. If the trade be, in consequence, suspended, the first effect is to raise the price of coals in London, and, perhaps, to lower the price at Newcastle. The tendency of this were to enhance the profits of a voyage, so as to enable, it may be, the ship-owner both to raise the wages of the seamen, and to have additional gain for himself. It is conceivable, however, that even this temptation of a mutual advantage might not prevail upon them to come to an agreement; in which case, we should have the spectacle prolonged, both of unemployed men, and of unemployed capital. We should like

that such an experiment were permitted to have its full swing, for it would land, we think, in an experience more tranquillizing far, than all the terror and authority of legislation. In the first place, the men could not stand out indefinitely. Their resources must waste rapidly away; nor could all the devices of union and committeeship ward off the starvation which must sooner or later compel a surrender. But the dread seems to be, lest the capital should moulder away, or take flight in the mean time. It is very true that the vessels might fall into disrepair; and the owners, from want of their accustomed returns, might suffer them to deteriorate. It is also true, that some of them might abandon this scene of idleness, and go in quest of employment, to other, and, perhaps, to foreign places; thereby giving plausibility to the fears which have been expressed, of capital being lost to our land by emigration. But then new forces would come into action; and, it is more than probable, that the very first movement in this direction would be of avail to break the confederacy. All the prospects of the men would be utterly reversed, and all their calculations frustrated, when, instead of so many ships waiting for sailors, sailors beheld the ships moving away from the trade, one after another, and felt themselves to be irrecoverably losing them. There would be a look to them of disaster and menace in the change which they saw to be approaching, when, instead of more ships than there were sailors willing to man them,

there were palpably more and more of sailors every week, than there were remaining ships for their accommodation. There is nought but unfaultering perseverance requisite on the part of capitalists to dislodge men from unreasonable terms. Would they only brave the hazards and the consequences as much as they might, there would be less, both of trouble to the legislature, and of danger to the peace of society. And, after the surrender is made in this instance, what is there so very irremediable, in the disabled and somewhat diminished shipping of the trade, after that the trade has again been set agoing? Should there not, for a time, be a sufficient apparatus for the transportation of coals to London, less of coal would be transported, and a greater price would be given for it, till repairs were completed, and additional vessels were procured, and the shipping were made as commensurate to its business as before. The capital would, almost on the instant, be got up again, at the expense, no doubt, of the families in London, who, for a season, would have less of fuel, and at a heavier cost, than they had been used to. And even, without taking into account the rush of capital from without, to repair the deficiencies that had been incurred upon the Tyne, we can see, how, out of the energies of the trade itself, there would be a quick re-ascent of capital, up to the point of its full ability for the business which it had to perform.

We are quite sensible that matters will never

proceed so far. We have now got upon an imaginary field; but just imaginary, because combinations are not so impregnable as to permit of the supposition that alarms our legislature ever being realized. Sailors will not hold out, till ships shall either be withdrawn, or taken down in the despair of employment. Or, in other words, the process by which it is apprehended that capital and its attendant commerce are to take leave of our island, so far from taking effect to any extent, will not even be so much as entered upon. But it should complete our security, that the very beginning of such a process would prove the decisive blow which should annihilate the confederacy that caused it; and that on the trade being set up again, it would, on its own resources, make up, in a few months, all the capital which had been wasted, or removed from it. For ourselves, we do not even anticipate the commencement of the process; and though we did anticipate, we should not fear it—believing, as we do, that in its ulterior consequences, it would prove innocent of all harm to the economic welfare of our nation. These consequences, indeed, are so far ulterior, as not to have been distinctly perceived; and in virtue of the spectral dimness and magnitude wherewith they are accordingly invested, they have power to mislead the judgment, by disturbing the imagination.

Long indeed ere it come to this, in the case that we have now selected for illustration, there

would certain other forces come into play, and by which the whole embarrassment might speedily be terminated. A suspension of the trade between Newcastle and London, would cause, and that almost instantly, an enormous rise in the price of coals; and, out of this, encouragement could be afforded to ships and sailors from a distance; and against this attempted monopoly in the Tyne, a force of competition could be brought from all parts of the kingdom, and nothing could prevent it but a confederacy extending over all the ports, and including all seamen; and even were such a confederacy possible, foreign vessels, and manned by foreigners, could be hired. This is the vulnerable place at which to aim, and through which it will be easy to bring down the combination. And we are aware that this also is the place where the outstanding workmen, skilled in the whole tactics and management of such a war, put forth their fiercest resistance. The violence, and the outrage, and the intimidation, are chiefly directed against the new hands that are brought to occupy the place which they have left; and could these be kept down, the victory over combinations is secured. This, then, is the great object towards which the force and the wisdom of legislation should be directed. We do not see the obvious justice of the enactment that would make simple combination amongst the labourers, who choose not to work, unlawful. But there is a justice, the most obvious and unquestionable, in the enact-

ment, that would make every encroachment on the freedom of those labourers who are willing to work unlawful. Let such then be the enactment, and the only enactment; but armed, if necessary, with penalties greatly more formidable than any which our legislature has yet ventured upon. The whole sense and feeling of the community would bear out our rulers, when they came forward in this attitude—not as the oppressors of workmen, but as the protectors of the most needy and helpless of them all—the protectors, in truth, of the weak against the strong, of the less powerful among the labourers against the terror and tyranny of a most odious monopoly on the part of the more powerful. This is the right place for the application of law; and were law just strong enough and vigilant enough in its application here, there would just be as little need for the revival of the old common, as for the revival of the old statute law, against combinations, simply and in themselves. Our preference would certainly have been, that the common law against combinations had not been revived; but that a new and still more efficient law had been enacted for the punishment of all offences against the liberty of individual workmen. One does not altogether see the equity of a restraint upon the mere act of combination; but one immediately sees the equity of a restraint upon all sorts of violence. We believe that, upon the strength of the latter restraint alone, the triumph over all unrighteous combinations would soon have been practi-

cally carried. This we deem to be the more excellent way. By admitting a doubtful principle into any department of our public administration, we admit into it an element of weakness. On the other hand, nothing can resist the authority, all whose enactments are at one with conscience and natural morality, and when law quadrates with that sense of justice which is in every bosom. A law against all intimidation and violence, though fortified by the strongest sanctions, and most rigidly enforced in every instance of infringement, would have just been such a law. We are quite confident that, by its own single strength, it could achieve the victory over all that is really hurtful and unfair in combinations. The country never can be tranquillized under the operation of a law, although in power it is absolute, if in principle it is ambiguous. But a sure and lasting tranquillity will be the result, when the law in the statute-book, is at one with the law of the heart; and so, when, with whatever terrors it may be guarded, or with whatever severities it may be upheld, it carries the public sentiment irresistibly along with it.

We therefore persist in thinking, that all injurious combinations would have been more effectually gotten the better of, had the authority of the common law against combinations, merely as such, not been revived; and instead of making that to be an indictable offence, which does not very clearly offend against any principle of right or of equity, had the whole force of law been directed to the

one object of defending the freedom of individual workmen, against the injustice of those popular corporations, which, because they are popular, are not therefore the less flagrantly deformed by all that is odious and tyrannical in the corporation spirit. In this way the new act might have breathed but one expression, the expression of friendship to the unprotected, and to the unprotected among workmen, too. It would then have been in complete harmony with the spirit of the former ones. The object of the first was to set up, in behalf of labourers, a defensive stay against the alleged oppression of their masters. The object of the second would have been to set up, in behalf of labourers, a defensive stay against the actual oppression of their own fellows in society. If the first was at all necessary for the freedom of the working classes, the second is indispensable for the completion of it. To have this liberty fully made out and secured for them, there must be a liberty to work for any, as well as a liberty not to work at all. The one liberty is that which masters might be tempted to violate, and it is right, therefore, that it should have a safeguard provided for it. The other liberty is that which fellow-servants might be tempted to violate, and it is equally right that it should have a safeguard provided for it. We are quite satisfied, that the one liberty would fully neutralize any mischief that might be dreaded from the other. If, in consequence of all being at liberty not to work, the artizans of any establishment should

strike their tools, and bring its industry to a stand, then, in consequence of all being also at liberty to work, a door would be opened for the competition of the whole population, and this industry be again most surely and speedily set agoing. The distinct business of law should be, to keep that door open, and the access to it safe, whether for young apprentices, or for workmen from all other places of the land. Let but competition be secure, and there is not one injurious combination that would not in time be defeated by it: and its members, in having exiled themselves to the condition of unprovided outcasts, would be sorely punished for the extravagant and unreasonable demands which they had made. Better this natural punishment, than punishment under an arbitrary law, whose principle, at best, was doubtful, and could be but dimly apprehended. Better than all the correctives of an artificial jurisprudence, are the correctives of the free and equitable system itself; and over which government presides not as the partizan of one class of society in opposition to another, but as the parent that abjured all favouritism, and stood forth the equal protector of all its families.

The intimidation of new or strange workmen by others, who, either by wealth, or by numbers, are more powerful than themselves, is not to be borne with; and no expense, whether of agency, or treasure, should be spared to put it down. We should rather that half the British navy were put into requisition, to ensure the manning of our mer-

chant vessels by the sailors who would, than that any obstruction should remain impracticable, which may have been thrown in their way by the sailors who would not. At a hundredth part, we believe, of this exertion, all that is needed or is desirable in this way could be accomplished. But still, while the fermentation lasts, and ere that full experience, so tranquillizing to workmen themselves, is not yet completed, it should be the distinct object of our nation's policy, and of our nation's police, to protect the independence of all persecuted workmen. And, for such an object, whatever strengthening of the nation's police was requisite, we are sure that the voice of the nation would go most thoroughly along with it. Connected with a purpose like this, a strong executive would be hailed by all the true patriots of our land; employed as it would be, not in fastening the chains of a universal oppression, but in unlocking these chains, and so acting as the guarantee and the guardian of a universal liberty. It seems an axiom in the rights of men, that none shall be forced to work who is unwilling. But it is surely an axiom as indisputable, that all shall be suffered to work who are willing. The line of equity between them, is, on the one hand, to permit the combination, and, on the other, to protect all who do not belong to them, from the terror and the tyranny of combinations. So long as they are not permitted, the popular mind will continue to fester under a sense of provocation, that will have much of the sem-

blance, and somewhat, perhaps, of the reality of justice in it. And this will be further influenced by the imaginary virtue which they will still ascribe to an expedient not yet fully tried, and from which they will conceive themselves debarred by the hand of arbitrary power. But, with the permission to them, and the protection to all others, not one shadow of complaint will be left to them. They will have leave to try their own boasted expedient, and it will be a pacific experience, both to the country and themselves: for sooner far than our fears will allow us to think, they will make full proof of its impotency. We feel persuaded, that, in a few months, this feverishness would subside, and at length give way to the sound and the settled conviction, that, after all, by the turbulence of their politics and associated plans, nothing is to be gained. And so we should look for a tranquillity more solid than our land has ever yet enjoyed, as the precious fruit of that temperate, yet firm legislation, which can at once be tolerant of combinations, yet most sternly intolerant of crimes.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ON THE EFFECT WHICH THE HIGH PRICE OF LABOUR IN A COUNTRY HAS UPON ITS FOREIGN TRADE.

THERE can be no doubt of that impartial spirit which so honourably signalizes the rulers of our country; and in virtue of which, they have the unquestionable inclination to deal fairly and equally with all. We do not think that the most enthusiastic friends of the lower orders can reproach our government with an undue bias to the other classes of society; or if ever, in arbitrating between them, there is a seeming preference of masters to servants, that they have been led to it, either by a partiality of affection towards the rich, or by any lordly indifference to the rights and interests of the poor. There is a principle of even-handed justice which runs throughout nearly all the public administrations of our land; and when at any time bewildered from this rectilinear path, it is, generally speaking, not a favouritism towards one order of the community, but a false imagination of what is best for the interests of all the orders, that leads them astray. In other words, theirs is an honest, though at times a mistaken legislation; and to this nought has contributed more than a dim-sighted political economy, a science through the opacities of which, when Par-

liament does attempt to flounder, it is all most purely and uprightly for the best. It is truly a cheering contemplation, to behold the effect of that light which is now breaking upon them; and how, under its guidance, they are fast purifying our jurisprudence from the errors and the many crudities of former generations. But it will take a-time ere the emancipation is completed. And meanwhile, we think, that there are certain economic dogmata, which do sway our politicians against the cause and interest of the working classes, and which dispose them to look adversely and fearfully to that higher status, towards which a virtuous and intelligent peasantry must at length make their way.

This proceeds from the association, in their minds, between a rise in the price of British labour, and a proportional fall in the extent and prosperity of British commerce. It will bring down, it is thought, our ascendancy in foreign markets; and the introduction of this new element, like the problem of the three bodies in physics, has thickened the perplexities of the whole speculation. Its general effect is, to give a hostile feeling towards a more liberal remuneration for the industry of workmen at home, lest this should proceed so far as to limit, and perhaps destroy, our merchandise abroad, and so bereave our nation of the gains of that merchandise. It is thus conceived, that the avenues may be closed of that trade which binds us to the surrounding world,

and by which the whole world, it is thought, becomes tributary to the wealth and importance of our Empire. The price of labour forms one main ingredient of the price of every commodity which labour is wrought up into. Should this price then become too high at home, the price of its produce may become too high for being disposed of abroad. The article that wont to be exported, and which could be bought at such a rate here as to be sold again with advantage there, can no longer be made the subject of this profitable transaction. In other words, because of the high wages, the trade upon which they were earned comes to a cessation; and, as the fruit of our attempt to elevate the status of labourers by means of a higher recompense for their work, the fear is, that foreign trade, in the occupations of which so many of our capitalists reap their incomes, and so many of our labourers reap their livelihoods, may be wholly swept away.

The whole of our policy for centuries has been directed to the object of enabling merchants to export as cheaply as possible, so that they may undersell the competitors of all other nations, and thus obtain possession of the foreign markets. For this purpose, if taxes were imposed on any article when brought into the country, they were generally taken off, in whole or in part, when sent out of it again; or, the tax that was laid on the commodity manufactured by ourselves, and intended for consumption at home, was remitted

when carried forth to be made the subject of a bargain abroad; or every device was employed to furnish the industry of our own people with the raw material on the easiest terms, by giving every encouragement to its importation, and burdening its exportation with the heaviest duties. But when, instead of the exportation of raw material, it came to the exportation of produce that had been wrought out of it, then, in place of duties being imposed, bounties were given. And all, that the merchant might be enabled to effect a sale in foreign parts, with advantage to himself at least, and so involving, it was supposed, the utmost advantage to the country at large. Now, the whole of this policy would be traversed by the high price of British labour, affecting, as it would, the rate at which its products could be sold, just as a tax would on the high price of the raw material. It is thus that many apprehend, as the result of greater wages, the ruin of many branches of our foreign trade, and the consequent ruin of all those manufactures which this trade kept agoing. This were enough, with many a shrewd and secular politician, to condemn, as an idle romance, the whole speculation of a higher-conditioned peasantry. Their imagination is, that it would bereave us of our commerce. They could tolerate a larger payment for the services of our workmen, if it only subjected the other classes of society at home to a higher price for all manufactured commodities. This would

just have the effect of admitting labourers into a more equal share of the enjoyments of life with the holders of capital and the proprietors of land. To this no objection would be felt by many who might foresee an insuperable objection in another quarter. We cannot, beyond a certain extent, subject the people abroad to this higher price for our manufactured commodities. They might find them cheaper elsewhere, and we should lose our customers. The trade, with all its beneficial ramifications, might thus be destroyed. And the feeling is, that what might else have been desirable, even a more liberal recompense for the industry of our workmen, must be deprecated and guarded against to the uttermost, when thus blended in their apprehension with the overthrow, or, at least, the derangement of a great national interest.

To meet this imagination, it may be observed, in the first place, that although our export manufacturers find their market abroad, and fetch their prices from customers there, yet, it does not necessarily follow that the wealth of these foreign purchasers is the primary fountain out of which either their own profit, or the maintenance of their workmen has flowed. The process, in the greater number of instances, is thus. The produce of our home industry is sent to some country abroad; as, for example, our hardware and haberdashery to Portugal. By this trade there are so many debtors constituted in Portugal, to so many creditors in Britain. On the other hand, there is a trade by

which foreign produce is imported into our country, as of wine from Portugal, for the use of consumers at home. By this trade there are constituted so many debtors in Britain, to so many creditors in Portugal. The two trades are carried on by wholly distinct individuals, who, throughout the whole of their respective operations, may have no right, and take no cognizance of each other. The export manufacturers of Britain appear only to do with their Portuguese customers; and to these good customers they may ascribe both their own prosperity, and the livelihood of a numerous dependent population. And, conversely, the wine growers of Portugal may look only towards the British customers, with the same feeling of dependence upon their payments, and of dread lest, by any chance, trade, wherewith they link so much of their revenue, should be interrupted or put an end to. The exporters of each country look to the other, as that out of which their prosperity emanates; and the imagination is not peculiar to them, that if the channels of interchange were in any way obstructed, a large portion of the integral wealth of each would thereby disappear—even a portion, at the least competent to, and therefore commensurate with the profits of all the capitalists engaged in these trades, and the wages of all the workmen.

Now, this is a very natural, and certainly the general conception of men unpractised in economic speculation. And we are not even sure, if there

be much in our most esteemed economic theories that is fitted to rectify it. It does not, however, require a very piercing or profound sight into the arcana of the subject, to prove, that however great might be the alarm of individuals concerned in this trade, did it come to a termination, there is really nothing in this event that should alarm a patriot or a statesman, either for the strength or the safety of our nation. For let us only notice how it is that the British creditors of Portugal are paid. There might be a direct remittance from the debtors in Portugal; but this is not the way of it, any more than there is a direct remittance from the consumers of wine in Britain to the growers of it in Portugal. The matter is adjusted in this way. The debtors to Portugal in Britain, are made over to the creditors of Portugal in Britain by bills of exchange. By a similar device, the debtors to Britain in Portugal are made over to the creditors of Britain in Portugal. It is thus that our export manufacturers are virtually brought into contact with the inland consumers of this country. Their orders come to them from customers abroad, but their payments come to them from consumers at home. They apparently are working in the service of those who wear British cloth, and make use of British hardware in Portugal; but effectively, they are working in the service of those who drink the wine, and eat the oranges, and use the dye-stuffs of Portugal, in Britain. The imports from Portugal are paid by

exports to Portugal; and they of Britain who work up, or furnish the exports, obtain their return from them of Britain who use the imports. This is the real character of the transaction between the two countries. That part of our British population, who are engaged, whether by manufactures or by commerce, in this export trade, might have had the same maintenance from the hand of British consumers, in the direct employment of ministering to their enjoyment, by serving them with articles of home manufacture. But the consumers happen to have a preference for certain foreign articles, and so the former are sent out in exchange for the latter; and there is the substitution of so much foreign for so much home trade. Still, it is virtually in the service of inland consumers, that these export manufacturers are employed; not in preparing the commodities which they use, but in preparing that which purchases the commodities they use; and, in return for this service, they obtain their full maintenance, not out of a fulness that is in Portugal, but out of a fulness that is in the fountain-heads of their own land.

It would not be difficult to estimate the precise advantage of such a foreign trade as we are now imagining. Let the value exported in hardware be just equal to the value imported in wine, and a trade, consisting of these two processes, does not add to the population of the country, for there is no subsistence imported by it. It does not fetch a maintenance to the people who work up hard-

ware for exportation. All that it fetches is wine, in consideration of which, a maintenance is given to these people by those who drink it, out of home resources, and home granaries. But still this foreign trade does something. It supplies the inland consumers with an article which they like, better than any other which they could procure in its place. It is altogether a mistake, that it supplies our export manufacturers with their livelihood. This is dealt out to them by the consumers of wine, and might have been dealt out to them with equal liberality, in return for any article of home industry, had there been no foreign trade, or no wine imported by it. But the foreign trade has in this instance presented another article which the consumers choose in preference, and for which they afford as good, but not a better maintenance, to as great, but not a greater population. All that this foreign trade has done, is to bring in wine to a set of home consumers, who, but for the foreign trade, would have had to be satisfied with something else. It has substituted for them one enjoyment in place of another. Their taste is better suited, in consequence, than it otherwise would have been, and this is certainly an advantage. But there is nothing more; for every thing beside which stands connected with the wine trade, is just as it would have been, although there had been no such trade. There would have been the same amount of industry, but directed to another object. There would have been the same

population, but engaged in another service. There would have been the same maintenance for that population. The ability which can now uphold so many export manufacturers, who work up hardware, and get wine in return for it, lies with the purchasers of that wine at home; and should this foreign trade be destroyed, the ability is still in reserve to uphold the discarded manufacturers, equally well, in another employment. They suffer a temporary inconvenience from the change, and certain inland consumers would suffer a permanent inconvenience. But we contend that it forms the whole, and the only inconvenience which can be sustained by the destruction of this foreign trade —even that the affluent of our land are bereft of one gratification, and forced to take up with another, and to them an inferior gratification, in its room.

Could politicians be led to entertain and to adopt this view of foreign trade, they would cease to associate with its continuance, as they have hitherto done, the very existence, or, at least, the power and prosperity of our nation. But it is just with the foreign, as we have already stated it to be with the home trade. In measuring the value of each, they look to the *terminus ad quem* of neither, but merely to the processes of operation. They prize the mere working of the mechanism, more than they do its workmanship; and in reference to the goods of merchandise, are far more refreshed by the spectacle of their being made, and sorted,

and sent forth, and shipped, and conveyed, than by the spectacle of that gratification which they yield at their final landing-place. The good, according to their estimation, does not appear to lie in the use of the commodities, but in the preparation of them—not in the object which set the industry agoing, but in the bustle, and extent, and spirit, and glowing activities of the industry itself. The delusion is, that this industry is not only the creator of its own produce, but is also the creator of its own maintenance. Now, it must be accredited only with one of these things, for it is in no way entitled to the credit of them both. In such a case of foreign trade as we have supposed, the maintenance lay stored with the consumers of the imported article; and in return for it, went forth among the families of the export manufacturers. Were the trade annihilated, the maintenance would still find its way among the same number of people, in return for a different service. The whole amount of the mischief would lie in the exchange of a better article of consumption, for a worse; or, rather, of a better liked article for a worse. Now, the apprehension is, that a far more tragical consequence than this would ensue from the annihilation of our trade with Portugal—that the operatives in this trade would cease to work, and therefore to live; and not merely that the customers in this trade would cease to drink wine, or to eat oranges. The whole regret would be, that it put a stop to the wonted

production, and not that it put a stop to the wonted consumption; and could it only be seen that all those who were engaged in the production, might be turned to the service of producing something else, and be as well maintained in that service as before, every political alarm, at least, would be tranquillized. The change which had taken place in the consumption, might affect the feelings of private families, but would never call forth the fears of our statesmen. Their big imagination of the West India interest, would be mightily brought down, did they perceive the whole mischief that should ensue from its destruction, to be only of this description, that our tea would no longer be sweetened as it had been heretofore; or of the East India interest, that, on its disappearance from the land, tea itself should forthwith disappear from our breakfast tables: or of any other trading interest whatever, that all the good of its presence to the nation, lay in the article which it furnished, and that all the loss of its absence, or its ruin, lay in the loss of that gratification which was yielded to consumers in the use of that article. The practical likelihood is, that as the ability which now sustains all these interests, would, upon their overthrow, sustain interests of equal extent in some other quarter, other countries abroad would be repaired to in quest of the very same produce, so as to uphold an equal foreign trade, and to secure the same articles of enjoyment as before. But even in the failure of all these resources, and though

forced by some strong political necessity to abandon the whole of our external commerce, and fall back upon ourselves, we should only lose by this the produce of foreign parts, and get, in its room, the produce of that industry of our own people, which took the direction before of export trade and export manufactures; and they, in this new direction of their labour, would be met by the very wages and the very profit which they had formerly. There would neither be loss of population nor loss of industry in consequence. But it would be industry restricted to home products; and we cannot deny, that, in virtue of the restriction, there would be less of enjoyment. This would undoubtedly be a loss, and the whole loss. But other losses of a far more tremendous character than that of enjoyment, float before the imagination of our rulers, and lead them to associate with all these mercantile interests, a might and a magnificence which do not really belong to them.

It is not the loss of the wine, but the loss of the wine trade, that would so disturb our mercantile politicians, on the cessation of all intercourse with Portugal. But could they be made to see, that there is really nothing in the cessation of this intercourse which can deprive us of the maintenance we before had for our export manufacturers, and that so, no other loss but that of the wine would follow upon the loss of the wine trade,—then the charm of our foreign commerce, and by which they have been led so to exaggerate its importance,

might at length be dissipated. They would never once dream of a decay of national strength, because of the mere negation of the wine of Portugal. Neither would they dream of a decay of national strength, in the mere negation of the oranges of Portugal. It would be curious however to observe, whether they might not in all probability demur, should they be told that there is just as little danger to our national prosperity or strength, in the negation of the dye-stuffs of Portugal. This were fitted to revive the old impression of the worth of our manufactures,—an impression founded not on the value of their products, but on a value, *per se*, in their mere processes. When oranges are mentioned, this suggests the idea of mere subserviency to a consumption that might be dispensed with, and the price of it reserved for an equally large return to the export manufacturers in some other service. But when dye-stuffs are mentioned, the first and readiest suggestion is, that of their subserviency to the business of our dye-works, to the employment of producers, and not to the gratification of consumers. The illusion is prolonged by an act of mental transference from one branch of industry to another; and ere it can be dispersed, there must be another transference of our thoughts, from the work of those who put on the colours, to the enjoyment of those who are arrayed in them; and who, in paying for the enjoyment, prove that it is with these the customers, and not with those the

actors of the trade, that the maintenance lies of all its dependent families. If it do not contribute to the strength or greatness of a nation, that so many of it shall drink wine or eat oranges, as little surely does it contribute to any public interest, that they should be arrayed in grey, or green, or yellow, or have any foreign tincture whatever put upon the habiliments which they wear. Yet this, in the present instance, is the whole power of our boasted commerce to aliment and uphold our nation; however inveterate the delusion may be by which it is regarded throughout all its branches, not as a handmaid to the gratifications of those who have a maintenance to bestow on others beside themselves, but as the creator of that maintenance, as the sovereign dispenser of their subsistence, and of their very being, to the families of the land.

It will probably be long ere the principle which we labour to establish, shall be fully acquiesced in; even that all which a trade furnishes to mankind is its own commodity; and that when we describe the use or the gratification of this commodity to the purchaser, we describe the whole advantage of the trade. The sugar trade emanates nothing but sugar; and the tobacco trade nothing but tobacco; and the spice trade nothing but spices. Each emanates its own article, and nothing more. It is not the emanating fountain of a maintenance to those who are engaged in it. It only draws this maintenance from a fountain-

head anterior to itself, and distinct from itself. It does not even pay a tax to government. It is the price given by the consumer which achieves all, and comprehends all. The trade does nought but supply him with its own produce. The other blessings of which it is conceived to be prolific, are all due to the customer. It is he who gives both to government and to capitalists, all the revenue which they derive from the trade; and it is he who gives their subsistence to its labourers.

Were the true functions of trade precisely understood, and its importance reduced to its real and proper dimensions, it would be felt that the strength and stability even of so great a commercial nation as ours, do not rest on a basis so precarious as is commonly apprehended. It is no doubt very natural, that the people of our great manufacturing towns, should feel as if their very existence depended on the foreign countries which afforded a market to their respective commodities; that, with the American market, and the colonial market, and the other distant markets of the world, there should stand associated in their imagination, both the profits of all their trade, and the subsistence of those numerous workmen who are engaged in it; and that thus, as villages grew up to the magnitude of cities, and suburbs took from one year to another a wider circuit than before, it should be conceived that foreign trade was the instrument of all these accessions to the wealth and population of our empire. They are working

for the supply of their immediate customers abroad, and are not conscious that they may, in fact, have been working all the while in the service of consumers at home; that, when exporting muslins to the West Indies, or hard-ware to Portugal, they were, in effect, bringing home the sugar of the one country, and the wine or oranges of the other; and that, in return for these, they drew a revenue and a maintenance from the people of their own land. It may, after all, have been the improvement of the country that surrounds them, that has given extension to our towns. Their population may have increased, just because the aliment that subsists them has increased; and the proprietors of this aliment, now richer than before, can indulge to a greater extent in foreign luxuries than before, and so maintain a greater number of export manufacturers in the service of preparing the articles which go forth in the purchase and in exchange for these luxuries. And so, though an impassable barrier were raised between us and all foreign countries, there might remain as great a population and only a change in their employments; the same amount of industry, and only a change in the distribution of it.

A few more explanations will complete all that we shall advance, at present, on the subject of this chapter.

For the sake of simplicity, we had conceived that the price of the wine imported from Portugal was just equal to that of the hardware exported

from this country. But it is not because wine is imported here, that hardware is exported there. The people here have a taste for their wine; the people there have use for our hardware: and these two circumstances are distinct from and independent of each other. Portugal might come to stand in no need of any hardware from us, and still the squires of Britain might have such a taste for the wine of Portugal, as willingly to persist in their wonted sacrifice to obtain it. If a third country, as France, should attain to the manufacture of hardware of as good a quality and at as cheap a rate, they might dispossess our export trade from the market of Portugal. We should be undersold, and the effect would be, that while imports passed from Portugal into Britain, no exports, of British manufacture at least, would pass in return for them from Britain into Portugal.

There is one way in which this matter could be adjusted. The landed proprietors of Britain would not now support a population of export manufacturers at home, whose employment it was to work up hardware for the payment of the wine that comes from Portugal. But still resolved upon having the wine, they might, rather than want it, export directly of the produce of their estates, for the purchase of a luxury so agreeable to them. And this is just the arrangement that takes place in every country which cannot work manufactures cheap enough to pay for their imports. They pay for it by the exportation of rude produce. This

would be the undoubted effect, if there were a general underselling of the British by other nations, in all foreign countries. Britain would become an exporting country; that is, would export grain in return for the products of foreign lands. That population which, in other circumstances, we could have maintained at home, would be maintained abroad. Our landed proprietors might have a command, as before, of foreign luxuries. With a produce over and above the maintenance of their own households, they could make something of it abroad, if they found no more agreeable use for it at home. If determined upon wine from Portugal, they could, by means of this spare produce, *fetch it to* their doors. But then we should lose our whole population of export manufacturers; and there would be the access thereby of an equal population to other countries. The manufacturers for home consumpt, might still cluster in towns as before; but then these towns should be abridged of export manufacturers; and in proportion as this underselling of Britain took place in foreign markets, in that proportion might Britain fall back towards the limits of her agrarian population.

But it is not the underselling of Britain in one, or even in several countries, which will necessarily produce this effect. Her hardware, for example, and indeed all her other manufactures, might be wholly driven from the market in Portugal, and she continue to import as much wine as before

from that country, without having a single quarter of agricultural produce to export in return for it. We have supposed her undersold in Portugal by France. Let us imagine a million sterling worth of wine imported from Portugal to Britain; and that France now supplies the former country with that million sterling worth of hardware, which Britain had before given in exchange for her wine. Still it is conceivable, that though Britain is not able to cope with France in hardware, she is more than able to cope with her in muslin; and that France herself is supplied from this country with a million worth sterling of that commodity. By this simple export of muslin, might Britain save herself from the export of grain, or of any thing else, to Portugal. She can, in fact, pay the wine imported from Portugal, by the muslin exported to France. She has now, it is true, no debtors in Portugal, whom she can direct, as before, by her bills, to make the payments due to her creditors in Portugal. But she has debtors in France; and these she can make over to her creditors in Portugal. By this device, which it is here unnecessary to explain with any minuteness, the receivers of British muslin in France could pay what they owe for it to the exporters of French hardware to Portugal; and these hardware exporters, having obtained their payment in this way, can leave their debtors in Portugal to settle with the creditors of Britain there, from whom this country received their wine. It is thus that the wine from Portu-

gal is paid by sending out muslin to France; and it is thus that, by the indirect or circuitous route of bills of exchange, the imports from one country may be paid for, not by the exports either of produce or of manufactures to that country, but wholly by the exportation of manufactured goods to other countries.

It is thus that Britain can afford to have larger imports from particular countries, than she can pay for by the export manufactures which she gets disposed of in these countries; and that, without being reduced to the necessity of exporting agricultural produce. To save her from this necessity, it is enough that the value of her export manufactures, on the whole, is equal to the value of her imports on the whole; for then, she pays for these imports, without having to export any rude produce in return for them. In other words, she keeps all her means of subsistence to herself, and with it feeds a population at home, who by their industry provide her with all the foreign commodities that she obtains. Had it been otherwise —had she, from any cause whatever, been put to such heavy expense in the working up of her export articles, as to be undersold by competitors in foreign markets, then, if she still persisted in the use of foreign commodities, she behoved to send forth agricultural produce in return for them; and so to feed a population abroad, which she now feeds at home. Such is the precise effect of being undersold in foreign markets; an effect, however,

which is not realized by our being undersold in some markets, and not in others. If we can but secure as many markets as will take off a value of manufactured goods from us, equal to that of all our imports from all places, then we shall not need to export agricultural produce for the payment of these imports. If those markets do not take off so great a value as that of all our imports, then we shall have to export agricultural produce in payment of the difference. If, on the other hand, they take off a greater value than that of all our imports, the difference is shifted to the other side, and it has to be made up by the importation of agricultural produce.

It is thus that, while the country which is undersold to a certain extent in foreign countries, becomes an exporter, the country which undersells to a certain extent becomes an importer of agricultural produce. Let any country, as Britain, be at that point of neutrality, where her export manufactures just so balanced the foreign commodities imported by her, that she had neither to export nor to import food. Then observe the effect of some sudden cheapening that took place in her working up of these export manufactures, whether by a fall in the price of labour or of raw material, by the invention of machinery, by the discovery of coal, or by any other advantage of her situation for preparing articles of commerce at an easier rate than in neighbouring countries. Let the average reduction in the expense of preparing

commodities for foreign markets be twenty per cent. This, in the first instance, would add twenty per cent. to the profit of the export capitalist; and in the second instance, allure more of capital from other employments to a trade so advantageous; and, in the third, raise the profit in these other employments also, now drained to a certain extent of their capital; and, in the fourth, create among capitalists a desire to extend their trades now more profitable than before, and so a competition among them all for labourers. The effect at home would be to raise wages, and so, eventually, to increase our population by the encouragement given to earlier and more frequent marriages. It is true, that all the while we have not supposed any process going on for an addition to the food, along with this addition to the population of the country. And certainly there is nothing among the earlier steps of the process which we have now described, that should lead at once to an enlargement of the home supply of food, by any stimulus which they are fitted to give to the agriculture of our own land. On the contrary, this rise of wages should rather, in the first instance, contract our agriculture. So far from enabling the husbandman to bring more land into cultivation, it should make the cultivation of the last land taken in, or that which can barely afford a profit, and no rent, cease to be profitable. But although there is no process going on at home for the increase of food, along with the tendency which there now is, from

the rise of wages, to an increase of population, there is such a process going on abroad. The export manufactures, at first twenty per cent. more profitable, are, by the rush of additional capital into the trade, wrought off in greater abundance than before. They are carried abroad in larger quantities. They become cheaper in all the foreign markets to which they previously had access. Nay, they can afford the expense of being transported to more distant markets. They can bear, perhaps, a land carriage to remote and inland districts, into which they had never penetrated before. The British merchants there supplant and undersell traders with whom they had not before come into competition. And thus, by the command of so many more outlets, and the possession of so many more markets, there may now be a much greater value of British goods sent abroad, than at the time when food did not form one of those imports by which the exports were paid. It is true, that the now additional exports could still be paid for by additional imports, not consisting of food—if we could suppose that the additional profit now made by our manufacturers, and the additional wages now given to our labourers, were all expended upon foreign luxuries—or, in other words, that no sooner did the means of purchasing a certain style and amount of enjoyment come into their possession, than they instantly fixed upon this higher standard of enjoyment, and expended accordingly. This is not likely. Capitalists, in-

stead of spending all their augmented profits, would, for the pleasure of accumulation, extend their business the more, and so add to the manufactured products for exportation. Workmen, instead of spending all their augmented wages, so as to marry as late as before, would, for the pleasure of a domestic life, marry, on the average, somewhat sooner, and with greater frequency, and so add to the population of the land. This increase of population would increase the price of food, would make it bear the expense of being transported from distant countries, would, in fact, call for the additional import of food wherewith to balance the additional exports that were now sent forth, in consequence of their being more cheaply manufactured than before. Thus it is, that those facilities or advantages for industry, which enable one nation to bring manufactured commodities cheaper to market than its neighbours, may at length cause that nation to be an importer of food; and so land it in an excess of population beyond what it can maintain out of its own agricultural produce—a superinduced population, dependent on foreign supplies for subsistence, and so forming an excrescence upon that natural population, which can be fed and sustained from the natural resources of their own land.

There is a limit, however, to this excess of population; and that, in virtue of causes which act so speedily and powerfully, as, in most instances, to prevent its going very far beyond the extent

of the natural population. Ere we arrive at this, we do not need to wait till the world is saturated with British manufactures; for, long before the completion of such an object, these manufactures must, in spite of all our peculiar advantages, be at length wrought at such an expense, that the world will, after being supplied with them to a certain yearly extent, cease to look after them. It does not follow, although manufacturers, at the outset of the process which we have now imagined, could afford their commodities at 20 per cent. cheaper than before, they will be able to afford it long. In the train of consequences that flow out of such a state, there is a rise in the price of food, and, connected with this, a rise in the price of labour. The very fact of grain being imported to help out the subsistence of a nation, implies a dearer subsistence in that nation than in others. Two grains of the same quality do not fetch two prices when brought to market; and so the home and foreign grain will be equally dear. In other words, the population at home are fed at a greater expense than the population abroad; at an expense greater by the price of the carriage of grain from foreign countries. This will so far countervail the original advantages wherewith the British manufacturer set out, and by which he was enabled to undersell the manufacturers of other nations by more than 20 per cent. He might not now be able to undersell them by more than 10 per cent., and

that in the more accessible markets. The more remote markets, which the original superiority of twenty per cent. could have found him access to, might now, with this reduction, be shut against him. He might have been able to carry his goods with advantage to remote and inland districts, had he retained his original superiority; but not with this superiority impaired by the rise of provisions, and consequently of wages, at home. This supplies a limit to the demand for British manufactures; and, what gives a surer necessity to the limit, it should be recollected, that, in proportion as we extend our supplies of grain from abroad, it must be brought home at a heavier expense to us. We must fetch it from more distant or dearer countries than at the first; or that country, whose coast, or the side of whose navigable rivers, could satisfy our moderate demand, might, when that demand increased, have to draw the produce from its upland districts, and so expose us to a great addition of expense for carriage. It is out of these two causes,—first, from the expense attendant on the carriage of British manufactures; and that an expense constantly increasing in their progress towards the more inaccessible parts of the world,—and, secondly, and chiefly, from the expense attendant on the carriage of agricultural produce to Britain; and this too an expense constantly increasing, in proportion as we extend our demand, and have to draw for it from more inaccessible parts than before;—

it is from the operation of these two causes, that a certain limit is formed, beyond which, the exportation of British manufactures can no longer proceed with advantage to the capitalist. He finds that, even with all his original advantages, there are countries so impracticable, that he could not introduce his goods amongst them, but at an expense which would subject him to be undersold. But he farther finds, that these original advantages are counterpoised by the now higher price of subsistence, and so the now higher price of labour. There is thus a point of equilibrium between the natural advantages of a country for the industry of its people, and the high price at which a people, when these advantages have accumulated beyond the extent of their natural population, are consequently maintained,—a point beyond which a greater amount of manufactures will not be exported, and a greater amount of agricultural produce will not be imported,—the point, in fact, at which the accretion ceases of families subsisted from abroad, and when the country labours under all that weight of superinduced population which it can bear.

There is perhaps no country in the world, where the industry of man is made so effective, both by natural and political advantages, as Britain. Its unbounded supply of coal, its machinery, its extent of coast, its roads and inland navigation, enable it, beyond most other nations, to bring its manufactured goods cheaply into market. It was therefore

to be expected, that it should be a country which imports grain, and it does so accordingly. It would have been interesting to notice, how far all these advantages carried its population beyond their natural limit, or at what point it would have ceased to import agricultural produce. From this we are in a certain measure precluded, by the operation of our corn laws. It is only under a system of free importation, that we could have known how far a country, with our peculiar advantages, would have extended its population beyond their natural limits. We do not think, that even with full scope and encouragement, and the removal of all prohibitions, the excess would have proceeded beyond a small fraction of the natural population, and neither do we think it desirable that it should. In years of scarcity, when all the restrictions on importation are taken off, the greatest annual importation ever known, amounted to about one-tenth of the whole consumption of the island; and the actual importation, on the average of several years previous to 1800, only supplied eleven days consumption, or one thirty-third of the whole. It would, we have no doubt, be greater than this, were the corn trade thrown completely open; our export manufacturers, on the one hand, being enabled thereby to work off their goods at a cheaper rate, from the somewhat reduced price of corn, and so to obtain a more extended possession of the markets abroad; and foreign countries, on the other, finding it cheaper, in consequence of our signal

helps and facilities for all sorts of industry, to purchase our manufactures, though wrought by a population whom they feed at a distance, than if they were wrought by a population whom they feed at their own door. This, however, from the causes already explained, would have its limit; nor do we think it either likely or desirable, that this exterior limit should go very greatly beyond that of the natural population.

When there is not enough of imports to pay for the exports, the exchange is in favour of the exporting country. But that state of exchange which is in favour of a country, is against its export manufacturers; and may at length be so much against them, that the trade shall cease to yield a remunerating profit. This affords another view of the limit, beyond which they cannot carry their operations. Did they continue to export more, even though with as little expense at home, and as great a price abroad, yet to realize that price, it must come to them through the medium of an exchange, which their own augmented transactions have made more unfavourable to themselves. It is quite evident that a free corn trade would enlarge this limit. It would add to the value of our imports, by allowing a free admission to this import commodity. The exchange would not be so much in favour of the country, and less against the export manufacturers than before; and they might work up commodities, and send them forth to a greater extent, ere they touched

that limit where the exchange became so unfavourable, that the profit of the trade yielded a bare remuneration for the capital invested in it.

Ricardo, in his chapter on foreign trade, states with truth, although not with sufficient explicitness, that the improvement of a manufacture in any country tends to increase the quantity of commodities, at the same time that it raises general prices in the country, where the improvement takes place. He here makes an important correction, on a position of Dr. Smith's, when, by a conclusive, but greatly too concise process of reasoning for general readers, he establishes the rise that takes place in the general money prices of a country, when the commodities of some one or more manufactures can, by the abridgment of labour, be wrought up at less expense than before. This effect must be farther aggravated by our corn laws, seeing that export commodities, which might have been paid by corn, will, in defect of a sufficient value of other imports, have to be paid for by gold and silver. Hence a still larger accumulation of the precious metals in our country, and an increase beyond what would otherwise have place in the money price of all its commodities. Were corn permitted a free entry from foreign parts, this accumulation would be reduced, and a general cheapening of all things would be the consequence. The produce of British industry would become cheaper than it is now; and there is no doubt that the abolition of our corn laws would give an im-

pulse and an extension to our export manufactures. We should, after this abolition, have a larger importation of agricultural produce than we have at present, and, corresponding to this, a larger excess of superinduced over our natural population.

Now, the undoubted effect of lower wages at home, were to increase our exports, and so to enlarge this superinduced population. It would just land us in a greater number of people, over and above those who are subsisted by our own agricultural produce. It would stretch the population, by a certain degree, beyond the limits of the natural population, and land us in some fractional excess of families, for whose maintenance we should have to depend on supplies from abroad. The good of this, to say the least of it, is very ambiguous. It might be deemed by some an accession to our empire; but certainly it is not such an accession as would be afforded by an enlargement of our borders, by such a circumambient belt of territory reclaimed from the sea, as should feed the whole of these additional inhabitants. There would accrue thereby an additional population to the country; but, in computing the additional wealth, you would only have the wages of so many more labourers, and the profits of so many more capitalists, without the rent of so many more landlords. This last ingredient only belongs to that wealth which is connected with the natural population; for the surplus population may be said to

labour in the service of landlords in other countries, whose rent or revenue it is that forms the main, if not the only fund, out of which the public expenses of a state are defrayed. When to this is added the precariousness to which a nation is exposed, when thus dependent for food upon distant countries, it will be felt to be not a clearly desirable thing that her commerce should be very greatly extended beyond the basis of her own agriculture, or that, having much of subsistence to import from abroad, there should be a much larger population residing within her borders than can be fed from the produce of her soil.

And the particular views of many statesmen are in full coincidence with these doctrines of theory. Our corn laws, at least, indicate that the extension of our people beyond the produce of our own land, had not been felt by them as an object of very urgent importance. The taxes which still continue on the several necessaries of life form another obstacle to this extension, as serving to raise the price of British labour, and so to lessen the power of British merchants to undersell the merchants of other countries. In both these ways, the tendency to a surplus population in Britain has been considerably restrained; and yet, notwithstanding, a certain surplus population has been actually formed. Even with the corn laws, then, and with our present taxes on various of the secondary accommodations of life, a higher wage could be afforded to our labourers; and on the

abolition of these laws and taxes, a much higher wage could be afforded ere the natural population would be trenched upon, or ere we should become the exporters of agricultural produce. In other words, there is no country whose clear and substantial interests would be less endangered by a high standard of enjoyment among our workmen, and a consequent high remuneration for their work, than those of Britain. Such are her natural advantages, that even with a great comparative dearness of labour, she could maintain that superiority, or rather that equality in foreign markets, which is really all that is desirable. So that without let or hinderance from any apprehension in this quarter, she may give herself indefinitely up to the pure and patriotic task, of raising the condition, by raising the character of her peasantry.

We are abundantly sensible, that the argument of this chapter is altogether superfluous to those, who, with Ricardo and his followers, maintain the doctrine, that profits fall just to the extent that wages rise. It were out of place, to offer here any estimate of this doctrine; nor is it necessary for any present or practical object of ours, seeing that the economists of this school can have no such alarm, as it is the purpose of our foregoing observations to dissipate. They, on the contrary, must regard the high price of British labour as forming, not a prohibition, but a passport for British commodities into foreign markets. The truth is, that, according to this view, any rise in the ele-

ment of labour must be more than compensated from the element of a reduced profit; for this last will tell, on each successive transfer of the commodity from one dealer to another; so that, on the last sale which it undergoes in the market, it will turn out to be all the cheaper for the work of preparing it having become dearer than before. We repeat, that we do not now mean to appreciate this doctrine; but hold it satisfactory, that the disciples of a fashionable and rising school must be all on the generous side in the question of wages. In their apprehension, a liberal remuneration for the work of British hands must extend the sale of British manufactures. We can scarcely persuade ourselves of such a result; and we count it enough of vindication for the cause, that, with a far more liberal remuneration than labourers at present enjoy, there might still be such an export of manufactures as would save the exportation of food, and so maintain the entireness of our natural population.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON MECHANIC SCHOOLS, AND ON POLITICAL ECONOMY AS A BRANCH OF POPULAR EDUCATION.

THE mechanic schools which are now spreading so widely and so rapidly over the face of our land, must be regarded as a mighty contribution to those other causes, which are all working together for the elevation of the popular mind. But it should not be forgotten, that the scientific education which they provide for *those who choose it*, forms only one of these causes, and that ere we can prevail upon all, or even upon the majority in the working classes of society so to choose, there must have been anterior causes, both of a preparatory and of a pervading nature, in previous operation. We can scarcely expect any demand for a higher scholarship from those who have not been furnished, in some tolerable degree, with elementary learning; and we might farther affirm, with all safety, that the most willing attendants on the ministrations of a Sabbath, are also the most willing attendants on the ministrations of a week-day instructor. However little it may have been reflected upon, it is not the less true, that there obtains a very close affinity between a taste for science, and a taste for sacredness. They are both of them refined abstractions from

the grossness of the familiar and ordinary world; and the mind which relishes either has achieved a certain victory of the spiritual or the intellectual, over the animal part of our nature. The two resemble in this, that they make man a more reflective and a less sensual being, than before; and, altogether, impress a higher cast of respectability on all his habits, and on all his ways. It does occasionally happen, that, on entering the house of a mechanic, the eye is pleased with the agreeable spectacle of a well-stored book-case. It is generally the unfailing index of a well-conditioned family; and this, whether it be loaded with the puritanic theology of our forefathers, or with the popular science of the present day. Now, we are sure that this never can, from an occasional, become a common or a frequent exhibition, but by a process through which our peasantry must ascend to a higher style of outward comfort, as well as to a higher state of mental cultivation. We, therefore, hail the scientific education of the people, as being a most powerful auxiliary towards a translation so desirable; and we are sure, on the other hand, that the cause of mechanic schools will be most powerfully aided, by a greater efficiency being given, both to the methods of common and of Christian education, in parishes. How this can best be accomplished in cities of overgrown population, we have already, with all amplitude, endeavoured to explain; and we barely refer to former chapters of this work, for

our description of those processes, by which we conceive that the lessons both of religion and of ordinary scholarship, may most effectually be served out to plebeian families.*

We have also, in part, to make the same reference, that a complete view may be afforded of the estimate in which we hold the salutary operation of mechanic schools, on the circumstances of our general population.† We have already made application to this subject of the very obvious truth, that a process of political economy may take effect upon men, who do not understand the steps or *rationale* of the process. It is not necessary, for example, that the philosophy of Malthus should be studied by our common people, ere they shall come under the operation of that moral and preventive check, through which we are taught, by his philosophy, that labourers might attain to a greater comfort and sufficiency than they are now in the possession of. It is not necessary, for this purpose, to read lectures, or to circulate tracts among them, which shall expound the theory of population, in order that they may realize the benefits which would ensue from a right practical application of this theory. The same object is accomplished by the ordinary and general pro-

---

* See more particularly the 4th Chapter in the First Volume of this work, and a pamphlet which I had occasion to publish some years ago, entitled, "Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the advantages of establishing them in large towns."

† See the first chapter of this work.

cesses, whether of spiritual or of scholastic culture. A lettered and religious population will exemplify the truth of this system, though ignorant of all its doctrines, and therefore totally unacted upon by its authority. Such people have, generally speaking, a self-respect and a self-command —a taste for decent accommodations—a habit of enjoyment, and, therefore, a habit of expense, which demands a higher wage than what can afford the mere homely subsistence of an Irish family. And we have already explained how it is that the demand becomes effective—just by the habit of later and less frequent marriages—a habit to which, without the bidding of any theory, they are naturally led by their own sense of what that is, which makes the adequate and the respectable provision for a distinct family establishment. This stands very palpably out, in the custom, at one time nearly universal, of our Scottish peasantry, when, after the virtuous attachment had been formed, and the matrimonial promises had been exchanged, even years of delay were incurred, ere the matrimonial state was entered upon. These years formed an interval of economy and exertion with each of the parties, whose aim it was to provide respectably in furniture, and in all sorts of *plenishing*, for their future household. Here the connection is quite distinct, between a higher standard of enjoyment, and a later period of marriages. And it was certainly then by another tuition than that of any

economic theory, that a habit in every way so wholesome found its establishment among our population. And the exposition of such a theory to the understanding of the people, is just as little needed now, for the purpose either of restoring or of raising this practical habit amongst them. The thing is brought about, not by means of imparting a skill or an intelligence in political economy, but simply by those influences which give a higher tone to the character; and of which influences, education may certainly be regarded as one of the most powerful.

It is thus that mechanics' schools, even though the lessons of economic science should for ever be excluded from them, are fitted to work the greatest of economic improvements in the condition of the people. It is enough that they call forth the aspirations of that higher nature, which has so long been overborne by the urgency of their animal wants, and the unchastened violence of their mere animal propensities. Political, it is true, may, like physical science, be addressed to them as an object of liberal curiosity, and simply by the excitement and the exercise which it gives to the mental faculties, it may sublimate the whole man to a more intellectual region than the one he usually breathes in. But either astronomy or chemistry could subserve the same end; and therefore we repeat, that, though in deference to a general, but ill-founded alarm, the education of workmen in political economy should be kept out

of these schools, another education can be devised which shall be fully as effectual for the accomplishment of the most desirable processes in political economy. They might be made to exemplify the principles in which they are not enlightened; and, without being taught the bearing which a higher taste and style of enjoyment have upon the circumstances of our peasantry, they can be led to imbibe this taste, and so to realize all its eventual benefits. For this purpose, it is not one, but many kinds of scholarship, that are effectual. Whatever may stimulate the powers of the understanding; or may regale the appetite for speculation, by even that glimmering and imperfect light which is made to play, in a mechanic school, among the mysteries of nature; or may unveil, though but partially, the great characteristics of wisdom and goodness that lie so profusely scattered over the face of visible things; or may both exalt and give a wider compass to the imagination; or may awaken a sense that before was dormant, to the beauties of the divine workmanship, and to the charms of that argument, or of that eloquence, by which they are expounded;—each, and all of these, might be pressed into the service of forming to ourselves a loftier population. Every hour that a workman can reclaim from the mere drudgeries of bone and muscle, will send him back to his workshop and his home a more erect and high-minded individual than before. With his growing affinity to the upper classes of life in

mental cultivation, there will spring up an affinity of taste and habit, and a growing desire of enlargement from those various necessities by which the condition of a labourer may now be straitened and degraded. There will be an aspiration after greater things; and the more that he is fitted by education for intercourse with his superiors in rank, the more will he be assimilated to them in a taste for the comforts and the decencies of life. In the very converse that he holds with the lecturer, who one day expounds to him the truths of science, and another day examines and takes account of his proficiency, there is a charm that not only helps to conciliate him to better society, but that also familiarizes him in some measure to the tone of it. This might only proceed a certain way; and yet, however little that way is, it must be obvious, that such a man will not so aptly, or so heedlessly, rush into marriage with no other prospect before him than a potatoe diet for his constant regimen, and one closely huddled apartment for his home. Now, this is all that we want, to relieve the labour-market of the glut which oppresses it, and so to secure a higher wage for our labourers. Towards this result, the mechanic schools lend a most important contribution; and they will speed a most desirable process in political economy, even though they should never initiate so much as one disciple into the principles of the science.

Still, however, we hold it desirable that this

science should be admitted, with others, into our schemes of popular education; and that for the purpose of averting the very mischief which many have dreaded, and which they apprehend still from the introduction of it. To this they have been led, by the very title of our science giving rise to a fancied alliance in their mind with politics; and, in virtue of which, they would liken a lecturer upon this subject, in a school of arts, to a demagogue in the midst of his radical auditory. Now the truth is, that the economical science which enables its disciples to assign the causes of wealth, is as distinct from politics, as is the arithmetical science which enables its disciples to compute the amount of it; and there is just as much reason to fear an approaching democracy, because the people are now taught to calculate prices, as there will be when people are taught soundly to estimate and to reason upon the fluctuation of prices. We do not happen to participate in the alarm even of those who should, above all things, deprecate, from our mechanic institutions, what might strictly and properly be termed the science of politics, believing, as we do, that all truth is innocent, and that the greatest safety lies in its widest circulation. But we confess a more especial affection for the truths and the doctrines of political economy; and, so far from dreading, do greatly desiderate the introduction of its lessons into all those seminaries which have been instituted for the behoof of our common people. It is ut-

terly a mistake that it cannot be taught there, without the hazard of exciting a dangerous fermentation. Instead of this, we are not aware of a likelier instrument than a judicious course of economical doctrine, for tranquillizing the popular mind, and removing from it all those delusions which are the main causes of popular disaffection and discontent. We are fully persuaded, that the understanding of the leading principles of economical science, is attainable by the great body of the people; and that when actually attained, it will prove not a stimulant, but a sedative to all sorts of turbulence and disorder; more particularly that it will soften, and at length do away those unhappy and malignant prejudices which alienate, from each other, the various orders of the community, and spread abroad this salutary conviction, that neither government, nor the higher classes of the state, have any share in those economical distresses to which every trading and manufacturing nation is exposed; but that, in fact, the high road to the secure and permanent prosperity of labourers, is through the medium of their own sobriety, and intelligence, and virtue.

But, in confirmation of this our sentiment, we must go somewhat into detail; and, in so doing, shall have to describe the rapid sketch of what we deem to be a right course of popular economics.

It, in the first place, can be made abundantly obvious to the general understanding, that the price of an article has a certain and necessary de-

pendence on the two elements of demand and supply; and so, on the one hand, that the buyers can promote their interest of lessening its price, by lessening their demand; and that the sellers can promote their interest of raising its price, by lessening the supply. The principle is too elementary to be dwelt upon here at any length, yet, nevertheless, might, with its many instances and illustrations, be made the subject of a most pleasing and popular lecture; and might, when once in thorough possession of the mechanic scholars, be subsequently turned into the instrument of many precious applications. It might be made, in fact, to neutralize, or to sweep away the most inflammatory of those topics wherewith the radical orator seeks to irritate the passions, and to enlist upon his side, the violence of the multitude—that multitude, of whom it has been well said by Talleyrand, that we have nothing to fear, if we but treat them with frankness; and over whom, so soon as we carry their reason and their sense of justice along with us, we are sure to gain a resistless ascendancy.

On the strength of this single doctrine, it will not be difficult to convince them, first, that in the scarcity of any article, when the supply is small, they are not properly the sellers, but the buyers who make the price. It is the competition of those who are in want of the commodity, and fear that they cannot get enough—it is this which is the efficient cause of its dearness. In the higglings

of a market, it is often the seller who names the price, and hence the popular imagination that he makes it. But substantially the juster view of the case is, that the buyer offers the price. The dealer, in fact, would have sold it at a lower price to one customer, had not another customer, more urgent than he, been willing to give a higher price for it, rather than want it altogether. The odium of the high price is cast upon the merchant, whereas, at each given state of the supply, it may be regarded as wholly the creation of the purchasers. He no doubt takes the highest price that he can get; but this is only saying that he takes the highest price which any buyer is willing to give, rather than suffer the inconvenience of wanting it. In other words, it goes to him who is most eager to obtain it; and, had it gone to another, or which is the same thing, had it sold at a rate beneath that market price to which it would be brought by the free and natural competition, it would have been an act of favouritism to one, but at the expense to another, of a sorer and heavier disappointment. The vender, in closing with the highest prices for his article, just sends it to those places where there is the most intense feeling of its necessity. The interest of the dealer is at one with the interest of the public; for, in taking the highest offer, he is just sending his commodity to the quarter where it is most needed and desired. It is thus that the streams of commerce are made to flow towards the places of greatest vacancy; and any violence by

which this process is thwarted, for the relief of suffering and destitution in one place, must be at the expense, in another place, of a suffering still more intense, of a destitution still more grievous.

It is by a train of simple argumentations like these, that Smith's great lessons upon the corn trade might be still further extended and brought home to the popular understanding. They are all of them eminently fitted to allay the passion and prejudice of the working classes. They are not the farmers, or the middlemen, who make the high prices in a year of scarcity. They are the purchasers, each intent upon his own share, and each labouring to outbid his fellows. This may not be ostensibly, but it can be easily demonstrated, even to the satisfaction of the most plebeian student, that this is virtually the process. It is not the growers, or carriers of the corn, who fix its price. They are the consumers of the corn: and to force the sale of it at a lower price than that at which the free operation of the market would settle it, is just to wrest the food of our land from those whose necessity is most urgent, and shift its direction to those whose necessity is less so. There cannot be a doubt that there would be more of acrimony and bad blood excited by such a restraining policy, than when the trade is left to its own spontaneousness. This surely is a lesson fitted to pacify, and not to exasperate. To expound a doctrine like this, is not to scatter mischief among the people. It would act, in truth, as an emollient upon their

feelings. And whether it be the reasoning and reflective process, which, in a mechanic school, they might be made to undergo, or this conclusion of a sound political economy to which it carried them, there is not only wisdom, but the meekness of wisdom in them both.

But a still more important application of the elementary doctrine on the subject of prices, is, that when instead of a scarcity, there is the over-abundance of any article, the low price to which it falls, may be regarded more properly as the deed of the sellers, than that of the buyers. All the keenness of the competition, is transferred, in such a state of the market, from the latter to the former. The anxiety is now on the side, not of the customers to obtain goods, but of the traders to dispose of them. For this purpose, each tries to undersell his neighbour; and as in the first process, we saw that they were the consumers who made the ascent from one step to another, in the lifting up of price, so in the second process, we see that they are the venders who make the descent in the letting of it down. In a season of dearness, you cannot blame the merchant for taking the highest price which men will consent to give; and if blame in the matter attaches to any, it must be to the other party who offers it. In a season of cheapness, you cannot blame the purchaser for taking the article at the lowest terms on which he finds the seller willing to part with it. It is not his doing, but the doing of him

who holds the commodity. It is thus that we cannot carry the pupils of this science, a very little way into the interior mechanism of trade, without reversing to their eye the first aspects of things; and we are persuaded, that in these very first, and in all their future advances in this philosophy, it will be found, at every step which is correctly taken, that the alliance is most intimate between the spread of philosophy in a nation, and the stability of its peace.

The exemplification of this last doctrine, in which the attendants of a mechanic school have the greatest interest, is that which regards the price of labour. It is not a tangible commodity, but liable to the same laws of variation in price, with every other commodity which is brought to market, or which can be made in any way the subject of a bargain. It is exposed to the fluctuations of a greater or a less demand, and it might be furnished at a greater or less rate of supply. The labourers of our land are the sellers of this article; and it is virtually they who fix and determine the price of it. The buyers are those who employ them; and they are not to blame because of the miserable price which they give for labour, for this is the price at which the other party have offered it. The true cause, at any time, of a depression in the wages, or the price of labour, is not that masters have resolutely determined to give no more, but that servants have agreed to take so little. The infuriated operatives, instead of look-

ing to capitalists as the cause of their distress, should look at one another. They would have greatly more reason, at a time of well-paid labour, to look to capitalists as the cause of their high wages, than to look to them as the cause of their low wages, at a time of ill-paid labour. In the one season, it is the overbidding of each other for labour, by the masters, which is the efficient cause of its high price. In the other season, it is the underselling of each other, by the labourers, which is the efficient cause of its low price. Whatever be the external complexion, this is the substantial character of these transactions; and this might easily be made to appear to the disciples of a popular economic course, among the foremost revelations of the science. It is a science, through the arcana of which, the ordinary attendants on a school of arts are abundantly capable of being led, and we should confidently look for patience, and peace, and charity, as the practical fruits of it.

A master may require one additional workman, but may have no use whatever for two. Two, however, may offer themselves, whereof the first is willing to serve him for two shillings a-day, and the second, rather than be without employment, would thankfully agree for one shilling and sixpence. It is not the master's fault that he has hired in a labourer at this lower wage. It is the doing of the labourer himself, and not his doing. He would, in fact, have inflicted a sorer disappointment, by accepting the proposal of the first,

and rejecting that of the second, than by closing as he has done, with the inferior offer. He would, at least, have withheld the employment from him who stood most urgently in need of it. He would have refused admittance to the man who, by the very terms of his proposal, made demonstration before him of the most abject necessity. There is odium cast upon the masters, in every season of depressed wages; but the truth is, that, did they reverse their proceedings, and acquiesce in the higher demand, while they rejected the lower offer, they might inflict a suffering still more grievous, and perhaps incur an odium still more implacable. It is felt as all the greater hardship, when one man's solicitation for work has been declined by the master, though upon more favourable terms, while another, upon terms less favourable for the master, has been preferred before him. It is not, in fact, the hard-hearted tyranny of masters which has brought down the wages of workmen. It is the imploring cry of the most helpless among themselves, craving a participation with their fellows, and offering to be satisfied with a smaller share, rather than be outcasts altogether. The lowness of the wage is, in fact, all resolvable into the excess of their own numbers. And, in every season of ill-paid work, the true character of the transaction between masters and workmen, is not that masters refuse to give a greater wage, but that workmen consent to take a less one.

There could, after this, be explained the cause

of those periodic depressions which take place in the wages of manufacturing labour, and the way of averting it—even, as we have already stated, by an accumulated capital in the hands of workmen. And, even although the economical lecturer could point out no remedy for this state of things, there would be a salutary and pacific influence in his demonstration of the causes which produced it. It is well when workmen are convinced, that the low price of labour is not what they at first sight imagine, the doing of their proud oppressors; but the fruit of a necessity over which masters have no control. If wages were at the fiat of their employers, why are they ever permitted to rise at all, and often to treble at one time their amount at another? But these tides of fluctuation, at one time adverse, and at another favourable for one or other of the parties, are set agoing by different forces altogether from the arbitrary will of capitalists; and it must serve to disarm the hostility of the humbler, for the higher classes, when they are made to understand that the ebbs and flows of a labourer's prosperity, depend upon the laws of a mechanism, for which their masters are as little responsible, as they are for the laws of the planetary system.

But what should make an acquaintance with political economy so valuable to the working classes, is, that a remedy can be pointed out. The low price of labour is as much the doing of the labourers themselves, as the low price of a commodity is the doing of the dealers, who, in the case

of an excessive supply, undersell each other. Their only relief is in the limitation of the supply; and there is positively no other permanent or effectual relief for the low wages of labour. All that combination can effect in this way, is but partial and temporary; and it is only by a lessening of the proportion between the number of labourers, and the demand for labour, that the working classes will ever find themselves on a stable and secure vantage-ground. They have no command over the second term of this proportion. They cannot increase the demand for labour. But they have a full command over the first. They can restrain the supply of labourers. A general conviction of this amongst our work-people would go far to tranquillize them. It would wean them, at least, from all vain and hopeless experiments. Even though they should despair of any immediate result from that expedient which is alone effectual; yet it is well for them to know that it is the only expedient, and that there is no other. It may at least keep them from idly or mischievously rambling in pursuit of other expedients; and, far better corrective to that general restlessness of our mechanics and labourers, which of late has so alarmed us, than the force either of our statute or common law against combinations, would be the spread of an enlightened conviction among them of their total inefficacy.

But though no immediate effect on the wages of labour could accrue from any change in the habit of labourers, yet the effect would be far

speedier than is generally counted upon. And this were one of the most important lessons that could be urged or expounded among the disciples of a mechanic school. It were not at all difficult to manifest to their understandings, that a very slight excess in the number of labourers, creates a very great reduction in the price of labour; and so conversely, that it may only require the lopping away of a very small excess to elevate, from a state of very sunken debasement, the condition of an overpeopled land. It would serve to remove from their minds the despair of any quick or great amelioration; when made to perceive on how minute a difference in the number of labourers, there turns a most momentous difference in the remuneration which is given to them. And if, in any manufacture, as in that of weaving for example, there should be a small overplus of hands, and so a great depression of wages, it is not by the instant and forcible exclusion of this overplus that the relief is arrived at. It may be obtained by a more quiet and gradual, but withal a very speedy operation. Simply, let the egress at the one end, of individuals from the general body of weavers, by old age or death, not be so fully replaced as heretofore by the ingress of apprentices or new hands at the other. Let there be somewhat of a slackening in the annual supply; and this, in a few years, will lighten the competition for work, by at least some small yet sensible fraction of the sum total of operatives; a fraction which, though minute in itself, would be mighty in its conse-

quences, and would tell with effect on the general circumstances of the whole body. This were the treatment by which the workmen, however low they may have fallen in any branch of trade, might be restored to a state of sufficiency and respect; and there is no other treatment by which we ever can accomplish any great or general ascent in the circumstances of a whole population. It is not by a sudden excision of the overplus that relief is arrived at. Even though a single year of emigration should take off the whole redundancy, a very slight increase of the births would speedily fill up again the room which had been left; and a land will always be peopled up to the degree at which its inhabitants hold existence to be tolerable. It were better that they aimed at something higher and more dignified than a barely tolerable existence; and so, that the population were kept considerably within the limits of its utmost possible extension. But this can only be done by the taste and habits of the people themselves; by a rise in their standard of enjoyment; by a consequent shifting forward in the average period of their marriages, and so a lighter progeny wherewith to burden and oppress the coming generation. And to accomplish a desirable change, so very great a stride, as some may apprehend, would not be indispensable, and far less any thing like a revolution in the customs of society. That very gradual refinement of soul, which might be achieved among the people by their now improving education; that small, though perhaps nearly

insensible effect which this is calculated to have on the time of their entering upon families; and hence the almost imperceptibly fewer births that will take place in the country;—these are the sure, though simple means of that enlargement which we believe to be awaiting the peasantry of our land. A very small oscillation in the number of workmen, will produce a very great oscillation in their wages; and so when their translation is effected into a state of comfort and sufficiency which they have never yet experienced, this change, momentous as it is, will proceed in a way so gentle and so noiseless, that it may truly be said of it, "it cometh not with observation."

Now all this might be set forth with enough of clear and commanding evidence for the understandings of the common people. With all the incredulity which they feel about the philosophy of Malthus, they recognize the whole truth and application of it in particular trades; and when they combine, as they have often done, to limit and restrain the admission of apprentices into their own craft, they are just lending their testimony to the obnoxious theory of population. A smaller general population will supply fewer apprentices; and this favourite object of theirs, and which they have tried to effectuate by forcible exclusions, can be rightly arrived at in no other way, than by that which the philosophy of Malthus has expounded. And here may be exposed with effect, the odious and unjust character of many of their combinations—in that, by dictating the number of appren-

tices, they are acting in the unfair and illiberal spirit of monopoly. They are quite vehement against the alleged tyranny of masters; yet, in this instance, they may well be charged with having become the tyrants and the oppressors themselves. They would enact corporation laws in their own favour; and, under the pretext of obtaining security against the aggression of their hostile employers, they would, in fact, by the restrictions which they propose upon the employment, commit an act of most glaring hostility against the families of all other workmen save their own. It is thus that each distinct trade would form itself into its own little oligarchy; and in no possible way could a system be devised more fatal to real liberty, and more full of annoyance to the general population. We are confident, that a lecturer of any talent at all might, upon this subject, carry the most crowded amphitheatre of plebeian scholars along with him. He might, in the first instance, gain their compliance with the whole of Smith's argument on the subject of free trade. He might enlist them on the side of competition, and make them partake in his own indignation against the hatefulness of monopoly. He might thus prepare his way for entering upon the subject of combinations; and, however fair or innocent he might allow them to be in themselves, yet, on the strength of such principles as he had just expounded, he might feel himself on high vantage ground for disarming them of all their evil, by denouncing

whatever is wrong or mischievous in their practices. All the terror, and outrage, and forcible exclusion, which they have at any time directed, whether against new apprentices or workmen—the enormity of these he could make quite palpable to the popular understanding; and would, I am persuaded, be borne along on the tide of popular sympathy, when, in the midst of his applauding hearers, he lifted, against dictation in all its forms, the honest remonstrances of justice and liberty; and advocated the general rights of the population, whether against the now exploded oppressions of the statute-book, or the still sorer oppression of upstart and recently organized bodies among themselves. It is not through bearing down the passions by the force of law, but through forming and enlightening the principles of the commonalty by the force of instruction, that the present fermentations are to be allayed. And we despair not of the day when the science of political economy, instead of being dreaded as the instrument of a dangerous excitation, will be found, like all other truth, to be of powerful efficiency in stilling the violence of the people.

On this branch of the subject, there is one invaluable result, that might be obtained from the demonstrations of a lecturer; and that is, a conviction, on the part of his hearers, that pauperism was in truth their worst enemy, though their enemy in disguise, and that it had a most depressing effect on the wages of labour, and the real comfort of the labourers.

After having discussed the causes which influence wages, the explanation of those causes which influence profits, would lead to another, and a most interesting branch of a popular course. And here it must be obvious, how easy it were, on the strength of a few plain and intelligible simplicities, to infuse, even into the hearts of workmen, a spirit of candour and of conciliation towards their employers. More particularly, could they be made to apprehend, how impossible it is, in a state of freedom, for profits to subsist, during any length of time, at a higher rate than they ought to do. When profits are high, capital accumulates; and when capital is accumulated, profits fall. Again, when, in virtue of some accidental influence, profits are very unequal, so as to be unreasonably high in one trade, there is, in a state of liberty, a rush of capital from all other trades, so as to bring all down to a general level. In this increase of capital, and competition of capitalists, labourers will at length be made to perceive that their security lies; and that, if they will only so far respect themselves, as that their high standard of enjoyment shall have the influence already explained, in restraining the increase of population, a high wage for work will be the inevitable consequence; and such a wage, as is alike independent, either of illegal enactments, or of illegal combinations. It would have been greatly more satisfying to us, had the legislature not felt it necessary to assume even the semblance of hostility to the working

classes. Certain it is, that no real hostility is felt; and that, even if it were, it would be wholly ineffectual. It could not depress the wages of labour a single farthing beneath the rate at which it would have settled, in virtue of those economic laws over which the government of a country has no control. Even though it were death by the law, for one labourer so much as to talk of wages to another; and though a universal espionage were to make the law as operative as it is barbarous; yet this could not bear down the elevating power upon wages, which lies in an accumulating capital upon the one hand, when it meets, upon the other, with a population restrained within right limits, by the prudential and moral habits of the individuals who compose it. The law against combinations is a *telum imbelle*, if its object be to depress wages; and it is only desirable, that workmen should be so far enlightened as to perceive this. Then would they leave it to repose in its own inefficiency; and, instead of going forth to the battle, either against their rulers or their employers, they would learn, that the sure road to victory was, for each quietly to betake himself to the virtues and the frugalities of private life.

It is thus that, without any effort, certainly without any combined effort, and without even their looking for it, there may, purely by a change of general habit, on the part of our workmen, be a gradual, but sure elevation, in the price of their labour. Capitalists cannot, though

they would, long realize an extravagant profit at the expense of wages. The same competition among labourers which brings down wages, operates also among capitalists, to bring down profit. What labourers have to do, is, to slacken the former competition, by keeping down the supply of labourers, and leave the latter competition to operate. Let them but restrain the increase of population, and then make their harvest of the increase of capital. Masters, however willing, have it not in their power to realize, for any time, an excess of profits to the prejudice of the servants; for excess of profit gives rise to the exuberance of capital, and so to a keener competition for more labourers. Other capitalists will plant themselves in their neighbourhood, and, either by outbidding, wrest from them their workmen, or force them to give a higher wage than before. There is no organization of labourers required to bring about this result—nothing, in fact, but that higher style of comfort and decency, which it is the effect both of Christian and common education to spread over the land. The foolish but impotent outbreakings of the last year will end in no permanent result whatever. A busy process of moral and mental culture, would, in a very few years, tell, and permanently tell, on the condition of our general peasantry. The market is overstocked with capital. Let not the advantages of this to the working classes be neutralized, by the market being also overstocked with labour. Then, instead of men seeking after masters, we shall have masters

seeking after men. Instead of workmen underselling their labour, we shall have capitalists overbidding for it. For this blissful consummation, workmen do not need to step abroad and form themselves into grotesque committees, and frame laborious articles, and make their cunning inventions of sign and countersign. They will gain nothing by all this, so long as they suffer themselves to be oppressed by the weight of their own numbers. It is this, and not the tyranny of their masters, which oppresses them. Let them but relieve themselves of this, and they will carry their point without all that curious machinery of councils, and correspondence, and deputations, in which heretofore they have vainly imagined that their strength lay. They would not need, in fact, to call upon masters; for masters, overcharged with capital, and desirous of extending their works beyond the supply of workmen, would call upon them. Instead of turbulently meeting in the hall, or in the field, each might stay quietly at home, and at his own business; and the day of a coming enlargement to our labourers will not come one whit later, though they should leave the expedient of a combination for ever untried. There is no other way in which the tables can be turned between them and their masters; so that instead of workmen begging from capitalists for their employment, capitalists shall go a begging among workmen for their services. This we should rejoice in, as a consummation devoutly to be wished. It were a great economic revolution brought about

by the peaceful operation of moral instruments. Labourers would share more equally with landholders and traders than before; insomuch, as wages would bear a higher proportion, both to rent and to profit. The social fabric would still have its orders, and its gradations, and its blazing pinnacles. But it would present a more elevated basis. At least the ground floor would be higher, while, in the augmented worth and respectability of the people, it would have a far deeper and surer foundation.

One great object of a wisely conducted economic school, whose presiding spirit would be that of loyalty to the state, and love to the population, were to labour well the proposition, that it is not in the power of master manufacturers to realize, for any length of time, any undue advantage over their workmen. And here it might be well to expound the relation which there is between the profit of capital, and the interest of money, after which the fall of interest might be alleged as affording patent exhibition of the universal decline that has taken place in profits. This would lead to some other cause for any depression in the wages of operatives, than the extravagant gains of their employers; and would enable even the homeliest of the disciples to perceive, that they are deprived of the advantage which they might have gotten from the competition of a now greatly increased capital, just because it was outdone by the stronger competition of a still more greatly increased population. In other words, that it was an advantage of which

the population had deprived themselves. At all events, the capitalists are quite innocent. They cannot help themselves as the labourers can. It is well for the spread of peace and charity among the working classes, that they should be delivered from the false imagination that their masters are their oppressors. And it is further well for the spread among them of virtuous, and temperate, and elevated habits, that they should be thoroughly possessed with the true doctrine of wages; that they are themselves their own deadliest oppressors; and that, without the co-operation of their own moral endeavours, no benevolence on the part of the affluent, and no paternal kindness or care on the part of their rulers, can raise them from the degradation into which a reckless or unprincipled peasantry shall have fallen.

It is needless, at present, to inquire how much farther mechanics could be raised, in the scale of doctrine and information, on the subject of economical science. This would better be ascertained afterwards. But we are thoroughly persuaded, that the few elementary truths, along with their obvious and popular applications which we have now specified, could not only be received by the popular understanding, but would go far to dissipate all those crudities of imagination which excite the fiercest passions of the vulgar, and are, in fact, the chief elements of every popular effervescence. To make the multitude rational, we have only to treat them as if they were fit subjects for being discoursed with rationally. Now this, in reference

to the great topics of misunderstanding between them and their employers, has scarcely ever yet been done; and the experiment remains to be made, of holding conference with the people on the great principles of that economic relation in which they stand to the other orders of society. We anticipate nothing from such a process, but a milder and a more manageable community; and feel confident, that the frankest explanations of the mechanic teacher would be received by his scholars in the spirit of kindness. He may be in no dread of the utmost explicitness, or lest those truths which bear severely either upon the sordidness or the violence of the people, should fall unwelcomely upon their ears. They will bear to be told both of the worthlessness of pauperism, and the gross injustice of those workmen who would infringe on the liberty of their fellows. Even those truths which go to vindicate their masters, and which look hardly or reproachfully upon the operatives, ought, in no way, to be withheld from them. We affirm, that reason will make any thing palatable to the lower orders; and, if only permitted to lift her voice in some cool place, as in the class-room of a school of arts, she will attain as firm authority over the popular mind, as she wields now within the walls of parliament. And political economy, the introduction of which into our popular courses has been so much deprecated, will be found to have pre-eminence over the other sciences, in acting as a sedative, and not as a stimulant to all sorts of turbulence and disorder. It will afford another

example of the affinity which subsists between the cause of popular education, and that of public tranquillity. Of all the branches of that education, there is none which will contribute more to the quiescence of the multitude, than the one for whose admittance into our mechanic schools we are now pleading. They will learn from it, what be the difficulties by which the condition of the working classes is straitened, and how impossible it is to obtain enlargement therefrom, while they labour under a redundancy of numbers. It will at least help to appease their discontent, when given to understand, that with this redundancy, any solid or stable amelioration of their circumstances is impracticable; and that, without this redundancy, the amelioration would follow of itself, and that, to bring this about, the countenance of legislators, and the combination of labourers, were alike unnecessary. The lessons of such an institution would be all on the side of sobriety and good order. They would at length see, that for the sufficiency of their own state themselves were alone responsible, and after bidding adieu to all their restlessness, they would be finally shut up to that way of peace and of prudence, by which, and by no other, they can reach a secure independence.

FINIS.

Printed by W. Collins & Co.
Glasgow.

LONDON, No. 73, CHEAPSIDE, 1846.

MR. TEGG HAS JUST ISSUED THE FOLLOWING NEW PUBLICATIONS,

OF SUPERIOR CHARACTER, GENERAL UTILITY, AND POPULAR INTEREST, ON THE MOST INTERESTING SUBJECTS OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

*** *Orders from Merchants, for Exportation, of whatever magnitude, executed with Correctness and Despatch.*

BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION.

	£	s.	d.
BARNES'S NEW TRANSLATION OF ISAIAH. One large Volume, 8vo. .	0	15	0
BROWN'S SELF-INTERPRETING BIBLE. 4to. Maps, &c. . . .	1	10	0
——— DICTIONARY OF THE HOLY BIBLE. 8vo. . .	0	9	0
——— CONCORDANCE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. 24mo. .	0	2	0
BURDER'S ORIENTAL CUSTOMS. New Edition. By GROSER. 8vo. .	0	9	0
CAMPBELL'S NOTES ON THE GOSPELS. 2 vols. 8vo. . .	0	16	0
CALVIN'S COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS. 3 vols. 8vo. . .	1	10	0
CARPENTER'S BIBLICAL COMPANION. Imperial 8vo. . . .	0	12	0
CHALMERS'S (Dr.) LECTURES ON THE ROMANS. 4 vols. 8vo. .	2	2	0
CLARKE'S (DR. ADAM) COMMENTARY ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 6 vols. Imperial 8vo.	6	8	0
——— SUCCESSION OF SACRED LITERATURE. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	15	0
DODDRIDGE'S FAMILY EXPOSITOR. Imperial 8vo. . . .	1	1	0
ELSLEY'S ANNOTATIONS ON THE GOSPEL AND ACTS. By WALKER. 8vo.	0	12	0
FLEURY'S MANNERS OF THE ANCIENT ISRAELITES. By A. CLARKE. 12mo.	0	6	0
GRAY AND PERCY'S KEY TO THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 8vo.	0	8	0
HENRY'S COMMENTARY ON THE SCRIPTURES. By BLOMFIELD. 4to.	1	10	0
HORNE'S (Bp.) COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS. 8vo. . .	0	8	0
JENNINGS'S JEWISH ANTIQUITIES. 8vo.	0	7	0
JONES'S BIBLICAL CYCLOPÆDIA. 8vo.	0	16	0
LELAND'S DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 8vo.	0	7	0
LOCKE AND DODD'S COMMON-PLACE BOOK TO THE BIBLE. 8vo. .	0	9	0
LOWTH'S (Bp.) LITERAL TRANSLATION OF ISAIAH. 8vo. . .	0	7	0
——— LECTURES ON HEBREW POETRY. 8vo. . .	0	8	0
LUTHER ON THE GALATIANS. 8vo.	0	10	6
NEWTON'S (Bp.) DISSERTATION ON THE PROPHECIES. 8vo. .	0	8	0
OWEN'S EXPOSITION OF THE HEBREWS. 4 vols. 8vo. . .	2	16	0
——— EXERCITATIONS PREFIXED TO THE HEBREWS. 8vo. .	0	14	0
PATRICK, LOWTH, WHITBY, AND LOWMAN'S COMMENTARY ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 4 vols. Imperial 8vo. . .	4	10	0
PRIDEAUX ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. By Dr. M'CANE. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	18	0
SCOTT'S COMMENTARY ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 3 vols. 4to.	4	0	0
STACKHOUSE'S HISTORY OF THE BIBLE, New Edit. By D. DEWAR, D.D. Imp. 8vo.	1	10	0
STUART'S COMMENTARY ON THE ROMANS. 8vo. . .	0	9	0
TROLLOPE'S NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK, AND ENGLISH NOTES. 8vo.	1	1	0
WHITBY AND LOWMAN'S COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT. Impl.	1	5	0
WILLIS'S GEOGRAPHY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 8vo.	0	12	0

LIGHT READING & BOOKS IN THE PICKWICK STYLE.

ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN BOLIO. 32 Engravings. 12mo. . .	0	9	0
——— PAUL PERIWINKLE, OR THE PRESS-GANG. 40 Cuts.	1	1	0
——— GRACE DARLING. A Tale. 20 Engravings. 8vo. .	0	5	0
ARABIAN NIGHTS, 3 vols. 32mo.	0	12	0
CHRONICLES OF CRIME, by CAMDEN PELHAM, Esq. Plates by PHIZ. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	8	0
COLMAN'S BROAD GRINS, with Cuts, Cloth, Gilt Edges . . .	0	1	6
COMIC ARITHMETIC. By MARTIN. 40 Cuts. 8vo. . . .	0	7	0
DOINGS IN LONDON. 30 Engravings. 10th Edit. 8vo. . . .	0	8	0
EGAN'S PILGRIMS OF THE THAMES. 26 Plates. 8vo. . . .	0	8	0
——— BOOK OF SPORTS AND MIRROR OF LIFE. Cuts, 8vo. .	0	7	0
GIDEON GILES THE ROPER. By MILLER. Plates. 8vo. . . .	0	13	0
GODFREY MALVERN. By MILLER. Plates. 8vo.	0	14	0
GRANT'S SKETCHES IN LONDON. 24 Engravings by PHIZ. 8vo. . .	0	8	0
HONE'S STRUTT'S SPORTS OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND. 8vo. .	0	10	6
——— EVERY-DAY BOOK AND TABLE BOOK. 3 vols. 8vo. .	2	2	0
——— YEAR BOOK. New Edition. Cuts. 8vo.	0	14	0
MAXWELL'S FORTUNES OF HECTOR O'HALLORAN. 8vo. . . .	0	9	0
MORNINGS AT BOW-STREET. Cuts by CRUIKSHANK. Fcap. 8vo. .	0	5	0
ODDITIES OF LONDON LIFE. 77 Cuts. 2 vols. post 8vo. . . .	1	1	0
PICKWICK ABROAD. By REYNOLDS; Plates by PHIZ, &c. 8vo. . .	0	11	0

PARTERRE OF HISTORICAL ROMANCE, ANECDOTE, &c. 4 vols. 8vo. . 0 16 0
PUNCH AND JUDY, with 24 Plates, by CRUIKSHANK. Post 8vo. . . 0 4 0
ROBERT MACAIRE. 18 Plates, by Phiz. Post 8vo. . . . 0 10 6
SYNTAX'S (Dr.) TOUR IN SEARCH OF THE PICTURESQUE. 8vo. . 0 12 0
TITMARSH'S COMIC TALES. 20 Plates. 2 vols. post 8vo. . . . 1 1 0
WORLD (THE) OF LONDON. By JOHN FISHER MURRAY, Esq. 12mo. . . 0 5 0

GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, AND BIOGRAPHY.

ADDISON'S DAMASCUS & PALMYRA, 2 vols. 8vo. 14*s.*
ADVENTURES IN ALGIERS, 3 vols. 8vo. 15*s.* 6*d.*
BARROW'S PETER THE GREAT, 5*s.*
BLUNT'S REFORMATION, 5*s.*
BROOKES'S GENERAL GAZETTEER, New Edition, by FINDLAY, 8vo, 12*s.*
BROOKES'S GENERAL GAZETTEER IN MINIATURE, by FINDLAY, 18mo, 7*s.*
CAMPBELL'S LIVES OF BRITISH ADMIRALS, fcap. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*
CAVE'S LIVES OF THE FATHERS, New Edition, by CARY, 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 4*s.*
CAVE'S LIVES OF THE APOSTLES, New Edition, by CARY, 8vo. 8*s.*
CECIL'S LIFE OF NEWTON, 32mo, 2*s.*
CONDER'S MODERN TRAVELLER; each Work sold separately, viz.:—
AMERICA, 2 vols. 10*s.*
ARABIA, 5*s.*
AFRICA, 3 vols. Maps & Plates, 15*s.*
SIAM AND ASSAM, 5*s.*
BRAZIL & BUENOS AYRES, 2 vols. 10*s.*
COLUMBIA, 5*s.*
EGYPT, NUBIA, AND ABYSSINIA, 2 vols. 10*s.*
GREECE, 2 vols. 10*s.*
INDIA, 4 vols. 1*l.*
ITALY, 3 vols. 18*s.*
MEXICO AND GUATEMALA, 2 vols. 10*s.*
PALESTINE, 5*s.*
PERSIA AND CHINA, 2 vols. 10*s.*
PERU AND CHILI, 5*s.*
RUSSIA, 5*s.*
SPAIN & PORTUGAL, 2 vols. 10*s.*
SYRIA & ASIA MINOR, 2 vols. 10*s.*
TURKEY, 5*s.*
MODERN TRAVELLER, 33 vols. 9*l.*
CUNNINGHAM'S (ALLAN) LIVES OF BRITISH PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, &c. 6 vols. 1*l.* 10*s.*
DAVENPORT'S LIFE OF ALI PACHA, VIZIER OF EPIRUS, 5*s.*
DAVENPORT'S HISTORY OF THE BASTILE, 5*s.*
DRUMMOND'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A. H. ROWAN, ESQ., 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*
EDMONDS'S LIFE AND TIMES OF WASHINGTON, 2 vols. 10*s.*
EUSTACE'S CLASSICAL TOUR IN ITALY. Seventh Edition, 3 vols. 15*s.*
FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN, by NICHOLS, 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 7*s.*
FULLER'S WORTHIES OF ENGLAND, by NUTTALL, 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 7*s.*
FULLER'S HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE, WALTHAM-ABBEY, AND INJURED INNOCENCE, by NICHOLS. 8vo. 14*s.*
GIBBON'S DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, Imperial 8vo. 1*l.* 4*s.*
GOLDSMITH'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND, (Chiswick,) 12mo. 6*s.*
GUTHRIE'S GEOGRAPHY IN MINIATURE, by DAVENPORT, 18mo. 7*s.*
HISTORY OF THE JEWS, by MILMAN, 3 vols. 18mo. 15*s.*
HOLLINGS' LIFE OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. 18mo. 5*s.*
IRVING'S LIFE AND VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. 18mo. 5*s.*
JOHNSON'S HIGHWAYMEN, &c. 8vo, 9*s.*
JOSEPHUS'S HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE JEWS, 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 7*s.*
JOSEPHUS'S HISTORY OF THE WARS. Complete in 1 vol. 7*s.* 6*d.*
LANDER'S DISCOVERIES TO THE NIGER, 2 vols. 18mo. 10*s.*
LANGHORNE'S PLUTARCH, 8vo. 9*s.*
LIFE OF CICERO, by HOLLINGS, 18mo. 5*s.*
LIFE OF RICHARD I., 18mo. 5*s.*
LIFE OF MAHOMMED ALI, 18mo, 3*s.*
LIFE OF MAHOMET, by REV. S. GREEN, 5*s.*
LIFE OF BRUCE, by MAJOR HEAD, 18mo. 5*s.*
LIVES OF EMINENT PHYSICIANS, 18mo. 5*s.*
M'CRIE'S LIFE OF KNOX, 12mo, 4*s.* 6*d.*
MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF DR. ADAM CLARKE, by One of the Family, 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*
MEMOIRS OF JOHN SHIPP, New Edit. 5*s.*
M'FARLANE'S LIVES AND EXPLOITS OF BANDITTI AND ROBBERS, 18mo. 5*s.*
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE'S LIFE AND ADVENTURES, 2 vols. 18mo. 10*s.*
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, THE CAMP AND COURT OF, 18mo. 5*s.*
NEAL'S HISTORY OF THE PURITANS, by TOULMIN, 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 16*s.*
PALGRAVE'S ANGLO-SAXONS, 18mo, 5*s.*
PILKINGTON'S DICTIONARY OF PAINTERS. By ALLAN CUNNINGHAM. 8vo. 21*s.*
ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY, 6 vols. 8vo. Maps, 1*l.* 12*s.*
SEGUR'S NARRATIVE OF NAPOLEON'S EXPEDITION IN RUSSIA, 2 vols. 18mo. 10*s.*
SKETCHES FROM THE HISTORY OF VENICE, Maps and Cuts, 2 vols. 18mo. 10*s.*
SOUTHEY'S LIFE OF NELSON, Cuts, &c. 5*s.*
TOUR THROUGH SOUTH HOLLAND AND UP THE RHINE, 18mo. 5*s.*
TYTLER'S LIVES OF SCOTTISH WORTHIES, 3 vols. 18mo. 15*s.*
TYTLER'S UNIVERSAL HISTORY, 6 vols. 18mo, 1*l.* 10*s.*
WATSON'S LIFE OF PHILIP II. 8vo. 9*s.*
WATSON'S LIFE OF PHILIP III. 8vo. 9*s.*
WELLS'S GEOGRAPHY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, Maps, 12*s.*
WILLIAMS'S LIFE AND ACTIONS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, 18mo. 5*s.*
WILSON'S MISSIONARY VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH SEAS, 2*s.*

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE, by IRVING, 3 vols. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

CAVENDISH, OR THE PATRICIAN AT SEA, 12mo. 6*s.*

CŒLEBS IN SEARCH OF A WIFE, by HANNAH MORE, 12mo. 5*s.*

DE FOE'S LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE, 2 vols. (Oxford) 10*s.*

DE FOE'S LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN SINGLETON, 5*s.*

DE FOE'S LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF COLONEL JACK, 5*s.*

DE FOE'S MEMOIRS OF A CAVALIER, 5*s.*

DE FOE'S FORTUNATE MISTRESS, OR LIFE OF ROXANA, 5*s.*

DE FOE'S CARLTON'S MEMOIRS AND LIFE OF MOTHER ROSS, 5*s.*

FLYING DUTCHMAN, by the Author of "Cavendish," 3 vols. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

COOPER'S LIONEL LINCOLN, 12mo. 3*s.*

IRVING'S KNICKERBOCKER'S HISTORY OF NEW YORK, 5*s.*

JACK TENCH, OR MIDSHIPMAN TURNED IDLER, 18 Plates, 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

LIFE AND TIMES OF DICK WHITTINGTON, 22 Plates, 8vo. 8*s.*

PORTER'S (MISS) LAKE OF KILLARNEY, a Tale, 12mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

ROBERT MACAIRE IN ENGLAND, Plates by Phiz, 8vo, 10*s.* 6*d.*

WORTLEY MONTAGUE, 3 vols. 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

TITMARSH'S COMIC TALES AND SKETCHES, 12 Plates. 2 vols. 21*s.*

TREASURY OF WIT AND ANECDOTE, 32mo, 2*s.* 6*d.*

BOOKS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

ABBOTT'S ROLLA AT SCHOOL, Royal 18mo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

———— ROLLA'S VACATION, Royal 18mo, cloth, 2*s.* 6*d.*

ÆSOP'S FABLES (Whittingham), 32mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

AIKIN'S CALENDAR OF NATURE, 2*s.* 6*d.*

BOY'S OWN BOOK, 19th Edit. square, 6*s.*

BREAKFAST-TABLE SCIENCE, 2*s.* 6*d.*

BREWSTER'S NATURAL MAGIC, 5*s.*

BOY'S BOOK OF SCIENCE, 16mo, 7*s.* 6*d.*

CHESTERFIELD'S ADVICE TO HIS SON ON MEN AND MANNERS, 18mo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

CHILD'S (MRS.) STORIES FOR HOLIDAY EVENINGS, half-bound, 2*s.* 6*d.*

CHILD'S (THE) OWN BOOK, 7th Edition, Cuts, square 16mo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

CHILD'S (THE) BOTANY, square 16mo, 2*s.*

COPLEY'S (ESTHER) EARLY FRIENDSHIP, a Tale, 2*s.* 6*d.*

COPLEY'S POPLAR GROVE, 2*s.* 6*d.*

EARLY IMPRESSIONS, by a Lady, 1*s.* 6*d.*

EDGEWORTH'S EARLY LESSONS, 2 vols. 18mo. 5*s.*

EDGEWORTH'S ROSAMOND, 2 vols. 18mo, cloth, 5*s.*

ENDLESS AMUSEMENTS, 18mo, 2*s.*

ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE NURSERY, 155 Cuts, 4*s.*

FISHER'S YOUNG MAN'S COMPANION, 2*s.* 6*d.*

GIRL'S OWN BOOK, by MRS. CHILD, 144 Cuts, square, 4*s.* 6*d.*

GRIFFIN'S BOOK OF TRADES, 4*s.* 6*d.*

HISTORY OF SANDFORD AND MERTON, 12mo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

HOME, by SEDGWICK, 2*s.*

MARY HOWITT'S JUVENILE BOOKS, 18mo. Sold separately at 2*s.* 6*d.*

1. STRIVE AND THRIVE.
2. HOPE ON HOPE EVER.
3. SOWING AND REAPING.
4. ALICE FRANKLIN.
5. WHO SHALL BE GREATEST.
6. WHICH IS THE WISER.
7. LITTLE COIN MUCH CARE.
8. WORK AND WAGES.
9. NO SENSE LIKE COMMON SENSE.
10. LOVE AND MONEY.

MARY HOWITT'S WORKS—CONTINUED.

11. MY UNCLE, THE CLOCK-MAKER.
12. THE TWO APPRENTICES.
13. MY OWN STORY.

JANEWAY'S TOKEN FOR CHILDREN, 32mo. 6*d.*

JUVENILE SCRAP-BOOK, TALES, &c. 4*s.*

JUVENILE EVERY-DAY BOOK, 4*s.*

LOOKING-GLASS FOR THE MIND, 2*s.* 6*d.*

LOVE TOKEN FOR CHILDREN, by Miss SEDGWICK, 2*s.*

MOTHER'S STORY BOOK, by Mrs. CHILD, 18mo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

PETER PARLEY'S GRAMMAR OF GEOGRAPHY, 4*s.* 6*d.*

PETER PARLEY'S LIVES OF FRANKLIN AND WASHINGTON, 4*s.* 6*d.*

PETER PARLEY'S TALES ABOUT EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA, 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Sea and Pacific Ocean, 4*s.* 6*d.*
The Sun, Moon, and Stars, 4*s.* 6*d.*
England, Ireland, and Scotland, 7*s.* 6*d.*
Ancient and Modern Greece, 4*s.* 6*d.*
Christmas and its Festivals, 7*s.* 6*d.*
Animals, Cuts, 7*s.* 6*d.*
The United States of America, 4*s.* 6*d.*
Rome and Modern Italy, 4*s.* 6*d.*
Mythology of Greece and Rome, 4*s.* 6*d.*
Plants, edited by Mrs. LOUDON, 7*s.* 6*d.*
Universal History, 4*s.* 6

PHILIPS'S CONVERSATIONS ABOUT THE WHALE FISHERY, 4*s.* 6*d.*

PHILIPS'S CONVERSATIONS ABOUT the TOOLS and TRADES of ANIMALS, 4*s.* 6*d.*

RICH POOR MAN AND POOR RICH MAN, by Miss SEDGWICK, 2*s.*

STORIES ABOUT POLAND, 2*s.* 6*d.*

TEGG'S PRESENT FOR AN APPRENTICE. New Edition, 4*s.* 6*d.*

TOM TELESCOPE'S NEWTONIAN PHILOSOPHY. Cuts, 4*s.* 6*d.*

VILLAGE AND THE VICARAGE, 2*s.* 6*d.*

WATTS'S DIVINE SONGS, 6*d.*

WATTS'S DIVINE SONGS; with Essay by SCOTT. 6*d.*

WHITE'S NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE, by Lady DOVER, 3*s.* 6*d.*

WRIGHT'S OCEAN WORK, 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

YOUNG MAN'S AID TO KNOWLEDGE. 24mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

YOUNG LADIES' STORY-TELLER, by Miss LESLIE, 2*s.*

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

	£	s.	d.
ADAMS' PRIVATE THOUGHTS ON RELIGION. 18mo.	0	2	0
AMBROSE'S (?) LOOKING UNTO JESUS, AND HIS OTHER WORKS. 8vo.	0	8	0
ALLEINE'S ALARM TO UNCONVERTED SINNERS. 32mo.	0	2	0
BARROW'S (REV. I.) WHOLE WORKS. 3 vols. 8vo.	1	4	0
BAXTER'S SAINTS' EVERLASTING REST. 18mo.	0	3	0
——— WORKS. 4 vols. Imperial 8vo.	4	4	0
BEAN'S FAMILY WORSHIP. New Edition. 18mo.	0	1	6
BERKLEY'S (BISHOP) WORKS, NOTES TRANSLATED. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	16	0
BLAIR'S (DR. HUGH) SERMONS. 8vo.	0	8	0
BOLTON'S TREATISES ON COMFORTING AFFLICTED CONSCIENCES	0	2	6
BOOTH'S (REV. ABRAHAM) SELECT WORKS. 12mo.	0	4	6
BRIDGE'S (REV. WILLIAM) WORKS. Now first collected. 5 vols., 8vo.	1	17	6
BUNYAN'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. And Life by ADAM CLARKE	0	3	0
——— With Plates. 8vo.	0	12	0
——— HOLY WAR. New Edition. 18mo.	0	3	0
BURDER'S FIFTY-TWO VILLAGE SERMONS. 12mo.	0	3	0
——— RITES AND CEREMONIES OF RELIGION. 8vo.	0	12	0
BURNET'S EXPOSITION OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES. 8vo.	0	7	0
BUTLER'S (BISHOP) ANALOGY OF RELIGION. With Index. 12mo.	0	3	0
——— SERMONS. 12mo.	0	3	0
CALVIN'S INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. 2 vols.	1	7	0
——— (Selections from), by the Rev. SAMUEL DUNN. 12mo.	0	6	0
CAMPBELL'S LECTURES ON ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. 8vo.	0	8	0
——— DISSERTATION ON THE MIRACLES. 8vo.	0	7	0
——— (D.D.) WORKS NOW FIRST COLLECTED. 6 vols. 8vo.	2	2	0
——— PULPIT ELOQUENCE AND PASTORAL CARE. 8vo.	0	7	0
CAVE'S PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY. New Edition by CARY. 8vo.	0	8	0
CHILLINGWORTH'S RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS—A SAFE WAY TO SALVATION. 12mo.	0	7	0
CLARKE ON THE PROMISES OF SCRIPTURE. 32mo.	0	1	6
CLARKE'S (DR. ADAM) CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY. By DUNN. 12mo.	0	6	6
——— LETTER TO A YOUNG PREACHER, AND TRAVELLER'S PRAYER	0	2	6
——— SERMONS. With great Additions. 4 vols.	1	4	0
COLES ON GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY. 12mo.	0	1	6
COOPER'S SERMONS ON THE LEADING DOCTRINES OF THE GOSPEL, PRACTICAL AND FAMILIAR	0	3	0
CUDWORTH'S INTELLECTUAL SYSTEM, WITH MOSHEIM'S NOTES TRANSLATED. 3 vols. 8vo.	2	2	0
DAVIES'S LECTURES ON PROPHECY. 12mo.	0	2	0
DODDRIDGE'S MISCELLANEOUS WORKS. Imperial 8vo.	1	1	0
——— RISE AND PROGRESS OF RELIGION IN THE SOUL	0	1	6
DUNN'S SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF REV. J. HOWE	0	6	6
——— CALVIN	0	6	6
DWIGHT'S SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY. 5 vols. 8vo.	1	10	0
——— 5 vols. Pocket Edition	0	14	0
EDWARDS'S (REV. JONATHAN) THEOLOGICAL WORKS. 2 v. Imp. 8vo.	2	10	0
ELLIS'S KNOWLEDGE OF DIVINE THINGS FROM REVELATION	0	6	0
EVANS'S SKETCH OF ALL RELIGIONS. New Edition. 12mo.	0	5	0
FINNEY'S SERMONS ON IMPORTANT SUBJECTS. 12mo.	0	4	0
FISHER'S MARROW OF MODERN DIVINITY. 12mo.	0	5	0
FULLER'S (D.D.) DISCOURSES ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS. 12mo.	0	5	0
FULLER'S HOLY AND PROFANE LIFE. Portraits. 8vo.	0	10	6
GILL'S BODY OF PRACTICAL DIVINITY. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
——— CAUSE OF GOD AND TRUTH. 8vo.	0	12	0
GOODWIN'S CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY. By DUNN. 12mo.	0	6	6
——— REDEMPTION REDEEMED. New Edition. 8vo.	0	12	0
GURNALL'S CHRISTIAN IN COMPLETE ARMOUR. By CAMPBELL. 8vo	0	12	0
HALL'S CONTEMPLATIONS ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 8vo.	0	9	0
——— (REV. ROBERT) SELECT THEOLOGICAL WORKS. 12mo.	0	3	6
HALYBURTON'S THEOLOGICAL WORKS. 8vo.	0	14	0
HANNAM'S PULPIT ASSISTANT. New Edition. 8vo.	0	12	0
HAWKER'S (REV. ROBERT) POOR MAN'S MORNING PORTION AND EVENING PORTION. 8vo.	0	15	0
HERVEY'S THERON AND ASPASIO. 8vo.	0	10	6
——— MEDITATIONS AND CONTEMPLATIONS. 8vo.	0	5	0
HILL'S (REV. ROWLAND) VILLAGE DIALOGUES. 34th Edition. 12mo.	0	6	0
HOOKER'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	11	
JENKS'S FAMILY DEVOTION. By SIMEON. 12mo.	0	3	

	£	s.	d.
LAWS OF CHRIST RESPECTING CIVIL OBEDIENCE, &c. 8vo.	0	16	0
LEIGHTON'S (ARCHBISHOP) WORKS. 8vo.	0	8	0
——— LECTURES, THEOLOGICAL, &c.	0	2	6
LOWTH'S (BISHOP) SERMONS. By HALL. 8vo.	0	12	0
MASON ON SELF-KNOWLEDGE. 32mo.	0	2	0
——— SPIRITUAL TREASURY FOR THE CHILDREN OF GOD. 8vo.	0	7	0
MASSILLON'S SERMONS. New Edition. 8vo.	0	9	0
MILNER'S CHURCH HISTORY. By HAWEIS. 8vo.	0	12	0
MORE'S (HANNAH) PRACTICAL PIETY. 32mo.	0	2	6
MORNING EXERCISES AT CRIPPLEGATE, AND GILES-IN-THE-FIELDS. New Edition. By J. NICHOLS. 6 vols. 8vo.	3	14	0
MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
NELSON'S FASTS & FESTIVALS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 8vo.	0	8	0
NEWTON'S (REV. JOHN) THEOLOGICAL WORKS. 8vo.	0	10	6
OLNEY HYMNS. By COWPER and NEWTON. 32mo.	0	1	6
ORTON'S (REV. JOB) PRACTICAL WORKS. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	4	0
PALEY'S WORKS. New Edition. 8vo.	0	12	0
——— NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS. By PAXTON. 5 vols. 8vo.	2	5	0
PASCAL'S THOUGHTS ON RELIGION. 18mo.	0	2	6
PEARSON ON THE CREED. A New Edition. By NICHOLS. 8vo.	0	10	6
PITMAN'S SERMONS FOR EVERY SUNDAY IN THE YEAR. 2 vols.	1	1	0
——— SECOND COURSE. 2 vols.	1	1	0
PORTEUS'S (BISHOP) LECTURES ON ST. MATTHEW. 8vo.	0	7	0
PULPIT (THE BRITISH). 6 vols. 8vo. (Scarce)	2	14	0
QUARLES' DIVINE AND MORAL EMBLEMS. Sqr. 32mo.	0	3	0
——— SCHOOL OF THE HEART. Sqr. 32mo.	0	2	6
QUESNEL'S REFLECTIONS ON THE GOSPELS. Essay by WITMAN, 3 vols. 12mo.	1	1	0
ROBERT'S ORIENTAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE SCRIPTURE, 8vo.	0	12	0
ROBINSON'S SCRIPTURE CHARACTERS. 8vo.	0	9	0
ROMAINE'S THEOLOGICAL WORKS. 8vo.	0	9	0
ROWE'S DEVOUT EXERCISES OF THE HEART	0	1	6
SAURIN'S SERMONS. New Edition. By BURDER. 3 vols.	1	16	0
SCOTT'S (REV. THOMAS) THEOLOGICAL WORKS. CHISWICK.	0	8	0
SIMPSON'S PLEA FOR RELIGION AND THE SACRED WRITINGS. 12mo.	0	4	6
SOUTH'S SERMONS AND POSTHUMOUS WORKS. 4 vols. 8vo.	2	0	0
SPRING'S OBLIGATIONS OF THE WORLD TO THE BIBLE. 32mo.	0	3	0
STURM'S REFLECTIONS ON THE WORKS OF GOD. By Dr. CLARKE. 2 vols.	0	12	0
THE SABBATH SCHOOL AS IT SHOULD BE. Royal 32mo.	0	2	6
TODD'S SABBATH SCHOOL TEACHER	0	3	0
——— WORKS ON SUNDAY TEACHING, &c. 8vo.	0	8	0
VENN'S COMPLETE DUTY OF MAN. 12mo.	0	4	0
WAKE'S (BISHOP) GENUINE APOSTOLICAL EPISTLES. 12mo.	0	5	0
WARDEN'S SYSTEM OF REVEALED RELIGION. By NICHOLS. 8vo.	0	10	6
WATTS'S PSALMS AND HYMNS. 48mo. Pocket Edition	0	1	6
——— (BARFIELD'S Edition.) 8vo. cloth	0	10	6
——— SCRIPTURE HISTORY. 12mo.	0	4	0
——— HOPEFUL YOUTH FALLING SHORT OF HEAVEN	0	1	0
——— GUIDE TO PRAYER. 32mo.	0	1	6
——— DEATH AND HEAVEN. 32mo.	0	1	6
WESLEY'S SERMONS, Edited by DREW. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
WHEATLY ON THE COMMON PRAYER. 8vo.	0	8	0
WILBERFORCE'S PRACTICAL VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY. 32mo.	0	2	0
WILLIAMS'S CHRISTIAN PREACHER. By JACKSON. 12mo.	0	4	6
WITSIUS ON THE COVENANT BETWEEN GOD AND MAN. 2 vols.	1	4	0

CHEMISTRY, NATURAL HISTORY, BOTANY, MEDICINE, &c.

ABERCROMBIE'S POCKET GARDENER'S CALENDAR, 18mo. 2*s.*

BERTHOLLET ON DYEING, by URE, 12*s.*

BEST'S ART OF ANGLING, by JACKSON, 32mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

BUCHAN'S DOMESTIC MEDICINE, 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

BUFFON'S NATURAL HISTORY, New Edition, by WRIGHT, 466 Cuts, 4 vols. 1*l.* 4*s.*

CHEMICAL CATECHISM (PARKE'S), 5*s.*

DAVY'S AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY, 8vo. 9*s.*

GARDENS & MENAGERIE OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY. 222 Cuts. 2 vols. 1*l.* 1*s.*

GRIFFIN'S SCIENTIFIC MISCELLANY 8vo. 1*l.* 1*s.*

HUBER'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE HONEY-BEE. 12mo, 6*s.*

MAWE'S EVERY MAN HIS OWN GARDENER, 6*s.*

NATURAL HISTORY OF INSECTS. Cuts. 2 vols. 10*s.*

RYDGE'S VETERINARY SURGEONS' MANUAL, 4th Edition. 6*s.*

THOMSON'S INORGANIC CHEMISTRY, 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 5*s.*

WHITE'S NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE, by Lady DOVER, 3*s.* 6*d.*

GENERAL ENGLISH LITERATURE.

ABBOT'S HOARY HEAD AND THE VALLEY BELOW, 2*s*. 6*d*.

ABBOT'S (JACOB AND JOHN) WORKS. 11 vols. 64mo. Cloth, Gilt, 1*l*.

ANECDOTE BOOK, OR FIVE HUNDRED CURIOUS NARRATIVES, &c. 12mo, 3*s*.

BARROW'S HISTORY OF THE MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY, 5*s*.

BLAIR'S LECTURES ON RHETORIC, AND BELLES LETTRES; with Introduction by DALE. 8vo.

BOOK OF TRADES, OR PARENT'S GUIDE (TEGG'S). 8vo, 8*s*.

BUCK'S ANECDOTES, MORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING. 12mo, 5*s*.

BUCKE'S HARMONIES AND SUBLIMITIES OF NATURE. 3 vols. 8vo, 1*l*. 11*s*. 6*d*.

BUCKE'S RUINS OF ANCIENT CITIES. 2 vls. 10*s*.

BULWER'S ATHENS. 2 vols. 8vo, 1*l*. 11*s*. 6*d*.

BURTON'S ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY. New Edition, Plates, 8vo. 12*s*.

CAMPBELL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RHETORIC. 8vo, 9*s*.

CHANNING'S (DR. W. E.) WORKS. New Edit. 2 vols. 8vo, 12*s*.

CHILD'S (MRS.) FRUGAL HOUSEWIFE. New Edition, 2*s*.

CHILD'S (MRS.) FAMILY NURSE. Companion to the above, 3*s*. 6*d*.

CHILD'S (MRS.) MOTHER'S BOOK. 32mo, 2*s*.

COLERIDGE'S SIX MONTHS' RESIDENCE IN THE WEST INDIES, 5*s*.

COMMON SENSE FOR COMMON PEOPLE. By MARTIN DOYLE, 1*s*.

COWPER'S LIFE AND WORKS. By GRIMSHAWE. 8 vols. 2*l*.

COWPER'S POEMS. By Ditto. 18mo, cloth, 4*s*.

CROKER'S FAIRY LEGENDS, &c. OF THE SOUTH OF IRELAND, 5*s*.

CURTIS'S SIMPLICITY OF LIVING AND PRESERVATION OF HEALTH. 6*s*. 6*d*.

CYCLOPÆDIA OF POPULAR SONGS. 5*s*.

DE FOE'S NOVELS AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, 20 vols., Separately at 5*s*.

Robinson Crusoe complete, 2 vols.—Life and Adventures of Captain Singleton.—Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders.—Life and Adventures of Colonel Jack.—Memoirs of a Cavalier.—New Voyage Round the World.—Memoirs of Captain Carleton and Mrs. Davies.—History of the Plague; and the Consolidator.—History of the Devil.—Roxana; or, the Fortunate Mistress.—A System of Magic.—History and Reality of Apparitions.—Religious Courtship, with an Appendix.—Family Instructor, complete, 2 vols.—Complete English Tradesman, 2 vols.—Memoirs of Duncan Campbell.—Life &c.

DIARY OF AN AMERICAN PHYSICIAN, 2*s*.

DOUCE'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF SHAKSPEARE. 40 Engravings. 8vo, 14*s*.

ELEGANT EXTRACTS, PROSE. 6 vols. 18mo, 1*l*. 10*s*.

ELEGANT EXTRACTS, VERSE. 6 vols. 18mo, 1*l*. 10*s*.

ENFIELD'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. 8vo, 14*s*.

EPHRAIM HOLDING'S DOMESTIC ADDRESSES, 32mo, 2*s*.

FERGUSSON'S LECTURES ON MECHANICS, &c., 8vo. 10*s*.

FLOWERS OF LOVELINESS. 12 groups. By PARIS. Folio, 1*l*. 11*s*. 6*d*.

——— By UNWIN, 1*l*. 11*s* 6*d*.

——— By L. E. L., 1*l*. 11*s*. 6*d*.

FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS. By MILNER. 8vo, 15*s*.

FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS Abridged. 16mo, 2*s*. 6*d*.

FAMILY LIBRARY, THE, IN EIGHTY VOLS. Sold Separately at 5*s*.

Life of Buonaparte, 2 vols.—Life of Alexander the Great.—Lives of British Artists, 6 vols.—History of the Jews, 3 vols.—Insects, 2 vols.—Court and Camp of Buonaparte.—Life and Voyages of Columbus.—Life of Nelson, by Southey.—Lives of British Physicians.—History of British India, 4 vols.—Demonology and Witchcraft, by Scott.—Life and Travels of Bruce.—Voyages of Columbus's Companions.—Venetian History, 2 vols.—History of the Anglo-Saxons.—Lives of Scottish Worthies, 3 vols.—Tour in South Holland.—Life of Sir Isaac Newton.—Mutiny of the Bounty.—Reformation in England.—Lander's Travels in Africa, 2 vols.—Salmagundi, by Washington Irving.—Trials of Charles I. and the Regicides.—Brewster's Natural Magic.—Life of Peter the Great.—Six Months in the West Indies.—Sketch Book, by Irving, 2 vols.—Tytler's General History, 6 vols.—Croker's Fairy Legends.—Memoirs of the Plague, by De Foe and Brayley.—Life and Times of General Washington, 2 vols.—Knickerbocker's History of New York.—Wesley's Philosophy, 3 vols.—Segur's Narrative of Napoleon's Expedition to Russia, 2 vols.—Life of Ali Pasha.—Lives of Banditti and Robbers.—Sketches of Imposture, Deception, and Credulity.—History of the Bastille.—History of Gustavus Adolphus.—Chronicles of London Bridge.—Life of Duke of Marlborough.—Life of Cervantes, by Roscoe.—Life of Cicero.—Ruins of Cities, 2 vols.—Life of Richard Cœur de Lion.—Life of Mahomet.—Peril and Suffering, 2 vols.—Eustace's Classical Tour in Italy, 3 vols.—Lives of Eminent Men.—Mutiny at the Nore.

HISTORY OF THE MUTINY AT THE NORE. By W. J. NEALE, 5*s*.

HONE'S EVERY-DAY BOOK. Numerous Cuts. 2 vols. 8vo. 16*s*.

HONE'S TABLE BOOK, 8vo. 8*s*.

HONE'S YEAR-BOOK, 8vo. 8*s*.

HOLLAND'S DOMESTIC COOKERY. 12mo. 3*s*.

HOWARD'S BEAUTIES OF BYRON. 18mo, 2*s* 6*d*.

INCHBALD'S BRITISH THEATRE. 20 vols. 30*s*. Any Play separately at 1*s*.

IRVING'S (WASHINGTON) SKETCH-BOOK. 2 vols. 10*s*.

KAIMES'S ELEMENTS OF CRITICISM, 8vo, 7*s*.

LAVATER ON PHYSIOGNOMY. 400 Cuts. 8vo, 16*s*.

LELAND'S VIEW OF DEISTICAL WRITERS. By EDMONDS. 8vo, 12*s*.

LIVE AND LET LIVE. By Miss SEDGWICK, 2*s*. 6*d*.

LOCKE'S ESSAY ON THE HUMAN UNDERSTANDING. 8vo, 9*s*.

LOCKE'S EDUCATION. With Notes. By ST. JOHN, 12mo, 6*s*.

MANUAL OF ASTROLOGY. New Edition. By RAPHAEL. 8vo, 5*s*.

MASON'S TREATISE ON SELF-KNOWLEDGE. 32mo, 2*s*.

MEMOIRS OF JOHN SHIPP. 12mo, 5*s*.

MILITARY REMINISCENCES. By COL. WELSH. 2 vols. 8vo. 16*s*.

MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS. By SIR EGERTON BRYDGES. 1 vol. 8vo, 16*s*.

MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS. 18mo, 3*s*. 6*d*.

——— PARADISE LOST. 18mo, 2*s*.

——— SELECT PROSE WORKS AND NOTES. By ST. JOHN. 2 vols. 12*s*.

MORE ON FEMALE EDUCATION. 18mo, 3*s*.

MORE'S (HANNAH) TALES FOR THE COMMON PEOPLE, 32mo, 2*s*. 6*d*.

MORE'S (HANNAH) STORIES FOR THE MIDDLE RANKS, 32mo, 2*s*. 6*d*.

MORE S (MRS. HANNAH) MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, 2 vols. 8vo, 1*l*. 4*s*.

MORE'S DRAMAS, SEARCH, & ESSAYS, 2*s*. 6*d*

NARRATIVES OF PERIL AND SUFFERING. By DAVENPORT. 2 vols. 10*s*.
OWEN'S BOOK OF ROADS. 18mo. New Edition, 2*s*.
PATTERSON'S BOOK OF ROADS. 8vo, 18*s*.
PERKINS'S TREATISE ON HABERDASHERY. 18mo, 4*s*.
PHILOSOPHY OF COMMON SENSE, 32mo. 2*s*.
POST CAPTAIN, OR THE WOODEN WALLS WELL MANNED. Royal 32mo, 2*s*. 6*d*.
REID'S ESSAYS ON THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS OF THE HUMAN MIND, with Examination Questions, &c. 8vo, 12*s*.
REID'S ESSAY ON THE ACTIVE POWERS OF MAN, AND INQUIRY INTO THE HUMAN MIND; Essay on Quantity, &c. 8vo, 12*s*.
RICHMOND'S ANNALS OF THE POOR. 32mo, 2*s*.
SCENES IN SCOTLAND. By LEIGHTON. 12mo, 5*s*.
SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF EDWARD LASCELLES, GENT., with Illustrations by G. CRUIKSHANK, 1 vol. 12mo, 12*s*.
SCOTT'S LETTERS ON DEMONOLOGY AND WITCHCRAFT. 12mo, 5*s*.
SCOTT'S MINSTRELSY OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER. 8vo, 7*s*. 6*d*.
SHAKSPEARE'S DRAMATIC WORKS. Diamond Edition, 7*s*.
SHAKSPEARE'S DRAMATIC AND POETIC WORKS. 8vo, 10*s*. 6*d*.
SIGOURNEY'S LETTERS TO MOTHERS, 2*s*.
SIMPSON AND WISE'S READIEST READY RECKONER ever invented, 12mo, bound, 5*s*.
SKETCHES OF IMPOSTURE, DECEPTION, AND CREDULITY, 5*s*.
STEWART'S (DUGALD) PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND. New Edition, with the Latin Quotations, translated. 8vo, 10*s*. 6*d*.
THREE EXPERIMENTS OF LIVING. 32mo, 2*s*.
TODD'S STUDENT'S MANUAL. 32mo, 3*s*.
TODD'S LECTURES TO CHILDREN. 32mo, 2*s*
——— TRUTH MADE SIMPLE. 32mo, 2*s*.
——— SIMPLE SKETCHES. 32mo, 2*s*.
TREASURY OF WIT AND ANECDOTE. Royal 32mo, 2*s*. 6*d*.
TRIALS OF CHARLES THE FIRST AND THE REGICIDES. 12mo, 5*s*.
TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST. 24mo, 2*s*.
VOCAL COMPANION, OR SINGER'S OWN BOOK, 12mo, 3*s*. 6*d*.
WARTON'S HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY. New Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. 1*l*. 16*s*.
WATTS ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE MIND. 18mo, 2*s*.
WESLEYANA, A SELECTION FROM WESLEY'S WRITINGS. 18mo, 3*s*.
WESLEYAN METHODIST CONFERENCE. By RYERSON. 8vo, 2*s*.
WESLEY'S NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. By ROBERT MUDIE. 3 vols. 15*s*.
WESLEY FAMILY. By DR. A. CLARKE, 2 vols. 12*s*.
WONDERS OF HUMAN NATURE. 12mo, 5*s*.
YOUNG ENTHUSIAST IN HUMBLE LIFE. 18mo, 2*s*. 6*d*.
YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS ON LIFE, DEATH, AND IMMORTALITY. 18mo, 2*s*.

SCHOOL BOOKS.

ADAM'S ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. New Edition, by BOYD, with Questions, 12mo. 7*s*.
ÆSCHYLUS, a New Translation. 18mo. 5*s*.
ÆSOP'S FABLES. (Chiswick Press.) 3*s*. 6*d*.
AINSWORTH'S LATIN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, by DYMOCK, 18mo. 7*s*.
ALEXANDER THE GREAT, LIFE OF, by Rev. J. WILLIAMS, 5*s*.
ALDERSON'S ORTHOGRAPHICAL EXERCISES, 1*s*.
ANTHON'S HOMER, 12mo.
ANTHON'S VIRGIL, by TROLLOPE. 12mo, 7*s*. 6*d*.
ANTHON'S HORACE, with English Notes. A New Edition, by BOYD, 7*s*. 6*d*.
ANTHON'S SALLUST, with English Notes. A New Edition, by BOYD, 12mo, 5*s*.
ANTHON'S CICERO'S ORATIONS, with English Notes. A New Edition, by BOYD, 12mo, 6*s*.
ANTHON'S GREEK READER, with English Notes. A New Edition, by BOYD, 12mo, 7*s*. 6*d*.
ANTHON'S CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES, with Maps and Plates, 12mo, 6*s*.
ANTHON'S GREEK GRAMMAR. New Edition, by DR. MAJOR, King's College. 12mo, 4*s*.
ANTHON'S GREEK PROSODY. New Edition, by DR. MAJOR, King's College, 12mo, 2*s*. 6*d*.
ANTHON'S LATIN GRAMMAR. New Edition. by Rev. W. HAYES, King's College, 12mo, 4*s*.
BALDWIN'S ROME. 12mo. 3*s*. 6*d*.
BALDWIN'S GREECE. 12mo. 3*s*. 6*d*.
BALDWIN'S PANTHEON OF THE HEATHEN DEITIES. 12mo, 4*s*. 6*d*.
BALDWIN'S FABLES. Cuts. 12mo. 4*s*.
BARROW'S PETER THE GREAT, 5*s*.
BONNYCASTLE'S SCHOOL BOOKS, edited by Rev. E. C. TYSON, viz.—

Arithmetic, 3*s*. 6*d*.	Key to Algebra, 4*s*. 6*d*.
Key to Ditto, 4*s*. 6*d*.	Introduction to Mensuration, 5*s*.
Introduct. to Algebra, 4*s*.	Key to Mensuration, 5*s*.

BOYER'S FRENCH DICTIONARY, 8vo. 12*s*.
BURGESS'S (BISHOP) HEBREW ELEMENTS. 12mo, 6*s*.
BURGESS'S (BISHOP) RUDIMENTS OF HEBREW GRAMMAR. 7*s*.
CARR'S MANUAL OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. 12mo, 6*s*. 6*d*.
CICERO'S EPISTOLÆ AD ATTICUM. 2 vols. 12mo, 12*s*.
CRABB'S DICTIONARY OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE. Fourth Edition. 7*s*.
DAVENPORT'S WALKER'S DICTIONARY IN MINIATURE. 18mo, 5*s*.
DUNCAN'S (Rev. Dr.) HEBREW LEXICON AND GRAMMAR. 18mo, 7*s*.
ENFIELD'S SPEAKER. A New Edition. 3*s*. 6*d*.
ENFIELD'S PROGRESSIVE SPELLING-BOOK. New Edition. 1*s*. 3*d*.
ETON GREEK GRAMMAR, by HOMER, 12mo, 4*s*.
FINLAY'S GENERAL SCHOOL ATLAS. Royal 8vo. 30 Maps. Coloured 12*s*.
——— OUTLINE MAPS. Royal 8vo. 5*s*.
FRENCH CLASSICS FOR SCHOOLS, edited by VENTOUILLAC, 18mo, viz—

Nouveaux Morceaux Choisis de Buffon. 2*s*. 6*d*.	Choix des Contes Moraux de Marmontel. 2*s*. 6*d*.
La Chaumière Indienne. ST. PIERRE. 2*s*. 6*d*.	Histoire de Pierre le Grand. VOLTAIRE. 5*s*.
	Pensées de Pascal. 2*s*. 6*d*.

ELLIS'S LATIN EXERCISES. New Edition. By WRIGHT. 3*s*. 6*d*.
GUY'S SCHOOL BOOKS—

British Primer, 12mo. half-bound, 6*d*.	with Chart, 12mo. roan, 4*s*. 6*d*.
Spelling Book, 12mo. sheep, 1*s*. 6*d*.	School Arithmetic, 12mo. sheep, 2*s*.
Expositor, 12mo, shp. 1*s*. 6*d*.	Key to ditto, 12mo. roan, 4*s*. 6*d*.
British Reader, 12mo, roan, 3*s*. 6*d*.	Pocket Cyclopædia, 12mo. cloth, 10*s*. 6*d*
School Question Book,	

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY. By a Lady. New Edition. By WRIGHT. 12mo, *4s. 6d.*

GOLDSMITH'S GRAMMAR OF GEOGRAPHY. New Edition. By WRIGHT. 18mo, *3s. 6d.*

HUTTON'S MATHEMATICS. A New Edition. By RUTHERFORD. 8vo. *16s.*

HUTTON'S MATHEMATICAL RECREATIONS. By RUDDLE. 8vo, *16s.*

JOHNSON'S ENGLISH DICTIONARY. (Pocket Size.) *2s.*

JONES'S SHERIDAN'S PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY, square, *3s. 6d.*

JOYCE'S COMMERCIAL ARITHMETIC, by WRIGHT, 12mo, *3s.*

JOYCE'S INTRODUCTION TO THE ARTS AND SCIENCES. 12mo, *3s. 6d.* [*3s. 6d.*

JOYCE'S SCIENTIFIC DIALOGUES. 12mo,

KEITH ON THE USE OF THE GLOBES. New Edition, by WRIGHT, 12mo, *6s. 6d.*

LEMPRIERE'S CLASSICAL DICTIONARY. By PARK. 18mo, *7s.*

LENNIE'S ENGLISH GRAMMAR. 18mo, *1s. 6d.*

MADAN'S JUVENAL. 2 vols. 8vo, *14s.*

MANGNALL'S HISTORICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS. 12mo. *4s. 6d.*

MAVOR'S SPELLING-BOOK. 12mo. *1s.*

MEADOWS'S ITALIAN AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY. 18mo, *7s.*

MEADOWS'S FRENCH AND ENGLISH PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY. 18mo. *7s.*

MEADOWS'S SPANISH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY. 18mo, *7s.*

MORRISON'S BOOK-KEEPING. 8vo. *8s.*

MURRAY'S (LINDLEY) SCHOOL-BOOKS, edited by TYSON, viz.—

English Gram. *4s.*	English Reader. 12mo, *4s.*
——— (Abridged). 18mo, *1s.*	Introduction to the English Reader. 12mo, *2s.*
——— Exercises. 12mo, *2s. 6d.*	Grammar & Exercises. By GARTLEY. 18mo, *2s.*
Key to the Exercises. 12mo, *2s. 6d.*	

NEWTON'S PRINCIPIA MATHEMATICA. 2 vols. Royal 8vo, *1l. 5s.*

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRÆCE. 32mo, *5s.*

PARLEY'S UNIVERSAL HISTORY. *4s. 6d.*

PARLEY'S GRAMMAR OF GEOGRAPHY, *4s. 6d.*

PARLEY'S TALES ABOUT GREECE. *4s. 6d.*

PARLEY'S TALES ABOUT ROME. *4s. 6d.*

PARLEY'S MYTHOLOGY OF GREECE. *4s. 6d.*

PERRIN'S ELEMENTS OF FRENCH CONVERSATION. By WRIGHT. 12mo, *1s. 6d.*

PERRIN'S FRENCH FABLES. 12mo, *2s. 6d.*

PERRIN'S FRENCH SPELLING-BOOK. By WRIGHT. 12mo, *2s.*

PINDARI CARMINA. HEYNE. 32mo. *4s.*

PINNOCK'S ENGLAND. New Edit. 12mo, *5s. 6d.*

POTTER'S ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE. By BOYD. 12mo. *9s.*

QUESTIONS ON ADAM'S ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. By BOYD. *1s. 8d.*

RAMSHORN'S DICTIONARY OF LATIN SYNONYMES. 8vo. *7s.*

SEPTUAGINT (The GREEK). 2 vols. 32mo, *12s.*

SIMSON'S EUCLID, by RUTHERFORD. 18mo, *5s.*

TEGG'S FIRST BOOK FOR CHILDREN, *6d.*

TOM TELESCOPE'S NEWTONIAN PHILOSOPHY. Cuts. *4s. 6d.*

TOOKE'S (HORNE) DIVERSIONS OF PURLEY. New Edition, by TAYLOR. 8vo. *14s.*

TROLLOPE'S (Rev. W., M.A.) GREEK TESTAMENT, 8vo. *21s.*

VALPY'S LATIN DELECTUS, by WRIGHT. *2s. 6d.*

WALKINGAME'S TUTOR, 12mo. *2s.*

WANOSTROCHT'S RECUEIL CHOISI, New Edit. by WRIGHT, 12mo. *3s.*

WATTS'S VIEW OF SCRIPTURE HISTORY, 12mo, *4s. 6d.*

WRIGHT'S COMMENTARY ON NEWTON'S PRINCIPIA. 2 vols. *1l. 8s.*

WRIGHT'S GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICON. 18mo, *7s.*

DICTIONARIES, LEXICONS, &c.

FINDLAY'S BROOKES'S GENERAL GAZETTEER. 8vo. *12s.*

FINDLAY'S BROOKES'S GENERAL GAZETTEER IN MINIATURE. *7s.*

BROWN'S (REV. JOHN) DICTIONARY OF THE HOLY BIBLE, 8vo *9s.*

BUCK'S THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY, New Edition, by HENDERSON, 8vo. *14s.*

CALMET'S DICTIONARY OF THE HOLY BIBLE, by TAYLOR, Imperial 8vo. *1l.*

CARPENTER'S DICTIONARY OF SYNONYMES, 3rd Edition, 18mo, *2s. 6d.*

CRABB'S DICTIONARY OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE, 4th Edition, 12mo, *7s.*

CRUDEN'S CONCORDANCE OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT, Imperial 8vo. *18s.*

CUNNINGHAM'S (A.) PILKINGTON'S DICTIONARY OF PAINTERS, 8vo, *21s.*

DAVENPORT'S WALKER'S PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY, 18mo. *5s.*

DOLBY'S SHAKSPEARIAN DICTIONARY, an Index to Shakspeare, 12mo, *7s. 6d.*

DUNCAN'S (REV. DR.) HEBREW LEXICON AND GRAMMAR, 18mo. *7s.*

DYMOCK'S AINSWORTH'S LATIN AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY, 18mo. *7s.*

GORTON'S TOPOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY of GREAT BRITAIN, & Atlas, 4 v. *72s.*

GURNEY'S DIAMOND DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, 24mo. *3s. 6d.*

GUTHRIE'S GEOGRAPHY IN MINIATURE, by DAVENPORT, 18mo, *7s.*

JOHNSON'S DIAMOND DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, 32mo. *2s.*

JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, 2 vols. 4to. *2l. 2s.*

JONES'S (STEPHEN) BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, 18mo. *6s.*

JONES'S BIBLICAL CYCLOPÆDIA, *16s.*

LEMPRIERE'S CLASSICAL DICTIONARY, by PARKE, 18mo, *7s.*

MEADOWS'S ITALIAN AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY, 18mo. *7s.*

MEADOWS'S FRENCH AND ENGLISH PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY, 18mo. *7s.*

MEADOWS'S SPANISH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY, 18mo. *7s.*

MITCHELL'S PORTABLE CYCLOPÆDIA, 50 Plates, 8vo. *1l. 1s.*

NUTTALL'S CLASSICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL DICTIONARY, 8vo. *16s.*

ROBINSON'S GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE TESTAMENT, 8vo. *15s.*

TEGG'S DICTIONARY OF CHRONOLOGY. 12mo. *6s.*

WALKER'S CRITICAL PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY, 8vo. *7s.*

WALKER'S PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY, and the Key to Proper Names, 8vo. *9s.*

Bradbury & Evans, Printers, Whitefriars.

6