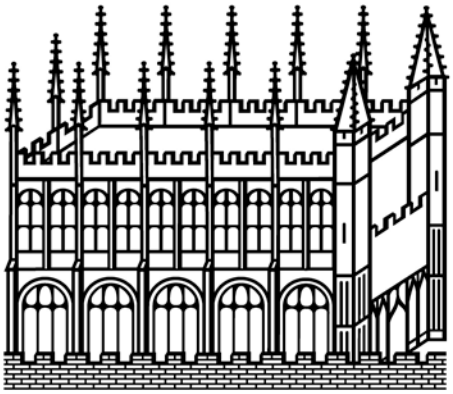

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Τί οὖν; τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, ὅταν μὲν ὁ ἰατρὸς περὶ τῶν καμνόντων τὶ λέγῃ, αἰσχρὸν μήτε ἔπεσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις δύνασθαι, μήτε ξυμβάλλεσθαι μηδέν; καὶ ὁπόταν ἄλλός τις τῶν δημιουργῶν, ὡσαύτως; ὅταν δὲ δικαστὴς, ἢ βασιλεὺς, ἢ ἄλλός τις ὢν νῦν διήλθομεν, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν περὶ τούτων μήτε ἔπεσθαι δύνασθαι, μήτε συμβάλλεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν; PLATO, *Erastæ*, § 9.

TO

THE PROVOST AND FELLOWS OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

AND TO

MESSRS. LONGFIELD, BUTT, LAWSON, HANDCOCK, AND WALSH,

THE PROFESSORS OF POLITICAL-ECONOMY IN THE UNIVERSITY,

THE PRESENT EDITION OF

These Lectures

IS INSCRIBED,

IN TESTIMONY OF THE AUTHOR'S STRONG SENSE OF THE

EFFECTUAL SERVICES THEY HAVE RENDERED

IN THE PROMOTION OF THE STUDY,

AND OF THE IMPORTANT BENEFIT THEY HAVE THEREBY CONFERRED

ON THE COMMUNITY.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following pages were originally presented to the Public, in compliance with a requisition of the Statute relative to the Professorship of Political-Economy, that one Lecture at least shall be published every year.

Conceiving that one object of that provision must be, that the Public may have some knowledge of what sort of Lectures on the subject are annually delivered at Oxford, I did not think myself at liberty to make any material alterations in the Lectures as they were delivered. Otherwise, I might, perhaps, have endeavoured to change the method and the style, adopted with a view to oral delivery, for such as might be more suited to the closet. Perhaps, indeed, I might, but for that requisition, have hesitated as to the publication of such a Work at all. For, the title of it is not unlikely to deter one class of readers, and to disappoint another. Those who have never applied themselves to the study, may

perhaps be led to anticipate from the title of Political-Economy, something dry, abstruse, and uninteresting; and those again who are, and have long been, conversant with it, may perhaps expect such discussions of various important questions, as I have thought it best not to enter on, in an introductory Course.

It has been my first object, to combat the prevailing prejudices against the study; and especially those which represent it as unfavourable to Religion. Convinced as I am, that the world, as it always in fact has been governed by political-economists of some kind, must ultimately be under the guidance of such as have systematically applied themselves to the science, I could not but regard it as a point of primary importance, to remove the impression existing in the minds of many, both of the friends and the adversaries of Christianity, as to the hostility between that and the conclusions of Political-Economy.

It was indeed, in great measure, this feeling, that induced me to offer myself as a candidate for the Professorship. I considered myself, in this, to be contributing, as far as lay in me, to second what has been done by the University of Oxford, towards counteracting the false and dangerous impressions to which I have alluded.

By accepting the endowment of a Professorship of

Political-Economy, the University may be regarded as having borne her public testimony against that prejudice; and as having thus rendered an important service to the Public, independently of the direct benefits resulting from the cultivation of the science. And subsequently, in appointing to the Professorship one of her members, who is not only professionally devoted to the Ministry of the Gospel, but whom she has judged worthy (in the office of Bampton Lecturer, and three times in that of Select Preacher,) to offer religious instruction to an academical audience, she has implied the full conviction of a Body which is above all suspicion of indifference to Christianity, that there is at least no discordancy between that and the pursuits of the political-economist. However slender may be my qualifications in the science, (a science which no one, I conceive, has as yet fully mastered,) the University has at least testified, in the appointment, the most complete dissent from the notion, that the studies of Political-Economy and of Theology are unfriendly to each other.

It is unnecessary, I trust, to observe, that these circumstances relative to myself are not brought forward by way of testimonials or recommendations on my own behalf. One who has been so many years before the Public as an author, must be very sure that, as an author, the Public will judge of him for themselves, without seeking, or attending to, any testimonials from the Society he

belongs to. But it is on account of the University herself that I mention these circumstances; as furnishing a full vindication of the Academical Body, as such, from all suspicion of participating in those narrow prejudices, which would set Science and Religion in array against each other.

I trust that, before many years shall have elapsed, the views of the University in accepting, and of her public-spirited Benefactor in founding, the Professorship, will be to a considerable extent realized;—that idle prejudices against the Science will be done away by a distinct view of its real character;—and that there will be no one who will not be ashamed of employing, much more of deliberately recommending, (as some have ventured to do,) undefined language, and a loose style of reasoning, in a subject in which the most careful accuracy of expression is most especially called for. I trust that, while due encouragement shall still be afforded to those more strictly *professional* studies which conduce to the professional advancement in life of each individual, Political-Economy will, ere long, be enrolled in the list of those branches of knowledge, which more peculiarly demand the attention of an endowed University; those, namely, which, while the cultivation of them is highly important to *the Public at large*, are not likely to be forwarded by the stimulus of private interest operating on individuals. The time is not, I

trust, far distant, when it will be regarded as discreditable not to have regularly studied those subjects, respecting which, even now, every one is expected to feel an interest—most are ready to adopt opinions—and many are called on to form practical decisions.

St. Alban's Hall, Oxford,
May 17, 1831.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

In the first Edition, the Ninth Lecture was omitted, as belonging more properly to a subsequent Course, which was then contemplated; and for which, indeed, its delivery would have been reserved, but for the requisition of the Statute, that not less than nine Lectures should be delivered in each year.

The same reason not being now in force, the remaining Lecture is subjoined.

It was observed by some persons, respecting the first eight, that they were not only introductory, but introductory to an introduction;—a preface to a preface. To this charge I plead guilty. How far this was justly made a matter of complaint, and a ground for apprehending that I should not have been able, in five Courses of Lectures, to enter on the discussion of the principal questions of the Science, the Public must judge from the Lectures published. In them I have stated fully my reasons for endeavouring in the outset to remove a multitude of prevailing misconceptions, and to prepare the mind of the student for applying himself to the

science profitably, and for being on his guard against the crude, rash, and inaccurate speculations that are afloat.

The immediate introduction to the study itself is contained in the Lecture which is now added, and for which those earlier ones were preparatory.

I was induced to append to the second Edition some extracts from the Evidence given before the Tithe-Committee,[1] as affording examples of the practical application of some of the principles of Political-Economy to several important questions. The same reason has led me to subjoin to these extracts, a Speech (already published separately) on the subject of Irish Poor-Laws;[2] more especially as the latter part of the above-mentioned Evidence relates to that subject.

To the present Edition I have also subjoined a considerable portion of my Remarks on Transportation addressed to the late Earl Grey, and of the "Substance of a Speech" on the same subject. These Publications have been for some time out of print; and their connexion with the subject of these Lectures every reader will, I trust, perceive. For though Transportation considered as a mode of Secondary *Punishment* may be

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[1] See Appendix [C]. [2] See Appendix [D].

regarded as out of the province of Political-Economy, it will at least be admitted that as a mode of *Colonization* it is intimately connected with it.

Though much of what I have said on this subject, and on that of Poor-Laws, relates to periods now past, I have thought it may not be the less interesting or the less instructive to record opinions which have been since but too fully confirmed by experience. That confirmation, indeed, some will fail to perceive, because facts have been studiously and successfully concealed, even from persons who, one would think, must have had the best opportunities of ascertaining the truth. But those who will be at the pains to inquire carefully and with unbiassed mind, will find that the real state of things coincides with my anticipations.

Some proofs of this will be introduced where needful, in the following pages.

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INTRODUCTORY LECTURES

ON

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

LECTURE I.

NATURE AND SUBJECTS OF THE SCIENCE.

Disadvantages resulting from the novelty of the *name* of Political-Economy—and from the name itself—The title of *Catallactics*, or the science of Exchanges, would have been more suitable—In what sense Political-Economy is conversant about Wealth—Objections to the study, and misapprehensions respecting it, why noticed—Objection that Political-Economists have treated exclusively of Wealth—Importance of the study in an *endowed* University—Objections to a science conversant about Wealth.

IT is not my intention to occupy your time with a panegyric on the judicious public-spirit displayed by the Founder of this Professorship, or with a studied expression of thanks for the honour conferred on me by the appointment. The best way, I conceive, of at once evincing my own feelings, as to both these points, and fulfilling the designs both of the Founder and of the Electors, will be by doing my utmost to recommend and to facilitate the study in question.

Nor shall I detain you by any lengthened remarks on the labours of my predecessor.[1] Not to mention the peculiar circumstances which, in this case, would render it a matter of more than ordinary delicacy, for me, to pronounce any opinion on his Lectures, it may perhaps be laid down universally, that the decision as to how far any teacher has well performed his part, lies properly with his audience.

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[1] Afterwards (1847), I am happy to say, a second time elected to the Professorship.

The branch of study to which I am to call your attention is usually spoken of as one of the most modern;—as dating its very origin almost within the memory of man. This view is partly, though not entirely, correct: but it is important to observe, that the study has the disadvantages of novelty without the advantages. It professes not to bring to light curious new facts; which are what stimulates curiosity, and arrests attention. The subjects of which it treats are matters the most trite and familiar. Its novelty is only in the *arrangement* of well-known facts—in the views taken of them,—the language in which they are described,—and the general principles founded on them: in all of which, novelty is a source of difficulty, and often an occasion of hostile prejudice; but possesses little or nothing of attraction. Above all, the novelty of the *name*, I am inclined to regard as on the whole a very considerable disadvantage. The advances made in comparatively modern times, in Mathematics, in Natural Philosophy, and in Chemistry, were sufficient to have been considered as constituting new sciences, with appropriate new titles. But there was an advantage in retaining the established names; which, possessing the veneration due to antiquity, imparted a dignity to studies which were in fact in great measure new: and the greatest innovations met with a more favourable reception, from being regarded merely as *improvements*, introduced into sciences whose worth had long been admitted without dispute: even as the virtues and achievements of a man of noble birth who infinitely surpasses his ancestors, are regarded with less jealousy than those of an upstart.

Disadvantages resulting from the novelty of the name *of Political-Economy,*

The name too of *Political-Economy* is most unfortunately chosen. Interpreted according to its etymology, it almost implies a contradiction. The branches of science which the Greeks called POLITICAL and ŒCONOMICAL seem naturally to have reference, respectively, to Polis and Oicos; the one treating of the affairs and regula-

and from the name itself.

tion of a Commonwealth, the other, originally at least, of a private Family. And in modern popular use, even much more, Economy is limited, not only to the private concerns of a family, and not only to one, and that not the most dignified part of the regulation of a family,—the management of its *pecuniary* concerns,—but to the humblest and most minute portion even of these—the regulation of daily expenditure. A man is called a good economist, not for making his fortune by a judicious investment of his capital in some successful manufactory or branch of commerce, but for making the most of a given income, and prudently regulating, so as to prevent waste, all the details of his household expenses.

To those who are habituated to this employment of terms, the title of Political-Economy is likely to suggest very confused and indistinct, and in a great degree incorrect, notions.

It may be said, indeed, that if a science be of intrinsic dignity and importance, the appellation by which it is known is of little consequence;

> " the rose,
> " By any other name, would smell as sweet."

But this is true only in respect of such as are, if not proficients, at least students, or inquirers, in each respective branch of knowledge. To all others a name which conveys *no* clear idea of the nature of the science denoted by it, is not attractive; and one which conveys an incorrect idea, may even prove repulsive, by exciting groundless prejudice.

It is with a view to put you on your guard against prejudices thus created, (and you will meet probably with many instances of persons influenced by them,) that I have stated my objections to the name of Political-Economy. It is now, I conceive, too late to think of changing it. A. Smith, indeed, has designated his work a treatise on the "Wealth of Nations;" but this supplies a name only for the *subject-*

The title of Catallactics, or the science of Exchanges, would have been more suitable.

matter, not for the *science* itself. The name I should have preferred as the most descriptive, and on the whole least objectionable, is that of CATALLACTICS, or the "Science of *Exchanges*."[1]

Man might be defined, "An animal that makes *Exchanges*;" no other, even of those animals which in other points make the nearest approach to rationality, having, to all appearance, the least notion of bartering, or in any way exchanging one thing for another. And it is in this point of view alone that Man is contemplated by Political-Economy. This view does not essentially differ from that of A. Smith; since in this science the term Wealth is limited to *exchangeable* commodities; and it treats of them so far forth only as they are, or are designed to be, the subjects of exchange. But for this very reason it is perhaps the more convenient to describe Political-Economy as the science of Exchanges, rather than as the science of national Wealth. For, the *things* themselves of which the science treats, are immediately removed from its province, if we remove the possibility, or the intention, of making them the subjects of

In what sense Political-Economy is conversant about Wealth.

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[1] It is perhaps hardly necessary to observe, that I do not pretend to have *classical* authority for this use of the word Catallactics; nor do I deem it necessary to make any apology for using it without such authority. It would be thought, I conceive, an absurd pedantry to find fault with such words as "thermometer," "telescope," "pneumatics," "hydraulics," "geology," &c. on the ground that classical Greek writers have not employed them, or have taken them in a different sense.

In the present instance, however, I am not sure that, if Aristotle had had occasion to express my meaning, he would not have used the very same word. In fact I may say he *has* used another part of the same verb in the sense of "exchanging;" (for the Verbals in ικος are, to all practical purposes, to be regarded as parts of the verbs they are formed from:) in the third book of the Nicom. Ethics, he speaks of men who hold their lives so cheap, that they risk them in *exchange for* the most trifling gain [καταλλαττονται]. The employment of this and kindred words in the sense of "reconcilement," is evidently secondary: reconciliation being commonly effected by a *compensation;* something accepted as an *equivalent* for loss or injury.

exchange; and this, though they may conduce, in the highest degree, to happiness, which is the ultimate object for the sake of which wealth is sought. A man, for instance, in a desert island, like Alex. Selkirke, or the personage his adventures are supposed to have suggested, Robinson Crusoe, is in a situation of which Political-Economy takes no cognizance; though he might figuratively be called rich, if abundantly provided with food, raiment, and various comforts; and though he might have many commodities at hand, which would *become* exchangeable, and would constitute him, strictly speaking, rich, as soon as fresh settlers should arrive.

In like manner a musical talent, which is wealth to a professional performer who makes the exercise of it a subject of exchange, is not so to one of superior rank, who could not without degradation so employ it. It is, in this last case, therefore, though a source of enjoyment, out of the province of Political-Economy.

This limitation of the term Wealth to things contemplated as exchangeable, has been objected to on the ground that it makes the same thing to be wealth to one person and not to another. This very circumstance has always appeared to me the chief recommendation of such a use of the term; since the same thing *is* different to different persons. Even if we determine to employ the terms Wealth and Value in reference to every kind of possession, we must still admit, that there is at least *some* very great distinction, between the possession, for instance, of a collection of ornamental trees, by a nursery-man, who cultivates them for sale, and by a gentleman, who has planted them to adorn his grounds.

Since however the popular use of the term Wealth is not always very precise, and since it may require, just in the outset, some degree of attention to avoid being confused by contemplating the very same thing as being, or not being, an article of wealth, according to circumstances, I think it

for this reason more convenient on the whole to describe Political-Economy as concerned, universally, and exclusively, about *exchanges*.

It was once proposed indeed to designate it the "Philosophy of Commerce;" but this, though etymologically quite unexceptionable, being indeed coincident with the description just given, is open to the objection, that the word Commerce has been, in popular use, arbitrarily limited to one class of exchanges.

The only difficulty I can foresee as attendant on the language I have now been using, is one which vanishes so readily on a moment's reflection as to be hardly worth mentioning. In many cases, where an exchange really takes place, the fact is liable (till the attention is called to it) to be overlooked, in consequence of our not seeing any actual transfer from hand to hand of a material object. For instance, when the copy-right of a book is sold to a bookseller, the article transferred is not the mere paper covered with writing, but the exclusive *privilege* of printing and publishing.[1] It is plain however, on a moment's thought, that the transaction is as real an exchange, as that which takes place between the bookseller and his customers who buy copies of the work. The payment of rent for land is a transaction of a similar kind: for though the land itself is a material object, it is not this that is parted with to the tenant, but the right to till it, or to make use of it in some other specified manner. Sometimes, for instance, rent is paid for a right of way through another's field; or for liberty to erect a booth during a fair, or to race or exercise horses, &c.[2]

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[1] This instance, by the way, evinces the impropriety of limiting the term Wealth to *material* objects.

[2] I had not thought it necessary to observe that, in speaking of exchanges, I did not mean to limit myself to *voluntary* exchanges; — those in which the whole transaction takes place with the full consent of both parties to all the terms of it. Most exchanges, indeed, are of this character; but the

Having settled then what it is that Political-Economy is concerned about, it might seem natural to proceed immediately to the development of the principles of the science, and the application of them to the various questions to be discussed.

Objections to the study, and misapprehensions respecting it, why noticed.

But such is the existing state of feeling on the subject—so numerous are the misapprehensions that prevail respecting it—and so strong is the prejudice in many minds against the study—a prejudice partly the effect, and partly the cause, of these misapprehensions,—that I am compelled, however reluctantly, to occupy some of your time in removing objections and mistakes which stand in the very threshold of our inquiries. I find myself somewhat in the condition of settlers in a country but newly occupied by civilized man; who have to clear land overgrown with thickets—to extirpate wild beasts—and to secure themselves

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case of taxation,—the revenue levied from the subject in return for the protection afforded by the sovereign, constitutes a remarkable exception; the payment being compulsory, and not adjusted by agreement with the payer. Still, whether in any case it be *fairly* and reasonably adjusted, or the contrary, it is not the less an exchange. And it is worth remarking, that it is just so far forth as it is an exchange,—so far forth as protection, whether adequate or not, is afforded in exchange for this payment,—that the payment itself comes under the cognizance of this science. There is nothing else that distinguishes *taxation* from *avowed robbery*.

Though the generality of exchanges are voluntary, this circumstance is not essential to an exchange: else the very expression "voluntary exchange," would be tautological and improper. But it is a common logical error to suppose that what *usually* belongs to the *thing*, is implied by the *usual* sense of the *word*. Although most noblemen possess large estates, the word "nobleman" does not imply the possession of a large estate. Although most birds can fly, the ordinary use of the term "bird" does not imply this; since the penguin and the ostrich are always admitted to be birds. And though, in a great majority of cases, wealth is acquired by labour, the ordinary use of the word "wealth" does not include this circumstance; since every one would call a pearl an article of wealth, even though a man should chance to meet with it in eating an oyster.

The logical error I have been adverting to has, in various instances, led to confusion of thought in many subjects, and not least in Political-Economy.

from the incursions of savages, before they can proceed to the cultivation of the soil.

It might seem indeed an insult to your understanding, to enter upon a formal apology for treating of a science, for the cultivation of which the University has accepted the endowment of a Professorship, whose duties it has done me the honour to entrust to my hands. I have no such intention: nor do I mean to imply, that those who now hear me are likely to be imbued with those vulgar prejudices to which I have alluded. But you should be prepared to expect and to encounter them. Both in the conversation and in the writings, not only of such as are, universally, mere empty pretenders, but of some who, on other subjects, shew themselves not destitute of good sense, of candour, or of information, you will be likely to meet with such assertions and (intended) arguments, on this subject, as the very same persons would treat with scorn, in any other case. If, therefore, I should appear to any of you to bestow, either now or hereafter, more attention than is requisite on mistakes and absurdities which may be thought to carry their own refutation with them, I shall intreat you to reflect how much importance the circumstances of the case may attach to objections and errors, in themselves unworthy of notice. It may be well worth while to suggest popular answers to prevailing fallacies, which could never mislead a man of moderate intelligence, attention, and candour, applied to the question; because the number is so considerable of those who are deficient in one or other of these qualities, or in the exercise of them in a field of inquiry that may be new to their minds. A mixture of indolence and self-conceit inclines many a one to flatter himself, that there can be nothing worth studying in a subject with which he is unacquainted. Many a one is overawed by a blind veneration for antiquity, into a conviction that whatever is true must have been long since discovered; or by a mistaken view of the design of Scripture, into an expectation of finding

revealed *there*, every thing relative to human concerns. And many again are prone to mistake declamation for argument, and to accept confident assertion and vehement vituperation as a substitute for logical refutation.

In fact, the number of those who are not only *qualified* to appreciate justly the force of arguments, but who are also accustomed to this employment of their faculties, is probably less than is supposed. When a man maintains, on several points, opinions which are true, and assigns good and sufficient reasons for them, both he himself, and others, are apt to conclude at once that he is convinced *by* those reasons: whereas the truth will often be, that he has taken upon trust both the premises and the conclusion, as well as the connexion between them; that he is indolently repeating what he has heard, without performing any process of reasoning in his own mind; and that if he had not been early trained or predisposed, to admit the conclusion, and it had been presented to him as a novelty, the arguments which support it, though in themselves perfectly valid, would have had little or no weight with him. If such a man then enters on any new field of inquiry, his deficiencies at once become apparent. He is in a situation analogous to that of children taught by a negligent or unskilful master, who are often found able apparently to read with great fluency, in a book they have been accustomed to; though in reality they are not so much reading, as repeating by rote the sentences they have often gone over; and if tried in a new book are at a loss to put two syllables together.

Encouragement to attempt the removal of prejudices.

Causes such as I have alluded to, and many others, operate more or less to produce indifference, prejudice, or error, as to the subject now before us, in the minds of great numbers, whom you cannot either in prudence or in charity pass by with disdain, as unworthy of attention. There are indeed degrees of intellectual or of moral deficiency, such as to preclude all hope of effecting rational conviction: but there

are also minor degrees of these obstacles which may be surmounted by patient assiduity, though not without. And it should be remembered, that a cause would be in no very flourishing condition which should be opposed by all except those who are pre-eminent at once in acuteness, in industry, and in candour.

And there is the more encouragement to labour perseveringly in the removal of prejudices and the inculcation of just principles, inasmuch as the great majority of those whom you will find assenting to the most absurd arguments, and perfectly unmoved by the strongest, have no such natural incapacity for reasoning as some might thence infer; but possess powers which lie dormant for want of exercise; and these they may be roused to exert, when once they are brought to perceive that they have been accustomed to imagine themselves following a course of reasoning, when in fact they were not. The puerile fallacies which you may sometimes hear a man adduce on some subjects, are perhaps in reality no more *his own*, than the sound arguments he employs on others: he may have given an indolent unthinking acquiescence to each; and if he can be excited to exertion of thought, he may be very capable of distinguishing the sound from the unsound.

Not that after all you must expect even the clearest explanations and the most unanswerable arguments, to prove universally successful. Those who have been too long and willingly enthralled in the fetters of presumptuous ignorance and bigoted prejudice, even if driven out of the house of bondage, which they love, will continue wanderers in a wilderness: but there may be a rising generation of more docile mind, who may be led forward with fairer hopes of ultimate success.

As for the vehement vituperation lavished on the study of Political-Economy, which you will be prepared to hear, though, of course, not to answer, I will only remark, that I think it on the whole no unfavourable sign. Invective is

the natural resort of those who are either incapable of sound reasoning altogether, or at a loss for arguments to suit their present purpose: supposing, that is, of course, in each case, as far as they are not withheld by gentlemanly or Christian feeling. In proportion therefore as any branch of study leads to important and useful results—in proportion as it gains ground in public estimation—in proportion as it tends to overthrow prevailing errors—in the same degree, it may be expected to call forth angry declamation from those who are trying to despise what they will not learn, and wedded to prejudices which they cannot defend. Galileo probably would have escaped persecution, if his discoveries could have been disproved, and his reasonings refuted. The same spirit which formerly consigned the too powerful disputant to the dungeon or the stake, is now, thank Heaven, compelled to vent itself in railing; which you need not more regard than the hiss of a serpent which has been deprived of its fangs.

Having premised, then, that I shall notice misapprehensions and objections in proportion not so much to their intrinsic weight, as to their prevalence, and the probability of your being called on to refute them, you will perhaps be surprised at my mentioning in the first place, a complaint urged against writers on Political-Economy for confining their attention to the subject of Wealth. This sounds very much like a complaint against mathematicians for treating merely of quantities; or against grammarians for investigating no subject but language. Yet I can assure you that I have seen the complaint urged with apparent seriousness, by writers not generally held in contempt. I believe what is really meant by some of those who make the complaint, is, that some writers (A. Smith in particular has been charged with this) have recommended this or that measure to be at once *adopted*, on the ground of its conducing to national wealth; or have measured the *whole benefit* of each

Objection that Political-Economists have treated exclusively of Wealth.

institution—the absolute desirableness of each object—by this standard alone.

I am inclined to think that in many cases this has been the fault of the reader more than of the writer. When an author is avowedly treating, exclusively, of questions of profit and loss, the fair mode of interpretation seems to be, to understand what he says, in reference to the subject in hand exclusively. If therefore I find a writer on Political-Economy treating, for instance, of the comparative merits of different modes that have been proposed for the attainment of some national good, and deciding in favour of one of them, I should think myself bound in candour to understand him as speaking (unless he expressly referred to some other consideration) of the superiority of that mode *in reference to national wealth* alone; and as not giving any decision as to its *absolute* expediency.

It is thus we judge in all other cases. When a physician tells his patient, "you ought to go to the sea;" or, "you ought to abstain from sedentary employments," he is always understood to be speaking in reference to *health* alone. He is not supposed to imply by the use of the word "ought," that his patient is *morally* bound to follow the prescription at all events; which would perhaps imply the incurring of ruinous expense, or the neglect of important duties.

If this mode of interpretation be not adhered to, any one who writes or speaks on any subject whatever, will be perpetually liable to be misunderstood; and that, the more, in proportion to the precision and accuracy with which he confines himself to the question before him. For instance, a man who is employed to measure two portions of land, delivers in a statement of the number of acres in each, and represents correctly, (if he has done his work well,) which is the larger. But if, when he has confined himself to his own proper business, to the exclusion of all irrelevant considerations, he is mistakenly supposed to have been expressing an opinion as to the comparative fertility of soil,

healthiness of situation, or picturesque beauty, of the two estates, the statement he has made will be likely to mislead in proportion to its real accuracy.

In like manner, when a geometrician states the ratios of cubes or spheres to each other, though one may be of lead and the other of wood, he is supposed to be taking into consideration, not their substance and weight, but their magnitude alone. And so also, if a writer on Political-Economy is speaking of two articles of wealth as equal or unequal, he ought reasonably to be understood as speaking of their exchangeable *value*, without touching on their greater or less desirableness in other respects. Though one thousand pounds' worth of jewels be of the *same value* as one thousand pounds' worth of instructive books,—which must as surely be the case as that a pound of feathers and a pound of lead are equal in weight,—it does not follow that each must contribute equally to public and private happiness.

If, however, any writer does maintain this, or in any way asserts or implies that wealth constitutes the sole ground of preference of one thing to another, and that happiness is best promoted by sacrificing on each occasion all other considerations to that of profit, he is then deserving of censure for the doctrine he inculcates: but it is remarkable that this censure will be incurred by a procedure the very opposite of the one complained of. His fault will have been his *not* confining himself to questions relating merely to wealth, but travelling "out of his record," (as it is called,) to decide, and decide erroneously, as to what conduces to public happiness. His proper inquiry was, as to the means by which wealth may be preserved or increased. To inquire how far wealth is *desirable*, is to go out of his proper province. To represent it as the *only* thing desirable, is an error, not *in* Political-Economy, but apart from it; and arises, not from his too close adherence to his own subject, but from his wandering into extraneous discussions.

I could wish, therefore, that the complaint against Political-Economists of confining themselves to the consideration of wealth were better founded than it is; for there is nothing that tends more to perplexity and error than the practice of treating of several different subjects, at the same time, and confusedly, so as to be perpetually sliding from one inquiry to another, of different kinds.

Not, however, that I mean at all to object to the incidental notice by writers on Political-Economy of matters closely allied to, yet forming no part of, the inquiries properly belonging to this science. In questions appertaining to any other branch of politics, or of the philosophy of the human mind, they may be right, or they may be wrong, in their conclusions themselves, yet without introducing any indistinctness and confusion into their own proper course of inquiry, provided they are but careful to keep the different subjects apart. A digressive discussion, in short, of any point, is not necessarily objectionable, if it be so introduced as not to lose sight of the circumstance that it *is* a digression.

Objections against Political-Economy as a distinct study.

The same sort of complaint, which I have been speaking of as having been urged against the writers who have treated of this science, has sometimes been brought against the study itself. Since wealth, it is urged, is not happiness, and since it is only one out of the many subjects which lawgivers or governors have to consider, a science which has wealth for its subject, is unworthy of so dignified a title, and beneath the attention of a philosophical mind: especially, it is added, since men are in general prone rather to an excess than a deficiency in the pursuit of gain.

To the former part of this objection it may be sufficient to reply, that we are more likely to advance in knowledge, by treating of one subject at a time, than by blending together several distinct inquiries; though all may centre in the one ultimate end, of human happiness. Even the

building and fitting up of a house is a work entrusted to a number of distinct artisans, though their labours all tend to one common end, the comfort of the inhabitant. Much more may it be expected, that in the pursuit of so complex an object as Human Good, universally, our inquiries will be as vague and unprofitable as those of the Platonists after Abstract-good (*αὐτὸ τἀγαθὸν*), unless we divide them according to the different branches of the subject, and keep steadily in view not merely the general end of them all, but the immediate end of each.[1]

Whether we chuse, after the example of the Greek philosophers, to speak of the Political science as having for its object Human Good universally, or whether we understand Politics in the more limited sense which is now the more usual, as relating to public affairs contradistinguished from those of individuals; in either case, Political-Economy will be one branch of Political science; of which *all* branches are worthy of attention, and each demands a *separate* attention.

Importance of the study in an endowed *University.*

And as there is no department of knowledge connected with the public welfare, that is undeserving of attentive study, so, the one now before us is perhaps the more suitable for an academical course of instruction in an *endowed* University, from the circumstance that it is not, like Law, or the Military art, &c., the subject of a strictly *professional* education. Many of the arts most essential to society need no artificial stimulus to their cultivation, because they are such that the success in life of individuals is clearly connected with their (real or supposed) proficiency in those

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[1] This remark, in substance, was expressed several years ago, in relation to another subject, by one of our most illustrious professors, with a neatness and precision which cannot be surpassed: omnium hæc est laus artium ut hominum utilitatibus inserviant . . . . . atqui non nobis inquirendum est, quid omnibus sit commune, sed quid cuique proprium." — *Bishop Copleston's Lectures on Poetry.*

branches of knowledge, by the exercise of which they are to be maintained. But the regulation of public affairs, in which most of the higher and a large proportion of the middle and lower classes in this country have a greater or less share, is not an art learned in any course of regular professional education, but is too often exercised by those who have to learn it (if they learn it at all) in practice, from a series of experiments, of which the nation must abide the peril. Now it is precisely those branches of study the cultivation of which is expedient for the Public, but to which the self-interest of individuals would not lead them—it is these, I say, that most demand the attention of a *University;* unless at least we suppose them the gift of nature, or of inspiration.

Objections to a science conversant about Wealth.

As for the latter part of the objection above noticed, that men are already too eager in the pursuit of wealth, and ought not to be encouraged to make it an object of attention, the mistake on which it proceeds is one which you will meet with only in the young, (I mean, either in years, or in character,) and which you will readily remove in the case of those who are even moderately intelligent and attentive. You may easily explain to them that Political-Economy is not the art of enriching an individual, but relates to Wealth generally;—to that of a nation, and not to that of an individual, except in those cases where his acquisition of it goes to enrich the community. You may point out to them, moreover, that wealth has no more necessary connexion with the vice of *covetousness,* than with the virtue of *charity;* since it merely forms the subject-matter about which the one as well as the other of these is concerned: and that investigations relative to the nature, production, and distribution, of wealth, have no greater connexion with sordid selfishness, than the inquiries of the chemist and the physiologist respecting the organs and the process of digestion and absorption of nutriment, have with gluttonous excess. And you may add,

that individuals the most destitute of systematic knowledge, and nations not only ignorant but comparatively poor, are at least as prone to avarice as any others. The Arabs are among the poorest, and the most covetous, of nations; and most of those savage tribes, who have not even the use of money, are addicted to pilfering and plunder of every thing that is wealth to them.

The mistake, however, which I have now been noticing, is evidently the result of such complete thoughtlessness, that you will not probably find it necessary to bestow much pains on its refutation.

As for the degree and the manner in which Wealth is connected with national happiness—this, as well as the points of contact between a knowledge of this subject, and our moral and religious duties—the relation again in which it stands to Natural-Theology—and again, the sources from which our knowledge of it is to be derived—all these are points respecting which more serious misapprehensions prevail; and which therefore, requiring to be dwelt on at somewhat greater length, must be reserved for future Lectures.

LECTURE II.

RELATIONS OF THE SCIENCE TO RELIGION AND MORALS.

Mistake of making an Appeal to Scripture on these subjects—Connexion of this Study with Religion and Morals—Supposed Hurtfulness of National Wealth in a moral point of view—Mandeville's notion on this point—Distinction between *individual* and *national* Wealth.

IN adverting, as I did in my last Lecture, to the mistake respecting the branch of knowledge we are considering, of supposing, that because it relates to wealth, it must have a tendency to encourage avarice, I fear I may have appeared to bestow undue attention on an error too palpable to be of importance. But I must claim your indulgence for occupying yet a little more of your time in suggesting refutations of objections, which at first sight might seem not worth refuting, but which you will find by experience are too prevalent to be in prudence passed by.

Mistake of making an Appeal to Scripture on these subjects.

That Political-Economy should have been complained of as hostile to Religion, will probably be regarded a century hence (should the fact be then on record) with the same wonder, almost approaching to incredulity, with which we of the present day hear of men's having sincerely opposed, on religious grounds, the Copernican system. But till the advocates of Christianity shall have become universally much better acquainted with the true character of their religion, than, universally, they have ever yet been, we must always expect that every branch of study,—every scientific theory,—that is brought into notice, will be assailed on religious grounds, by those who either have not studied the subject, or who are incompetent judges of it; or again, who in

addressing themselves to such persons as are so circumstanced, wish to excite and to take advantage of the passions of the ignorant. "Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo."

Some there are who sincerely believe that the Scriptures contain revelations of truths the most distinct from religion. Such persons procured accordingly a formal condemnation (only very lately rescinded) of the theory of the earth's motion, as at variance with Scripture. Throughout Christendom this point has now, it appears, been conceded; but that the erroneous principle—that of appealing to Revelation on questions of physical Science—has not yet been entirely cleared away, is evident from the objections, which most of you probably may have heard, to the researches of Geology. The objections against Astronomy have been abandoned, rather, perhaps, from its having been made to appear that the Scripture-accounts of the phenomena of the heavens may be reconciled with the conclusions of Science, than from its being understood that Scripture is not the test by which the conclusions of Science are to be tried. And accordingly when attention was first called to the researches of Geology, many who were startled at the novelty of some of the conclusions drawn, and yet were averse to enter on a new field of study, or found themselves incapable of maintaining many notions they had been accustomed to acquiesce in, betook themselves at once to Scripture, and reviled the students of Geology as hostile to Revelation: in the same manner as, in former times, any one who was conscious of crime or of debt, fled at once to the *altar*, and sheltered himself in the sanctuary.

It is true, doctrines *may* be maintained, on subjects indeed distinct from religion, but which nevertheless would, if admitted, tend to invalidate Scripture. If, for instance, it could be demonstrated, that mankind could not possibly have descended from a single pair, such a conclusion would, no doubt, be felt by most persons as casting a doubt on the

accuracy of a considerable portion of Scripture-history. But even in such cases, I would utterly protest against an appeal to Scripture, *as* Scripture—I mean as a series of *inspired* writings—with a view to the refutation of such theories; even though we might begin by establishing generally the claim of these writings to our belief. Still, we ought to employ them for their own proper purpose; which is to reveal to us *religious* and moral truths. Historical or physical truths may be established by their own proper evidence; and this, therefore, is the course we are bound to pursue. A Christian will indeed feel antecedently a strong persuasion that any conclusions which are really inconsistent with the Bible, never *will* be established;—that any theory seemingly at variance with it, will be found either deficient in evidence, or else reconcileable with the Scriptures. But it is not a sign of Faith—on the contrary, it indicates rather a want of faith, or else a culpable indolence,—to decline meeting any theorist on his own ground, and to cut short the controversy by an appeal to the authority of Scripture. For if we really are convinced of the truth of Scripture, and consequently of the falsity of any theory, (of the earth, for instance,) which is really at variance with it, we must needs believe that that theory is also at variance with observable phenomena; and we ought not therefore to shrink from trying that question by an appeal to these. The success of such an appeal will, then, add to the evidence of the truth of the Scriptures, instead of burdening them with the weight of defending every point which they incidentally imply. It is for us to "behave ourselves valiantly for our country and for the cities of our God," instead of bringing the Ark of God into the field of battle to fight for us. He will, at all events, we may be sure, defend his own cause, and finally lay prostrate the Dagon of infidelity; but we, his professed defenders, more zealous in reality for our own honour than for his, shall deserve to be "smitten before the Philistines."

Proper object of Scripture-Revelations.

The principles of Morality not a matter of Revelation.

I have said, that the object of the Scriptures is to reveal to us religious and moral truths; but even this, as far as regards the latter, must be admitted with considerable modification. God has *not* revealed to us a system of morality such as would have been needed for Beings who had no other means of distinguishing right and wrong. On the contrary, the inculcation of virtue and reprobation of vice in Scripture are in such a tone as seems to pre-suppose a natural power, or a capacity for acquiring the power, to distinguish them.[1] And if a man denying or renouncing all claims of natural conscience, should practise without scruple every thing he did not find expressly forbidden in Scripture, and think himself not bound to do any thing that is not there expressly enjoined, exclaiming at every turn,

"Is it so nominated in the Bond?"

he would be leading a life very unlike what a Christian's should be.

There is no moral formula more frequently cited, and with more deserved admiration, than that maxim, of doing to others as we would have them do to us: and, as Paley observes, no one probably ever was in practice led astray by it. Yet if we imagine this maxim placed before a Being destitute of all moral faculty, and attempting to learn, from this, what morality is, he would evidently interpret it as implying, that we are to do whatever we should *wish* for, if in another's place; which would lead to innumerable absurdities, and in many cases to absolute impossibilities; since, in many cases, our conduct will affect two or more parties, whose wishes are at variance with each other. A judge, for instance, before whom there might be a cause to be tried, would feel that both parties wished, each, for a decision in his own favour; which would be manifestly impossible. But

[1] See Charge of 1854, on "Moral Instruction."

in practice, every one feels, that what he is bound to do, is, not necessarily what would be agreeable to his *inclinations*, were he in the other's place, but what he would think he might *justly* and *reasonably* expect. Now this very circumstance implies his having already a notion of what *is* just and reasonable. The use he is to make of the formula, is, not for the acquiring of these general principles, but for the *application* of them, in those cases where self-interest would be the most likely to blind him.

Since then we are bound to use our own natural faculties in the search after all truth that is within the reach of those faculties, most especially ought we to try by their own proper evidence, questions which form no part of Revelation properly so called, but which are incidentally alluded to in the Sacred Writings. If we appeal to the Scriptures on any such points, it should be merely as to an ancient book; not, in reference to their sacred character; in short, not *as* Scripture.[1]

And this, as I have said, holds good even in respect of such physical or other theories as would, if received, clearly militate against religion. They may be, and they therefore should be, refuted on other grounds. Much less should we resort to Scripture, *as* Scripture, in the discussion of questions *not* involving the truth of Christianity. So far however are many persons from acting on this principle, that the course they habitually adopt, whenever any opinion is broached in which they do not concur, is that of attempting to prove, or, still oftener, assuming, that it is adverse to religion; thus endeavouring to create an odious association with whatever they dislike.

Connexion of this Study with Religion and Morals.

What I have said of the Bible's not having been designed to give such full instruction in morals as should supersede all other, will not be thought irrelevant to the present subject, by those

[1] See Hinds on Inspiration, p. 152.

who are aware that Political-Economy has been actually censured by some, as being connected with *human conduct*, and yet not professing to be *drawn from Scripture*. In physical science, (it has been said,) we are to trust our own natural powers; but in the regulation of our conduct, the Bible is the only sure guide; and a system which professes an independence of this guide, in *human* affairs, is to be regarded as something unholy.

To such objectors (and, however strange it may seem, you may meet with such) you may easily explain, if they can be brought candidly to examine the character and design of Revelation, that its object is to furnish principles—motives —encouragement—means of assistance—in the performance of duty; but no such detailed directions, even in cases where moral right and wrong are concerned, as shall supersede the exercise of reflection, observation, and discretion. You may point out to them, for instance, that the Scriptures enjoin Charity to the poor; but give no directions as to the best mode of administering our charity. Now it is evident that all different modes of attempting to relieve distress are not equally effectual; and that those which are altogether injudicious may even lead to more suffering than they remedy. Again, Justice is inculcated in Scripture, as well as by natural conscience; but in public affairs it often happens, that it is public *expediency* that determines what particular course *is* just. It is just, for instance, that all the individuals of a community should bear their share of the burden of contributing to any object essential to the public good;—to any measure, in short, of public expediency. But if the object were one beneficial to a small portion only of the community, it would be unjust that these should be benefited at the expense of all the rest. Here therefore the question of just and unjust, turns upon that of public expediency. And on this point errors may easily arise, by mistaking the interest of a few for that of the State. "Qui autem (says Cicero) parti civium "consulunt, partem negligunt, rem perniciosissimam in civi-

"tatem inducunt, seditionem atque discordiam." No legislator indeed whose intention was upright, would knowingly and designedly sacrifice the public good to that of a particular party or class of men; but he may do so unknowingly, even with the best intentions, from not perceiving in what way this or that enactment affects the community; and thus, without any unjust design, may sanction an unjust measure. And it may be added, that though free from the guilt of wilful injustice, he will be much to blame for doing ignorantly what is in itself unjust, if that ignorance be the result of carelessness or of obstinate prejudice.[1]

To speak then comprehensively, it is a christian duty to do good to our fellow-creatures, both in their spiritual and in their temporal concerns: and if so, it must be also a duty to study, to the best of our ability, to understand in what their good consists, and how it is to be promoted. To represent therefore any branch of such study as inconsistent with Christianity, is to make Christianity inconsistent with itself. He who should acknowledge himself bound to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, and visit the sick and prisoners, would not be acting consistently with his profession, if he should, through inattention, or prejudice, or any other cause, sanction any measure that tended to increase those sufferings; or oppose, or neglect to support, any that tended to diminish them. The goods of this world are not at all a trifling concern to Christians considered *as* Christians. Whether indeed we ourselves shall have enjoyed a large or a small share of them, will be of no importance to us a hundred years hence; but it will be of the greatest importance, whether we shall have employed the faculties and opportunities granted to us, in the increase and diffusion of those benefits among others.

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[1] Καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγνοεῖν κολάζουσιν, ἐὰν αἴτιος εἶναι δοκῇ τῆς ἀγνοίας.—Arist. Eth. b. iii. c. 5.

Supposed Hurtfulness of national Wealth in a moral point of view.

You will hear it said indeed, with undeniable truth, that wealth is not necessarily a benefit to the possessor. No more is liberty, or health, or strength, or learning. But again you will also meet with some who contend, that a poor country is more favourably situated for virtue than a rich one; and with others, who, without going this length, maintain, that as with individuals, so with nations, a *certain degree* of wealth is desirable, but an excess, dangerous to the moral character. Either or both of these points, you may concede for the present; *i. e.* waive the discussion of them as far as regards the question concerning the *importance* of the study we are speaking of. For if it be granted that we are to dread as an evil the too great increase of national wealth, or, that wealth is altogether an evil; still, it is not the less necessary to study the nature of wealth, its production, the causes that promote or impede its increase, and the laws which regulate its distribution. We should go to the fountain-head of the waters, whether we wish to spread them abundantly over our land, or to drain them entirely away, or to moderate and direct the irrigation. If wealth, or great wealth, be regarded as a disease, we should remember that bodily diseases are made the subject of laborious and minute inquiry by physicians, as necessary with a view to their prevention and cure. Formerly, nearly all practitioners recommended inoculation with small-pox; though the practice had been much opposed at its first introduction; now, they are almost unanimous in preferring vaccination; but in any stage of either of the controversies which arose respecting these modes of practice, a man would have been thought insane who should have questioned the importance of studying the nature, symptoms, and effects of small-pox.

As for the doctrine itself, that national wealth is morally mischievous, as introducing *luxury*, (in the worst sense of the word,) effeminacy, profligacy of manners, and depravation of

principle, it has been inculcated in a loose declamatory way, by a great number of moralists, who have depicted in glowing colours the amiable simplicity of character, the manly firmness, and the purity of conduct, to be met with in nations that continue in primitive poverty; and the degeneracy that has ensued in those which have emerged from this state into one of comparative wealth. Almost all these writers furnish a strong confirmation of what has been just advanced; viz. that whether wealth be a good or an evil, or each, according to the amount of it—on any supposition, it is still no less a matter of importance to examine and carefully arrange the facts relating to the subject, and to reason accurately upon it, if we would avoid self-contradiction. For you will often find men declaiming on the evils consequent on wealth, and yet, in the next breath, condemning or applauding this or that measure, according to its supposed tendency to impoverish or to enrich the country. You will find them not only readily accepting wealth themselves from any honourable source, and anxious to secure from poverty their children and all most dear to them; (for this might be referred to the prevalence of passion over principle;) but even offering up solemn prayers to Heaven for the prosperity of their native country; and contemplating with joy a flourishing condition of her agriculture, manufactures, or commerce; in short, of the sources of her Wealth. Nor is even this the utmost point to which you will find some carry their inconsistency; for you will meet with objections to Political-Economy, (meaning thereby either some particular doctrines maintained by this or that writer, or else, all systematic attention to the subject,) on the ground that it has for its object the increase of wealth; which is hurtful; and again, that a country which is governed according to its principles, is likely to be impoverished by them. Now the most erroneous doctrines in Political-Economy that ever were promulgated, (and very erroneous ones certainly *have* prevailed,) can hardly be chargeable with *both* these conse-

quences. The same system cannot at once tend to make us rich, and also to make us poor.

Such inconsistencies as these do not shew so much an incapacity for correct reasoning, as (what I believe is much more common) an unthinking carelessness, and a habit of stringing together well-sounding sentences, or readily listening to them, without taking the trouble to reflect on their meaning. Eloquent declamation is, to the generality, easier, either to compose, or to follow, than close argument. Seneca's discourses in praise of poverty would, I have no doubt, be rivalled by many writers of this island, if one half of the revenue he drew from the then inhabitants of it, by lending them money at high interest, were proposed as a prize.

I have said that *most* of the moralists who have represented wealth as unfavourable to virtue, have been guilty of the inconsistency of also advocating every measure or institution that tends to the increase of wealth. There is one remarkable exception, in an author now little known except by name, but whose writings attracted great attention in their day; Dr. Mandeville; whose Fable of the Bees, or "Private Vices public Benefits," was received by the world as a most alarming novelty. The novelty however was more in the form and tone of the work, than in the matter of it. He was indeed a man of an acute and original, though not very systematic or comprehensive, turn of mind; but his originality was shewn chiefly in bringing into juxtaposition, notions which, separately, had long been current, (and indeed are not yet quite obsolete,) but whose *inconsistency* had escaped detection.

Mandeville's notion on this point.

He is usually believed to have deliberately designed to recommend vice. In his second volume, (which is rather a scarce book, but very well worth reading,) he most solemnly disclaims any such intention, and protests, (I must say with an air of great sincerity,) that his object was to refute those against whom he was writing, by a reductio ad absurdum.

Of his intentions, however, we have no means of forming a decisive judgment; nor if we had, would that question be to the purpose. It is sufficient to remark, that he is arguing all along on an *hypothesis*, and on one not framed gratuitously by himself, but furnished him by others; and on that hypothesis he is certainly triumphant. That *if* such and such things are respectively vices and virtues, as had been represented, and *if* national wealth and greatness are desirable, and *if* such and such means are conducive to this object,—then, private vices must be public benefits,—is proved to be not only an undeniable, but almost an identical, proposition. His argument does not go to shew *categorically* that vice ought to be encouraged, but *hypothetically*, that, *if* the notions which were afloat were admitted, respecting the character of virtue and vice, and respecting the causes and consequences of wealth, then national virtue and national wealth must be irreconcileable; or, as he expresses it,

"Fools only strive
"To make a great, an honest hive:"

and consequently, that of two incompatible objects, we must be content to take one, *or* the other. Which of the two is to be preferred, he no where decides in his first volume; in his second, he solemnly declares his opinion, that wealth ought to be renounced, as incompatible with virtue.

Adam Smith, in his Theory of Moral Sentiments, gives an account of this system, containing some very just remarks, though I do not think he fully understood Mandeville: and if, as I believe is the fact, he had read the second volume, he can hardly be thought to have dealt fairly by the author, in omitting all mention of it. I will read an extract from the section, the whole of which is well worth attentive study. It exposes very well many of the fallacies which are to be found in the book, though they are not the author's own, but borrowed from his opponents.

"Dr. Mandeville considers whatever is done from a sense of propriety, from a regard to what is commendable and

praiseworthy, as being done from a love of praise and commendation, or, as he calls it, from vanity. Man, he observes, is naturally much more interested in his own happiness than in that of others, and it is impossible that in his heart he can ever really prefer their prosperity to his own. Whenever he appears to do so, we may be assured that he imposes upon us, and that he is then acting from the same selfish motives as at all other times. Among his other selfish passions, vanity is one of the strongest, and he is always easily flattered and greatly delighted with the applauses of those about him. When he appears to sacrifice his own interest to that of his companions, he knows that this conduct will be highly agreeable to their self-love, and that they will not fail to express their satisfaction by bestowing upon him the most extravagant praises. The pleasure which he expects from this, over-balances, in his opinion, the interest which he abandons in order to procure it. His conduct, therefore, upon this occasion, is in reality just as selfish, and arises from just as mean a motive as upon any other. He is flattered, however, and he flatters himself with the belief that it is entirely disinterested; since, unless this was supposed, it would not seem to merit any commendation either in his own eyes or in those of others. All public spirit, therefore, all preference of public to private interest, is, according to him, a mere cheat and imposition upon mankind; and that human virtue which is so much boasted of, and which is the occasion of so much emulation among men, is the mere offspring of flattery begot upon pride."

"Whether the most generous and public-spirited actions may not, in some sense, be regarded as proceeding from self-love, I shall not at present examine. The decision of this question is not, I apprehend, of any importance towards establishing the reality of virtue, since self-love may frequently be a virtuous motive of action. I shall only endeavour to shew, that the desire of doing what is honourable and noble, of rendering ourselves the proper objects of

esteem and approbation, cannot with any propriety be called vanity."

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"It is the great fallacy of Dr. Mandeville's book to represent every passion as wholly vicious, which is so in any degree and in any direction. It is thus that he treats every thing as vanity, which has any reference either to what are, or to what ought to be, the sentiments of others; and it is by means of this sophistry, that he establishes his favourite conclusion, that private vices are public benefits. If the love of magnificence, a taste for the elegant arts and improvements of human life, for whatever is agreeable in dress, furniture, or equipage, for architecture, statuary, painting, and music, is to be regarded as luxury, sensuality, and ostentation, even in those whose situation allows, without any inconveniency, the indulgence of those passions, it is certain that luxury, sensuality, and ostentation are public benefits: since without the qualities upon which he thinks proper to bestow such opprobrious names, the arts of refinement could never find encouragement, and must languish for want of employment. Some popular ascetic doctrines which had been current before his time, and which placed virtue in the entire extirpation and annihilation of all our passions, were the real foundation of this licentious system. It was easy for Dr. Mandeville to prove, first, that this entire conquest never actually took place among men; and secondly, that if it was to take place universally, it would be pernicious to society, by putting an end to all industry and commerce, and in a manner to the whole business of human life. By the first of these propositions, he seemed to prove that there was no real virtue, and that what pretended to be such, was a mere cheat and imposition upon mankind; and by the second, that private vices were public benefits, since without them no society could prosper or flourish.

"Such is the system of Dr. Mandeville, which once made so much noise in the world, and which, though, perhaps, it

never gave occasion to more vice than what would have been without it, at least taught that vice, which arose from other causes, to appear with more effrontery, and to avow the corruption of its motives with a profligate audaciousness which had never been heard of before."[1]

The conclusion, however, that private vices are public benefits, is maintained, as I have said, by Mandeville, only hypothetically; viz. on the assumption that national wealth is unfavourable to virtue, and poverty the best security against corruption of morals. This assumption is the great principle of his work; which I wish to be remembered, in order that I may be clearly understood, whenever I may employ, as I shall probably have occasion to do for brevity's sake, the word "Mandevillians," to denote those who embrace this principle. I do *not* mean to confine it to such as assent to *every-thing* contained in the book; nor indeed to such as have read it, or even heard of it; much less, to those (if there be any such) who seriously profess to advocate vice; since *this* we have no right to consider as even the author's own design; but I apply the term (for the sake of avoiding circumlocution) to those, who have adopted, from whatever quarter, the fundamental doctrine to which the whole argument tends,—the incompatibility or discordancy of national Wealth, and Virtue.

In discussing any question that may arise respecting this doctrine, it is important in the first place, steadily to keep in mind, what has been already remarked, that it does not at all affect the question as to the utility of the studies we are now considering; since, whether wealth be a good, or an evil, or partly both, the knowledge of all that relates to it is not the less important. This, self-evident as it is, is usually lost sight of by the Mandevillians of the present day; who are accustomed to disparage Political-Economy, on the ground that an increase of wealth is rather to be deprecated than

[1] Vol. i. p. 545—547, and 553—555.

sought for. This, if admitted, is so far from proving that the subject is unworthy of systematic attention, that it proves the very contrary. It would indeed follow, that those particular writers are erroneous, who *recommend* any measure to be adopted on the ground of its conducing to wealth; but what is to be shunned, is not less important than what is to be sought.[1] If they were to maintain that wealth is a thing altogether *indifferent*, which can produce neither good nor evil results of any magnitude, then, and then only, they might infer, that it is too insignificant to deserve notice.

In fact, the whole question respecting the desirableness and ultimate advantages or disadvantages of wealth is, as I formerly remarked, only obliquely and incidentally connected with Political-Economy; whose strict object is to inquire only into the nature, production, and distribution of wealth; not, its connexion with virtue or with happiness. In a treatise, for instance, on ship-building, or on navigation, it would be a digression, (though not a trifling and impertinent one,) if the author should inquire concerning the advantages and disadvantages of a communication between countries separated by the sea; and how far we should adopt as a maxim the expression of the poet,

> "Deus abscidit
> "Prudens, Oceano dissociabili
> "Terras."

This, I say, would be a digression; though not an absurd or improper digression, if the author were but careful to point out, that his own proper subject was, the construction or the management, not the utility, of a ship.

Distinction between indi- Taking care then not to lose sight of the incidental and digressive character of the inquiry,

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[1] Καὶ γὰρ τὰ κακὰ καὶ τἀγαθὰ ἄξια οἰόμεθα σπουδῆς εἶναι, καὶ τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς ταῦτα· ὅσα δὲ μηδὲν, ἢ πάνυ μικρὰ, οὐδενὸς ἄξια ὑπολαμβάνομεν.—Arist. Rhet. ii. 3.

vidual *and* national *Wealth.*

you may next turn the objector's attention to the distinction between an *individual* and a *community,* when viewed as possessing a remarkable share of wealth. The two cases differ immensely, as far as the moral effects of wealth are concerned. For, first, the most besetting probably of all the temptations, to which a rich *man,* as such, is exposed, is that of pride—an arrogant disdain of those poorer than himself. Now, as all our ideas of great and small, in respect of wealth, and of every thing else, are comparative, and as each man is disposed to compare himself with those around him, it is plain, the danger of priding one's self on wealth, affects exclusively, or nearly so, an *individual* who is rich, compared with his own countrymen; and especially one who is richer than most others in his own walk of life, and who reside in his own neighbourhood. Some degree of national pride there may be, connected with national wealth; but this is not in general near so much the foundation of national pride, as a supposed superiority in valour, or in mental cultivation: and at any rate it seldom comes into play. An Englishman who is poor, compared with other Englishmen, is not likely to be much puffed up with pride at the thought of belonging to a wealthy community. Nay, even though he should himself possess property which, among the people of Timbuctoo, or the aboriginal Britons, would be reckoned great wealth, he will be more likely to complain of his poverty, than to be filled with self-congratulation at his wealth, if most of those of his own class are as rich or richer than himself. And even one who travels or resides abroad, does not usually regard with disdain (on the score of wealth at least) those foreigners who are individually as well off in that respect as himself, though their *nation* may be poorer than his. And, on the other hand, those individuals who, in a poor country, are comparatively rich, are quite as much exposed as any to the temptation of pride.

As for what may be said respecting avarice, selfishness,

worldly-mindedness, &c. it may suffice to reply, that not only (as I have already remarked) these vices are found as commonly in poor *countries* as in rich, but even in the same country, the poor are not at all less liable to them than the rich. Those in affluent circumstances *may* be absorbed in the pursuit of gain; but they *may* also, and sometimes do, devote themselves altogether to Literature, or Science, or other pursuits, altogether remote from this: those, on the other hand, who *must* maintain themselves by labour or attention to business, are at least not the *less* liable to the temptation of too anxiously taking thought for the morrow.

Inaccuracy in the use of the word Luxury.

Luxury again is one of the evils represented as consequent on wealth. The word is used in so many senses, and so often without attaching any precise meaning to it, that great confusion is apt to be introduced into any discussion in which it occurs. Without however entering prematurely on any such discussion, it may be sufficient, as far as the present question is concerned, to point out, that the terms Luxury, and Luxurious, are considerably modified as to their force, according as they are applied to individuals, or to nations. As an individual, a *man* is called luxurious, in comparison with other men, of the same community and in the same walk of life with himself: a nation is called luxurious, in reference to other *nations*. The same style of living which would be reckoned moderate and frugal, or even penurious, among the higher orders, would be censured as extravagant luxury in a day-labourer: and the labourer again, if he lives in a cottage with glass-windows and a chimney, and wears shoes and stockings, and a linen or cotton shirt, is not said to live in luxury, though he possesses what would be thought luxuries to a negro-prince. A rich and luxurious nation therefore does not necessarily contain more individuals who live in luxury (according to the received use of the word) than a poor one; but it possesses more of such things as *would* be luxuries in the poor country, while in the rich one, they

are not. The inclination for self-indulgence and ostentation, is not necessarily less strong in poor than in rich nations; the chief difference is, that their luxury is of a coarser description, and generally has more connexion with gross sensuality. Barbarians are almost invariably intemperate.

As for the effeminizing effects that have been attributed to national luxury, which has been charged with causing a decay of national energy, mental and bodily, no such results appear traceable to any such cause. Xenophon indeed attributes the degeneracy of the Persians to the inroads of luxury, which was carried, he says, to such a pitch of effeminacy, that they even adopted the use of gloves to protect their hands. We probably have gone as much beyond them, in respect of the *common* style of living among us, as they, beyond their rude forefathers; yet it will hardly be maintained that this nation displays, in the employments either of war or peace, less bodily or mental energy than our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. In bodily strength, it has been ascertained by accurate and repeated experiments, that civilized men are decidedly superior to savages; and that the *more* barbarian, and those who lead a harder life, are generally inferior in this point to those who have made more approaches to civilization. There is indeed, in such a country as this, a larger proportion of feeble and sickly individuals; but this is because the hardship and exposure of a savage life speedily destroys those who are not of a robust constitution. Some there are, no doubt, whose health is impaired by an over-indulgent and tender mode of life; but as a general rule it may safely be maintained, that the greater part of that over-proportion of infirm persons among us, as compared, for instance, with some wild North American Tribe, owe, not their infirmity, but their *life*, to the difference between our habits and those of savages. How much the average duration of human life has progressively increased in later times, is probably well-known to most of you.

Lastly, one of the most important points of distinction

between *individuals* and *nations* in respect to wealth, is that which relates to industry and idleness. Rich *men*, though they are indeed often most laboriously and honourably active, yet *may*, and sometimes do, spend their lives in such idleness as cannot be found among the poor, excepting in the class of beggars. A rich *nation*, on the contrary, is always an industrious nation; and almost always more industrious than poor ones.

Without entering therefore prematurely into the consideration of the *manner* and degree in which wealth and industry mutually promote each other, you may be satisfied with simply pointing out their *connexion;* so as to remove all apprehensions that may be entertained, on that score, of the demoralizing effects of national wealth.

Since then, the dangers, you may add, attendant on the acquisition or possession of wealth, have reference chiefly, if not entirely, to the case of individuals, and to them, not less in a poor than in a rich community, while *national* wealth has little or nothing of such dangers to counterbalance its advantages; and since almost every one thinks himself even bound, in the case of a private friend, notwithstanding the dangers thus incurred, to enrich him, by honourable means, if he has the opportunity; much more, in the case of that collection of friends which we call our Country, will a patriotic spirit lead us to promote national wealth, when it does not interfere with more important objects.

Inconsistencies of the declaimers against Wealth.

But is there (it may be asked) any one that ever seriously doubted this? Judging from men's conduct, I should say, No. Many measures indeed have been advocated, which really tend to impoverish the country—many opposed, which tend to enrich it; but never, *on those grounds.* It has been always from their tendency being, at least professedly, understood to be the reverse. Much lavish expenditure again has often been recommended for inadequate objects; but always on the ground that the object *was* adequate. I never heard of any

one, even of those who in theory deprecate the increase of national wealth as an evil, being consistent enough in practice to advocate any measure on the ground that it tends to destroy wealth, and for that express purpose; or to oppose a measure on the ground that it will too much enrich the Country. The fact is, the declaimers against wealth are, by their own showing, mere declaimers, and nothing more; who, rather than say nothing, will say what militates against their own conclusions. They recommend or oppose measures, as conducive, or as adverse, to national wealth: and then, if their arguments are tried by the test of well-established principles, and they are exhorted systematically to study these principles, and, before they attempt to discuss questions connected with wealth, to bestow a regular attention on the subject, they turn round and inveigh against such a study because it *has* wealth for its subject, and wealth is a pernicious thing: which would not lessen the importance of such studies, if it were true; and which they themselves have practically admitted, is not true. They resemble the Harpies of Virgil, seeking to excite disgust at the banquet, of which they are nevertheless eager to partake. And as soon as one set of objections are refuted, the same assailants are ready to renew their clamorous attack from an opposite and unexpected quarter:

> " Rursum ex diverso cæli, cæcisque latebris,
> " Turba sonans pedibus prædam circumvolat uncis;
> " Polluit ore dapes."

I can suggest no argument by which you can either convince those who care nothing for self-contradiction, or silence those who are bent on the display of mere eloquence:

> " Neque vim plumis ullam, nec vulnera tergo
> " Adcipiunt."

But for the sake of others, I have endeavoured to point out how you may clear away some of the fallacies thus scattered at random; and which, though mutually destructive of each other, may cause impediments in the student's path to knowledge: even as the wreaths of snow tossed about for-

tuitously by the blind fury of the winds, may form serious obstructions in the roads.

On these grounds it may not be beneath your attention to explain fully some of the most obvious truths, which have thus become accidentally obscured;—to bestow some pains in distinctly setting forth even a proposition in itself so simple, as, that national wealth, which even if it were a serious evil, would demand serious attention, is universally, and even by those who declaim against it, considered as a good.

After all, indeed, in regard to wealth, as well as all those objects which the great moralist of antiquity places in the class of things good in themselves, (*ἁπλῶς ἀγαθὰ*,) more depends, as he himself remarks,[1] on the use we make of these bounties of Providence, than on the advantages themselves. But they *are*, in themselves, goods; and it is our part, instead of affecting ungratefully to slight or to complain of God's gifts, to endeavour to make them *goods to us*, (*ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ*,) by studying to use them aright, and to promote, through them, the best interests of ourselves and our fellow-creatures.

I shall hereafter, when I come to treat of Political-Economy as connected with Natural-Theology, enter rather more fully into the consideration of the effects on society which have been produced, and of those which we may conclude were designed to be produced, by the progress of wealth; and also of the causes by which that progress, as well as the several effects of it, have been modified, promoted, or impeded.

In my next Lecture, however, I shall be compelled to occupy your time with the notice of some of the mistakes that prevail respecting the *study itself* of Political-Economy, (distinct from those relating to Wealth, which is the *subject* of it,) and to the objections that have in consequence been raised, not against the *pursuit* of national wealth, but against the *scientific contemplation* of the subject.

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[1] Arist. Eth. b. v. c. 3.

LECTURE III.

POLITICAL-ECONOMY A BRANCH OF GENERAL EDUCATION.

Arguments against the systematic study of Political-Economy—Common-sense—Experience — Parodoxes maintained as the conclusions of common-sense — Whether Political-Economy is to be regarded as a part of general education — Political-Economists far more numerous than is commonly supposed—How the Art and the Science of Political-Economy came to exist—The study worthy of cultivation for its own sake.

Arguments against the systematic study of Political-Economy.

SUPPOSING Wealth to be *naturally,* and consequently to have *always* been, an object of sufficiently strong desire to mankind, what need can there be, it may be said, to construct a Science, and an Art founded on that Science, relative to the subject? In a matter about which daily practice and daily observation are concerned, and have been, for so many ages, must not the common-sense of judicious men, and the experience of practical men, be preferable to the subtle systems of theoretical speculators?

Some again there are, who are far from regarding with disdain the systematic study of the theory of wealth, who yet have no idea of reckoning it an important part of *general* education; but as one necessary, perhaps, or useful, to those at the head of public affairs; and, to any others, a matter of mere curious speculation.

Common-sense.

With respect to the prevailing fallacies connected with the term Common-sense, I have elsewhere remarked, that all who employ it with any distinct meaning, intend to denote by it "an exercise of the judgment unaided by any art or system of rules; such as we

must necessarily employ in numberless cases of daily occurrence; in which, having no established principles to guide us —no line of procedure, as it were, distinctly chalked out—we must needs act on the best extemporaneous conjectures we can form. He who is eminently skilful in doing this, is said to possess a superior degree of common-sense. But that common-sense is only our *second-best* guide—that the rules of art, if judiciously framed, are always desirable when they can be had,—is an assertion, for the truth of which I may appeal to the testimony of mankind in general; which is so much the more valuable, inasmuch as it may be accounted the testimony of adversaries. For, the generality have a strong predilection in favour of common-sense, except in those points in which they, respectively, possess the knowledge of a system of rules; but in these points, they deride any one who trusts to unaided common-sense. A sailor, for instance, will, perhaps, despise the pretensions of medical men, and prefer treating a disease by common-sense; but he would ridicule the proposal of navigating a ship by common-sense, without regard to the maxims of nautical art. A physician, again, will perhaps contemn systems of Political-Economy, of Logic, or Metaphysics, and insist on the superior wisdom of trusting to common-sense in such matters; but he would never approve of trusting to common-sense in the treatment of diseases. Neither, again, would the architect recommend a reliance on common-sense alone in building, nor the musician, in music, to the neglect of those systems of rules, which, in their respective arts, have been deduced from scientific reasoning aided by experience. And the induction might be extended to every department of practice. Since, therefore, each gives the preference to unassisted common-sense only in those cases where he himself has nothing else to trust to, and invariably resorts to the rules of Art, wherever he possesses the knowledge of them, it is plain that mankind universally bear their testimony, though unconsciously and often unwillingly, to the

preferableness of systematic knowledge to conjectural judgments.

"There is, however, abundant room for the employment of common-sense in the *application* of the system."[1]

It may be added, that what was said in respect of Logic, holds good no less in the present subject, and indeed in most others; viz. that in the practical application of scientific principles there is abundant room for the employment of common-sense.[2] There is no fear that we shall ever in practice have too little call for deliberation—too little need of judicious conjecture. Science does not enable us to dispense with common sense,[3] but only to employ it more profitably; nor does the best-instructed man necessarily deliberate the less; only he exercises his deliberation on *different* points from those that occupy the less-instructed; and to better purpose; he does not waste his mental powers in conjectures as to his road, when he has a correct map in his hand; but he still has abundance of other inquiries to make as he travels over it. The adoption of the Arabic numerals and of the Algebraic symbols, does not supersede calculation, but extends its sphere.

Experience.

With respect to Experience again, which has been made the occasion of so much fallacy, by a careless and inaccurate mode of appealing to it, I have elsewhere remarked, that, "in its original and strict sense, Experience is applicable to the *premises* from which we argue, not to the *inference* we draw. Strictly speaking, we *know* by experience only the *past*, and what has passed under our own observation; thus, we know by *experience* that the tides *have* daily ebbed and flowed, during such a time; and from the testimony of others as to their own experience, that they have formerly done so; and *from* this experience,

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[1] Logic, pp. xiv—xvi.

[2] Βουλευόμεθα δὲ μᾶλλον, says Aristotle, περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἢ τὰς ἐπίστημας . . . καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀδιόριστον.

[3] "Quæ unquam Ars docuit tempestivum artis usum?"—*Bacon.*

we conclude, *by* induction, that the same phenomenon will continue.[1]

And I have remarked, in another place, "that men are apt not to consider with sufficient attention, what it is that constitutes experience in each point; so that frequently one man shall have credit for much experience, in what relates to the matter in hand, and another, who, perhaps, possesses as much, or more, shall be underrated as wanting it. The vulgar, of all ranks, need to be warned, first, that *time* alone does not constitute experience; so that many years may have passed over a man's head, without his even having had the same opportunities of acquiring it, as another, much younger: secondly, that the longest practice in conducting any business in *one* way, does not necessarily confer experience in conducting it in a different way. For instance, an experienced husbandman, or minister of state, in Persia, would be much at a loss in Europe; and if they had some things less to learn than an entire novice, on the other hand they would have much to unlearn. And, thirdly, that merely being conversant about a certain class of *subjects*, does not confer experience in a case where the *operations*, and the *end* proposed, are different. It is said that there was an Amsterdam merchant, who had dealt largely in corn all his life, who had never seen a field of wheat growing. This man had doubtless acquired, by experience, an accurate judgment of the qualities of each description of corn,—of the best methods of storing it,—of the arts of buying and selling it at proper times, &c.; but he would have been greatly at a loss in its cultivation; though he had been, in a certain way, long *conversant* about corn. Nearly similar is the experience of a practised lawyer, (supposing him to be nothing more,) in a case of *legislation*. Because he has been long *conversant about law*, the unreflecting attribute great weight to his judgment; whereas his constant habits of fixing his thoughts

[1] Rhetoric, p. 73.

on what the law *is*, and withdrawing it from the irrelevant question of what the law *ought* to be;—his careful observance of a multitude of rules, (which afford the more scope for the display of his learning, in proportion as they are arbitrary, unreasonable, and unaccountable,) with a studied indifference as to,—that which is foreign from his business,—the *convenience* or *inconvenience* of those rules,—may be expected to operate unfavourably on his judgment in questions of legislation; and are likely to counterbalance the advantages of his superior knowledge, even in such points as do bear on the question.

"In matters connected with Political-Economy, the *experience* of *practical* men is often appealed to in opposition to those who are called theorists; even though the latter perhaps are deducing conclusions from a wide induction of facts, while the experience of the others will often be found only to amount to their having been long conversant with the details of office, and having all that time gone on in a certain beaten track, from which they never tried, or witnessed, or even imagined, a deviation.

"So also the authority derived from experience, of a *practical* miner, *i. e.* one who has wrought all his life in one mine, will sometimes delude a speculator into a vain search for metal or coal, against the opinion perhaps of *theorists*, i. e. persons of extensive geological observation."[1]

It may be added, that there is a proverbial maxim which bears witness to the advantage sometimes possessed by an observant bystander over those actually engaged in any transaction. "The looker-on often sees more of the game than the players." Now the "looker-on" is precisely (in Greek Θεωρὸς) the *theorist*.

When then you find any one *contrasting*, in this and in other subjects, what he calls Experience with Theory, you will usually perceive on attentive examination, that he is in

[1] Rhetoric, part ii. ch. iii. § 5.

reality comparing the results of a *confined*, with that of a *wider*, experience;—a more imperfect and crude theory, with one more cautiously framed, and based on a more copious induction.

It has been remarked by physicians, that no patient or nurse, however conscious of ignorance in medicine, and disavowing all design to theorize, can ever be brought to give such a description of any case of sickness as shall involve no theory, but shall consist merely of a statement of what has actually presented itself to their senses. They will say, for instance, that the patient was disordered *in consequence* of this or that;—that he obtained relief *from* such and such an application, &c.; all which is, in reality, theory. And hence medical writers very prudently inculcate a caution to the practitioner, to ascertain what are the habitual notions of his informant, in order that he may interpret aright the descriptions given. The fact is, that (not in what relates to medicine alone, but in all subjects) men are so formed as—often unconsciously—to reason, whether well or ill, on the phenomena they observe, and to mix up their inferences with their statements of those phenomena; so as in fact to theorize (however scantily and crudely) without knowing it. If you will be at the pains carefully to analyze the simplest descriptions you hear of any transaction or state of things, you will find, that the process which almost invariably takes place is, in logical language, this; that each individual has in his mind certain *major-premises*—i.e. Principles,—relative to the subject in question;—that observation of what actually presents itself to the senses, supplies *minor-premises*;—and that the statement given (and which is reported as a thing experienced) consists in fact of the *conclusions* drawn from the combinations of those premises.

Hence it is that several different men, who have all had equal, or even the very same, experience, *i.e.* have been witnesses or agents in the same transactions, will often be found to resemble so many different men looking at the same book:

one perhaps, though he distinctly sees black marks on white paper, has never learned his letters; another can read, but is a stranger to the *language* in which the book is written; another has an *acquaintance* with the language, but understands it imperfectly; another is familiar with the *language*, but is a stranger to the *subject* of the book, and wants power, or previous instruction, to enable him fully and correctly to take in the author's drift; while another again perfectly comprehends the whole.

The object that strikes the eye is to all of these persons the same; the difference of the impressions produced on the mind of each, is referable to the differences in their minds.

And this explains the fact, that we find so much discrepancy in the results of what are called Experience and Common-sense, as contra-distinguished from Theory. In former times men knew by experience, that the earth stands still, and the sun rises and sets. Common-sense taught them that there could be no antipodes; since men could not stand with their heads downwards, like flies on the ceiling. Experience taught the King of Bantam that water could not become solid. And (to come to the consideration of human affairs) the experience and common-sense of one of the most observant and intelligent of historians, Tacitus, convinced him, that for a mixed government to be so framed as to combine the elements of Royalty, Aristocracy, and Democracy, must be next to impossible, and that if such a one could be framed, it must inevitably be very speedily dissolved.

"Sed quid sequar? aut quem?

In points wherein all men agree, they may possibly be all in the right; but where they are utterly at variance, some at least must be mistaken.

Paradoxes maintained as the con-

The illustrations, however, which I have given from other subjects, are extremely inadequate; for I know of none in which so much theory,—

clusions of common-sense.

and that, most parodoxical theory,—has been incorporated with experience, and passed off as a part of it, as in matters concerning Political-Economy. There is no other, in which the most subtle refinements of a system (to waive, for the present, the question as to its soundness) have been, not merely admitted, but admitted as the dictates of common-sense. Many such paradoxes, as I allude to, (whether true or false we will not now consider), you may meet with in a variety of authors, of the present, but much more, of the last and preceding centuries; and may not unfrequently hear in conversation. That a state of war is favourable to national prosperity—that it is advantageous to a nation to export goods of more value than those it receives in return—that we are losers by purchasing articles where we can get them cheapest—that it is wise for a people to pay, (in the shape of a bounty,) on behalf of a foreign consumer, part of the price for which he purchases their commodities—that it is better to obtain the same results by much labour than by little—that a man is a benefactor to the community by building himself a splendid palace—these, and many other doctrines that are afloat,—may be truths, but they are at least *paradoxical* truths:—they may be abstruse and recondite *wisdom;* at any rate, they are *abstruse and recondite:*—they may be *sense*, but at least they are not *common*-sense.

And again, many conclusions maintained by men who have had much experience, of one kind or other, though they may be *just* conclusions, yet cannot be said to have been brought to the test of experience. For instance, that a Country would be enriched, by having, what is called, a favourable balance of trade with all the world, *i. e.* by continually exporting more in value than the goods it imports, and consequently receiving the overplus year by year in money, and exporting none of that money—this has been held by a great number of men, long conversant with public affairs, and so far, men of experience. But the doctrine

itself, whether true or false, cannot be said to have been established by experience, because the experiment has never been tried. Many, indeed, *have* tried, for ages together, to *bring about* such a state of things; but as it is notorious that they have never succeeded—that no Country ever *has* been so circumstanced—the experiment cannot be said to have ever been tried, what would be the *consequences* of attaining such an object; nor can they therefore be said, (however *right* they may be as to the desirableness of the object,) to know by experience that it is conducive to prosperity. Such experiments, therefore, are like those of the Alchemists; who did indeed try innumerable, with a view to discover the philosopher's stone; but cannot be said to have tried the experiment, whether that stone which converts all things into gold, is, or is not, a universal medicine. That it is possible to find a method of transmuting metals, and that it would be connected with the art of healing, has never been disproved; but one who believes this, however rightly, cannot be said to found his belief on experience.

If, again, you should be told, that those who have long been conversant about any subject are likely to have exhausted it—to have ascertained all that *can* be ascertained in it, and to have introduced every practicable improvement—and if you are called on to produce instances to the contrary, you cannot perhaps employ a better than the introduction of so seemingly obvious and simple a contrivance as that of the *Arabic numerals*, after so many Ages during which ingenious men had been devoting their lives to the search after improvements in calculation. This is an instance of an Invention: a similar one, of a Discovery, is that of the circulation of the blood by Hervey; who came after such a multitude of physicians, occupied all their lives with the study of the animal frame, and in the daily habit of feeling the pulse. Neither of these novelties was struck out, like the improvements in some sciences, through the aid of new instruments, or the casual discovery of new substances. Both lay, as it

were, under our feet; and yet for how many ages were they missed by common-sense, and experience, and science, both separate and united!

I have dwelt at greater length than perhaps may have appeared necessary, on some of the topics which you may have occasion to employ against the vague notions that are afloat respecting common-sense and experience; and by which you may shew the preferableness of systematic study, to judgments either founded on extemporaneous conjecture, or distorted by popular prejudice;—topics by which (to recur to a former illustration) men may be incited to *learn to read* the great book of human transactions which is before them, and to read it according to its true sense, not perverted by a blind acquiescence in the interpretation of unskilful commentators. But you must not expect that reason will universally make its way. "Medicamenta," says the medical aphorism, "non agunt in cadaver." Those in whom indolence is combined with pride, will be induced, by the one, to remain in their position, and, by the other, to fortify it as well as they can.

Whether Political-Economy is to be regarded as a part of general education.

I shall proceed to offer a few remarks on that very prevailing idea, that Political-Economy is a subject which may indeed be studied by any one whose taste particularly leads him to it, but which (with the exception perhaps of a few who take a leading part in public affairs) may safely be disregarded by the generality, as not at all necessary to make up the character of a well-educated man.

It may perhaps be conceded, that each should direct and regulate his studies according to his own judgment and inclination, provided he will consent to *refrain from taking a part* in matters to which he has not turned his attention: but this at least seems an equitable condition.[1] It is a con-

[1] "Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis."

dition, however, which in the present subject is very little observed. The most difficult questions in Political-Economy are every day discussed with the most unhesitating confidence, not merely by empty pretenders to Science, (for that takes place, and must be expected, in all subjects,) but by persons not only ignorant, but *professedly* ignorant, and designing to continue so, of the whole subject;—neither having, nor pretending to have, nor wishing for, any fixed principles by which to regulate their judgment on each point. Questions concerning taxation, tithes, the national debt, the poor-laws—the wages which labourers earn, or ought to earn,—the comparative advantages of different modes of charity, — and numberless others belonging to Political-Economy, many of them among the most difficult, and in which there is the greatest diversity of opinion, are debated perpetually, not merely at public meetings, but in the course of conversation; and decisions of them boldly pronounced, by many who utterly disclaim having turned their attention to Political-Economy.

The right management of public affairs in respect of these and such-like points, is commonly acknowledged to call for men of both powerful and well-cultivated mind; and yet if every man of common sense is competent to form an opinion, at the first glance, on such points, without either having made them the subject of regular study, or conceiving that any such is requisite, it would follow that the art of government (at least that extensive and multifarious department of it, pertaining to National Wealth) must be the easiest of all arts;—easier than even the common handicraft trades; in which no one will knowingly employ a man who has not been regularly taught: and the remark of the Chancellor Oxenstiern to his son, "quam parva sapientia regitur mundus," must be understood to apply not only to what is, but what ought to be, the state of things.

Many of you probably have met with the story of some gentleman, (I suppose it is usually fathered on a native of a

neighbouring island,) who, on being asked whether he could play on the violin, made answer, that he really did not know whether he could or not, because he had never tried. There is at least more modesty in this expression of doubt, than those shew, who, having never tried to learn the very rudiments of Political-Economy, are yet quite sure of their competence to discuss its most difficult questions.

Mistakes arising from the name *"Political-Economy."*

You may perhaps wonder how it is that men should conceal from themselves, and from each other, so glaring an absurdity. I believe it is generally in this way: they profess, and intend, to keep clear of all questions of Political-Economy; and imagine themselves to have done so, by having kept clear of the *name*. The *subjects* which constitute the proper and sole province of the science, they do not scruple to submit to extemporaneous discussion, provided they but avoid the title by which that science is commonly designated. This is as if the gentleman in the story just alluded to, had declared his inability to play on the *violin*, at the same time expressing his confidence that he could play on the *fiddle*.

To the *name* of *Political-Economy*, I have already expressed my objection; but the subjects of which it treats are such as are of deep interest to most men; and what is more, they are subjects on which most men *will* form opinions, whether well or ill-founded; and opinions very far from unanimous; and will act on those opinions, whether in their own immediate management of public affairs, or in their choice of persons to be entrusted with the charge. That therefore which most men *will* do, whether well or ill, it must be of the utmost importance they should be qualified for doing well; by collecting, arranging, and combining whatever general propositions on the subject can be well established.

You will find, however, that many understand by Political-Economy, certain *particular doctrines* maintained by

this or that writer on the subject; and that those who profess to dislike Political-Economy, mean really, such and such doctrines. You may meet some again, who, with rather a greater appearance of precision, find fault with what they call the *modern school* of Political-Economy; and this, when perhaps in the next breath they are complaining that the modern writers on the subject are very much at variance with each other as to the most important principles; and that there are almost as many different schools or sects as there are writers. "Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?"

Such trifling as this would not be worth noticing on any other subject; but on this, you will find that it is wonderfully tolerated; and that accordingly full advantage has been taken of the toleration.

What *is* the modern school of Political-Economy, I cannot distinctly ascertain; nor (it is evident) can those who find fault with it; since one of their complaints is, that no such thing exists, and that, on the contrary, the greatest discrepancy prevails between the different authors who profess to teach the science. If there be, however, any points on which, notwithstanding their general discrepancy, most of these writers agree, that is certainly a strong presumption that they are right in those points. It is, however, only a presumption; not a decisive argument; since we know, that there are several points in which various philosophers agreed for many ages, yet in which it has since appeared they were all mistaken.

Political-Economists far more numerous than is commonly supposed.

In fact, however, it will be found, that even much greater discrepancy than is alleged, does exist among political-economists, if we include, as we certainly ought to do, under that description, not merely those who usually bear the appellation, but all who discuss, and in practice decide, questions connected with national wealth;—all who recommend or adopt measures which have that object in view. All such

are, properly, political-economists; though many of them may be very bad ones. Those of them who may have never carefully and systematically studied the subject, whether they are in consequence the less likely, or the more likely, to arrive at right conclusions, yet do adopt *some* conclusions, and act upon them. Now a man is called a Legislator, who frames and enacts laws, whether they be wise or unwise;—whether he be by nature, or by his studies, well, or ill qualified for his task. A man who attends sick persons, and prescribes for them, is called a Physician, whether he prescribes skilfully or not, and whether he have carefully, or negligently, studied anatomy, pharmacy, and nosology. So also, men are usually called Generals, and Magistrates, who are entrusted, respectively, with the command of armies, and with the administration of justice; however incompetent they may be to those offices; else we should never speak of an *unskilful* General, or an ignorant Magistrate. And on the same principle, one who forms opinions, and frames or discusses measures, relative to the matters we are now speaking of, is a Political-Economist; though he is likely to be a *bad* one, if he does so ignorantly, and at random. But in respect of this particular case of Political-Economy, many men are in the condition of the Bourgeois of Moliere, who had been talking prose all his life without knowing it.

And yet he who confines the term Political-Economy to such and such particular doctrines, and because he does not assent to these, professes to disapprove of Political-Economy, would perhaps exclaim against the absurdity of one who should declare his abhorrence of Theology; meaning thereby the works of Bellarmine, or of the School-men; and defending this use of language, on the ground that these were celebrated theological writers.

There is, in fact, no way of keeping clear of Political-Economy, however we may avoid the *name*, but by keeping clear of the subjects of it. And if it be felt as inconsistent

with the character of a well-educated man to have nothing to say, and to shew no interest on those subjects,[1] you may easily make it clear to any man of ingenuous mind, that he ought to be still more inwardly ashamed (though he may not be put to shame openly) at discussing them, without having taken due pains to understand them. Specious and shallow declamation may indeed for a time be even more favourably received by the unthinking, than sound reasoning, based on sound knowledge; but this latter must have a tendency to prevail ultimately.

And you may add, that consequently *that* man most especially who is alive to the interests of Religion, ought to take the more anxious care that this advantage be not left exclusively in the hands of its enemies. As the world always in fact has been, and must be, governed by political-economists, whether they have *called* themselves so or not, and whether skilful or unskilful; so, there must always be a tendency, in a Country where all stations are open to men of superior qualifications—there must always, I say, be a tendency, in proportion as intellectual culture spreads, towards the placing of this power in the hands of those who have the most carefully studied the subject. Now if such a state of things were to be brought about, as that none of these should be friendly to Christianity, which would be the case, if all the friends of Christianity should refuse to enrol themselves in the number, it is easy to foresee what must be the consequence. This truism, as it appears when formally stated, is often overlooked in practice. If the efforts formerly made by a bigoted hierarchy, to represent the cultivation of astronomy as adverse to religion, had proved successful, and consequently no Christian had been an astronomer, the result produced by themselves,—viz. that no astronomer would have been a Christian,—would have been triumphantly appealed to in justification of their censures.

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[1] See the Motto to this volume.

But what Aristotle says of Dialectics and Rhetoric, that all men partake of them in a certain degree, since all occasionally aim (whether skilfully or unskilfully) to accomplish the objects of those arts—this will in a great degree apply, in such a country as this, to Political-Economy. Many are compelled, and most of the rest are led by their own inclination, to take some part, more or less, in the questions pertaining to it. The chief distinction is between those who do and those who do not, proceed on fixed and carefully ascertained principles.

How the Art and the Science of Political-Economy came to exist.

I wish for my own part there were no such thing as Political-Economy. I mean not now the mere *name* of the study: but I wish there had never been any necessity for directing our attention to the study itself. If men had always been secured in person and property, and left at full liberty to employ both as they saw fit; and had merely been precluded from unjust interference with each other—had the most perfect freedom of intercourse between all mankind been always allowed—had there never been any wars—nor (which in that case would have easily been avoided) any taxation—then, though every exchange that took place would have been one of the phenomena of which Political-Economy takes cognizance, all would have proceeded so smoothly, that probably no attention would ever have been called to the subject. The transactions of society would have been like the play of the lungs, the contractions of the muscles, and the circulation of the blood, in a healthy person; who scarcely knows that these functions exist. But as soon as they are impeded and disordered, our attention is immediately called to them. Indeed one of these functions did exist for several thousand years before it was even suspected. It is probable that (except perhaps among a small number of curious speculators) anatomy and physiology would never have been thought of, had they not been called for in aid of the art of medicine; and this, manifestly, would have had no

existence, but for disease. In like manner it may be said to have been diseases, actual or apprehended—evils or imperfections, real or imaginary,—that in the first instance directed the attention of men to the subjects about which Political-Economy is conversant: the attention, I mean, not only of those who use that term in a favourable sense, but of those no less who hold it in abhorrence, and of our ancestors who never heard it. Many, no doubt, of those evils have been produced or aggravated by the operation of erroneous views of Political-Economy; just as there are many cases in which erroneous medical treatment has brought on, or heightened diseases; but in these, no one will deny that it is from correct medical views we must hope for a cure.

And you may add this remark; that the greater part of those who do in this way induce disease, are such as make no pretensions to the medical art, nor entertain any respect for it. They are often the foremost to declaim against the folly of trusting in physicians—of dosing one's self with medicines—of tampering with the constitution; and think themselves secure from any such folly, as long as they abstain from the use of any thing that is *called* a *medicine;* while perhaps they are actually tampering with their constitution by an excessive use of spirituous liquors, or of other stimulants, not bearing the name of medicines, but not the less powerful in their effects on the human frame. In like manner, you may observe, many have ventured boldly on measures tending to produce the most important results on national wealth, without suspecting that these had any thing to do with Political-Economy, because the *name* of the science was carefully avoided. Buonaparte detested that name. When he endeavoured by all possible means to destroy the commerce of the continent with this Country—means which brought on ultimately the war which ended in his overthrow—there is no doubt he believed himself to be not only injuring us, but consulting the best interests of his own dominions. Indeed, the two ideas were with him inseparable; for all that he

himself had ever acquired having been *at the expense of others*, he could not understand how we could gain, except by their loss. Yet all the while, he was in the habit of saying, that Political-Economy, if an empire were of granite, would crumble it to dust. That *erroneous* Political-Economy may do so, he evinced by the experiment he himself tried: but to the last he was not aware that he had been in fact practising such a system:—had been practising Political-Economy in the same sense in which a man is said to be practising Medicine, unskilfully, who through ignorance prescribes to his patient a poisonous dose.

From whatever causes then evils or inconveniences may have sprung, you may easily explain, that the remedy or mitigation of them must be sought in a correct and well-digested knowledge of the subject.

The study worthy of cultivation for its own sake.

But how much soever we may lament that those evils should ever have existed, to which probably the art and the science of Political-Economy owe their origin—which led, first to the practice, and many ages after, to the study, of it—we must not regard the study itself as therefore no more than a mere necessary evil;—as having in itself nothing of the character of an interesting or dignified pursuit. Anatomy and Physiology, though, as I have said, they probably owe their rise to Medicine, as that did, to disease, are yet universally acknowledged to be among the most curious and interesting studies, even for those who have no design to apply them professionally in the practice of medicine. In particular, they are found, the more they are studied, to throw more and more light on the stupendous wisdom of contrivance which the structure of organized bodies displays;—in short, to furnish a most important portion of Natural-Theology. And it might have been anticipated, that an attentive study of the constitution of Society, would bring to light a no less admirable apparatus of divinely-wise contrivances, directed no less to beneficial ends;—that as

the structure of a single bee is admirable, and still more so that of a hive of bees, instinctively directing their efforts towards a common object, so, the Divine Maker of the human bodily frame, has evinced no less benevolent wisdom in his provisions for the progress of Society;—and that though in both cases the designs of divine Wisdom are often counteracted by human folly—by intemperance or neglect, as far as relates to the body—and by mistake or fraud, in respect of the community—still, in each case, attentive study may enable us to trace more and more the designs of a wise Providence, and to devise means for removing the impediments to their completion.

My next and some succeeding Lectures will be occupied with remarks on this view of the subject.

LECTURE IV.

MAN CONSIDERED AS A SOCIAL BEING.

Man naturally a social Being—Connexion of Political-Economy with Natural-Theology—Provisions made by Divine Wisdom for the progress of Society—Existence of evil not to be explained.

Man naturally a social Being.

"BEES," said Cicero, "do not congregate for the purpose of constructing a honey-comb; but being by nature gregarious animals, combine their labours in making the comb. And Man, even still more," he continues, "is formed by nature for society, and subsequently, as a member of society, promotes the common good in conjunction with his fellow-creatures." That "Man is a Being formed by Nature to join in political communities," is the doctrine maintained by Aristotle also.[1] Both these writers stood opposed to some, of their own times, who represented the social union as an expedient which men resorted to on account of their mutual wants, and which they would never have cared for, if those wants could have been independently supplied. The two writers whom I have alluded to resembled each other very little in their intellectual character; but they were both of them far enough from overlooking or depreciating the advantages of the social union; which yet they both agreed in representing as not formed by men *with a view to* those advantages, but from an instinctive propensity: the one insisting, that if a philosopher could be furnished with a magic wand which would command all the necessaries and luxuries of life, he would still crave companions; the other, that without so-

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[1] Φύσει πολιτικὸν ἄνθρωπος.

ciety, though a man should possess all other goods, life would be not worth having;[1] and that to be independent of associates, one must be either more, or less, than Man.[2]

Yet the opinion to which they were opposed, has, in part, always found some advocates, even down to the present day.

When I say, "in part," I mean, that though there are perhaps few or none who deny Man to be by nature a social Being, incapable, except in a community, of exercising or developing his most important and most characteristic faculties, yet various parts of Man's conduct as a member of society are often attributed to human forethought and design, which might with greater truth be referred to a kind of instinct, or something analogous to it; which leads him, while pursuing some immediate personal gratification, to further an object not contemplated by him. In many cases we are liable to mistake for the wisdom of Man what is in truth the wisdom of God.

Connexion of Political-Economy with Natural-Theology.

In nothing, perhaps, will an attentive and candid inquirer perceive more of this divine Wisdom than in the provisions made for the *progress of society*. But in nothing is it more liable to be overlooked. In the bodily structure of Man we plainly perceive innumerable marks of wise contrivance, in which it is plain that Man himself can have had no share. And again, in the results of instinct in brutes, although the animals themselves are, in some sort, agents, we are sure that they not only could not originally have designed the effects they produce, but, even afterwards, have no notion of the contrivance by which these were brought about. But when *human* conduct tends to some desirable end, and the agents are competent to perceive that

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[1] Ἄνευ γὰρ φίλων, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἕλοιτο ζῆν, ἔχων τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα.—Eth. Nicom. book viii.

[2] Ἢ θεὸς ἐστὶν, ἢ θήρ.

the end *is* desirable, and the means well adapted to it, they are apt to forget, that in the great majority of instances, those means were not devised, nor those ends proposed, by the persons themselves who are thus employed. Those who build and who navigate a ship, have usually, I conceive, no more thought about the national wealth and power, the national refinements and comforts, dependent on the interchange of commodities, and the other results of commerce, than they have of the purification of the blood in the lungs by the act of respiration, or than the bee has of the process of constructing a honey-comb.

Most useful indeed to Society, and much to be honoured, are those who possess the rare moral and intellectual endowment of an enlightened public-spirit; but if none did service to the Public except in proportion as they possessed this, Society, I fear, would fare but ill. Public-spirit, either in the form of Patriotism which looks to the good of a community, or in that of Philanthropy which seeks the good of the whole human race, implies, not merely *benevolent feelings* stronger than, in fact, we commonly meet with, but also powers of *abstraction* beyond what the mass of mankind *can* possess. As it is, many of the most important objects are accomplished by the joint agency of persons who never think of them, nor have any idea of acting in concert; and that, with a certainty, completeness, and regularity, which probably the most diligent benevolence under the guidance of the greatest human wisdom, could never have attained.

Unconscious co-operation of men.

For instance, let any one propose to himself the problem of supplying with daily provisions of all kinds such a city as our metropolis, containing above a million of inhabitants. Let him imagine himself a head-commissary, entrusted with the office of furnishing to this enormous host their daily rations. Any considerable failure in the supply, even for a single day, might produce the most frightful distress; since the spot on which they are cantoned produces absolutely nothing. Some indeed of the

articles consumed admit of being reserved in public or private stores, for a considerable time; but many, including most articles of animal food, and many of vegetable, are of the most perishable nature. As a deficient supply of these even for a few days, would occasion great inconvenience, so, a redundancy of them would produce a corresponding waste. Moreover, in a district of such vast extent, as this "province" (as it has been aptly called) "covered with houses," it is essential that the supplies should be so distributed among the different quarters, as to be brought almost to the doors of the inhabitants; at least within such a distance, that they may, without an inconvenient waste of time and labour, procure their daily shares.

Moreover, whereas the supply of provisions for an army or garrison is comparatively *uniform in kind:* here the greatest possible *variety* is required, suitable to the wants of various classes of consumers.

Again, this immense population is extremely fluctuating in numbers; and the increase or diminution depends on causes, of which, though some may, others can not, be distinctly foreseen. The difference of several weeks in the arrival, for instance, of one of the great commercial fleets, or in the assembly or dissolution of a parliament, which cause a great variation in the population, it is often impossible to foresee.

Lastly, and above all, the daily supplies of each article must be so nicely adjusted to the stock from which it is drawn—to the scanty, or more or less abundant, harvest—importation—or other source of supply—to the interval which is to elapse before a fresh stock can be furnished, and to the probable abundance of the new supply, that as little distress as possible may be undergone;—that on the one hand the population may not unnecessarily be put upon short allowance of any article, and that on the other hand they may be preserved from the more dreadful risk of famine, which would ensue from their continuing a free consumption when the store was insufficient to hold out.

Now let any one consider this problem in all its bearings, reflecting on the enormous and fluctuating number of persons to be fed—the immense quantity, and the variety, of the provisions to be furnished, the importance of a convenient distribution of them, and the necessity of husbanding them discreetly; and then let him reflect on the anxious toil which such a task would impose on a Board of the most experienced and intelligent commissaries; who after all would be able to discharge their office but very inadequately.

Yet this object is accomplished far better than it could be by any effort of human wisdom, through the agency of men, who think each of nothing beyond his own immediate interest,—who, with that object in view, perform their respective parts with cheerful zeal,—and combine unconsciously to employ the wisest means for effecting an object, the vastness of which it would bewilder them even to contemplate.

Early and long familiarity is apt to generate a careless,—I might almost say, a stupid indifference, to many objects, which, if new to us, would excite a great and a just admiration: and many are inclined even to hold cheap a stranger, who expresses wonder at what seems to us very natural and simple, merely because we have been used to it; while in fact perhaps our apathy is a more just subject of contempt than his astonishment. Moyhanger, a New-Zealander who was brought to England, was struck with especial wonder, in his visit to London, at the mystery, as it appeared to him, how such an immense population could be fed; as he saw neither cattle nor crops. Many of the Londoners, who would perhaps have laughed at the savage's admiration, would probably have been found never to have even thought of the mechanism which is here at work.

It is really wonderful to consider with what ease and regularity this important end is accomplished, day after day, and year after year, through the sagacity and vigilance of private interest operating on the numerous class, of wholesale, and more especially, retail, dealers. Each of these

watches attentively the demands of his neighbourhood, or of the market he frequents, for such commodities as he deals in. The apprehension, on the one hand, of not realizing all the profit he might, and, on the other hand, of having his goods left on his hands, either by his laying in too large a stock, or by his rival's underselling him,—these, acting like antagonist muscles, regulate the extent of his dealings, and the prices at which he buys and sells. An abundant supply causes him to lower his prices, and thus enables the Public to enjoy that abundance; while *he* is guided only by the apprehension of being undersold; and, on the other hand, an actual or apprehended scarcity causes him to demand a higher price, or to keep back his goods in expectation of a rise.

Odium to which Corn-dealers are exposed.

For doing this, corn-dealers in particular are often exposed to odium, as if they were the cause of the scarcity; while in reality they are performing the important service of husbanding the supply in proportion to its deficiency, and thus warding off the calamity of famine; in the same manner as the commander of a garrison or a ship, regulates the allowances according to the stock, and the time it is to last. But the dealers deserve neither censure for the scarcity which they are ignorantly supposed to produce, nor credit for the important public service which they in reality perform. They are merely occupied in gaining a fair livelihood. And in the pursuit of this object, without any comprehensive wisdom, or any need of it, they co-operate, unknowingly, in conducting a system which, we may safely say, no human wisdom directed to that end could have conducted so well:—the system by which this enormous population is fed from day to day.

I have said, "no *human* wisdom;" for *wisdom* there surely is, in this adaptation of the means to the result actually produced. In this instance, as well as in a multitude of others, from which I selected it for illustration's sake, there are the same marks of contrivance and design,

with a view to a beneficial end, as we are accustomed to admire (when our attention is drawn to them by the study of Natural-Theology) in the anatomical structure of the body, and in the instincts of the brute-creation. The pulsations of the heart, the ramifications of vessels in the lungs—the direction of the arteries and of the veins—the valves which prevent the retrograde motion of the blood—all these, exhibit a wonderful *combination* of mechanical means towards the end manifestly designed, the circulating system. But I know not whether it does not even still more excite our admiration of the beneficent wisdom of Providence, to contemplate, not corporeal particles, but rational free agents, co-operating in systems no less manifestly indicating design, yet no design of theirs; and though acted on, not by gravitation and impulse, like inert matter, but by motives addressed to the will, yet advancing as regularly and as effectually the accomplishment of an object they never contemplated, as if they were merely the passive wheels of a machine. If one may without presumption speak of a more or a less in reference to the works of infinite Wisdom, I would say, that the branch of Natural-Theology with which we are now concerned, presents to the reflective mind views even more striking than any other. The heavens do indeed "declare the glory of God;" and the human body is "fearfully and wonderfully made;" but Man, considered not merely as an organized Being, but as a rational agent, and as a member of Society, is perhaps the most wonderfully contrived, and to us the most interesting, specimen of divine Wisdom that we have any knowledge of. *Πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ, κ' οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινοτερὸν πέλει.*

The phenomena which can be exhibited directly to the senses, afford perhaps, for the youthful mind, the best *introduction* to the study of Natural-Theology; but even greater admiration will arise as the philosophical inquirer proceeds to trace the marks of divine Wisdom in the various contrivances for the well-being of Man, exhibited in the compli-

cated structure of Society. The investigation is indeed one of more intricacy and difficulty, from various causes; especially, from the more frequent frustration of the apparent designs of Providence through human faults and follies; in the same manner as, in a less degree, the provisions of Nature for the growth, and strength, and health, of the body, are often defeated by man's intemperance or imprudence. But still I am inclined to think, that if the time should ever arrive, when the structure of Human Society and all the phenomena connected with it, shall be as well understood as Astronomy and Physiology, it will be regarded as exhibiting even more striking marks of divine Wisdom.

Provisions made by divine Wisdom for the progress of Society.

I shall probably take occasion from time to time to advert incidentally to this view of the subject, as the matter which may happen to be before us may suggest. But the point to which I wish at present more particularly to call your attention is, the one in which Man, and more especially Man considered as a social Being, stands contrasted both with inanimate bodies, and with the lower animals;—I mean, the provisions made for the *progress* of society. A capacity of *improvement* seems to be characteristic of the Human Species, both as individuals, and as existing in a community. The mechanical and chemical laws of matter are not only unvarying, but seem calculated to preserve all things either in an unvarying state, or in a regular rotation of changes, except where human agency interferes. The instincts of brutes, as has been often remarked, lead them to no improvement. But in Man, not only the faculties are susceptible of much cultivation, (a point in which he does indeed stand far above the brutes, but which yet is not *peculiar* to our species,) but besides this, what may be called the *instincts* of Man lead to the advancement of society. I mean, that (as in such cases as those just alluded to) he is led to further this object when he has another in view. And this procedure is, as far as regards the object which the agent did

not contemplate, precisely analogous, at least, to that of instinct.

The workman, for instance, who is employed in casting printing-types, is usually thinking only of producing a commodity by the sale of which he may support himself. *With reference to this object*, he is acting, not from any impulse that is at all of the character of instinct, but from a rational and deliberate choice. But he is also, in the very same act, contributing most powerfully to the diffusion of knowledge; about which perhaps he has no anxiety or thought. In *reference to this latter object* therefore, his procedure corresponds to those operations of various animals which we attribute to instinct; since *they* doubtless derive some immediate gratification from what they are doing. So, Man is, in the same act, doing one thing, by choice, for his own benefit, and another, undesignedly, under the guidance of Providence, for the service of the community.

The branch of Natural-Theology to which I have now been alluding—the contemplation of the divine Wisdom as displayed in provisions for the existence, the well-being, and the progress, of Society, comprises a great number of distinct heads, several of them only partially and incidentally connected with the subject of these Lectures. Our proper business at present is to consider the subject so far only as it is connected with national wealth; and more immediately the connexion of that, with the *advancement* of civilization.

Existence of evil not to be explained.

And here I must take occasion to remark, that I do not profess to explain why things were so ordered, that any advancement at all should be needful;—why mankind were not placed at once in a state of society as highly civilized as it was destined ever to be.[1]

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[1] Archbishop Sumner has treated at large of the subjects here considered, in the third part of his "Records of the Creation;" to which I have much pleasure in referring the reader, though I do not entirely coincide with every thing that the author has there said.

In the Notes and Appendix to Archbishop King's Discourse I have stated

The reasons for this are probably unfathomable by us in this world. It is sufficient for our present purpose merely to remark the fact, that the apparent design of Providence evidently *is*, the advancement of mankind, not only as Individuals, but as Communities. Nor again do I profess to explain, why, in so many particular instances, causes have been permitted to operate, more or less, towards the frustration of this general design, and the retardation, or even reversal, of the course of improvement. The difficulty in fact is one which belongs, not to this alone, but to every branch of Natural-Theology. In every part of the universe we see marks of wise and benevolent design; and yet we see in many instances apparent frustrations of this design; we see the productiveness of the earth interrupted by unfavourable seasons—the structure of the animal-frame enfeebled, and its functions impaired, by disease—and vast multitudes of living Beings, exposed, from various causes, to suffering, and to premature destruction. In the moral and political world, wars, and civil dissension—tyrannical governments, unwise laws, and all evils of this class, correspond to the inundations—the droughts—the tornados, and the earthquakes, of the natural world. We cannot give a satisfactory account of either;—we cannot, in short, explain the great difficulty, which, in proportion as we reflect attentively, we shall more and more perceive to be the *only* difficulty in theology, the *existence of evil* in the Universe.[1]

But two things we *can* accomplish; which are very important, and which are probably *all* that our present faculties and extent of knowledge can attain to. One is, to perceive clearly that the difficulty in question is of no *unequal* pres-

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my own view of some of the most important of the questions now alluded to.

[1] Yet how many, in almost every past age, (and so it will be, I suppose, in all future ages,) have shewn a tendency towards such presumption as that of our First Parents, in seeking to pass the limits appointed for the *human* faculties, and to "be *as Gods*, KNOWING GOOD AND EVIL!"

sure, but bears equally heavy on Deism and on Christianity, and on the various different interpretations of the christian scheme; and consequently can furnish no valid objection to any one scheme of religion in particular. Even Atheism does not lessen our difficulty; it only alters the character of it. For as the believer in a God is at a loss to account for the existence of *evil*, the believer in *no* God, is equally unable to account for the existence of *good;* or indeed of any thing at all that bears marks of *design.*

Another point which is attainable is, to perceive, amidst all the admixture of evil, and all the seeming disorder of conflicting agencies, a general tendency nevertheless towards the accomplishment of wise and beneficent designs.

As in contemplating an ebbing tide, we are sometimes in doubt, on a short inspection, whether the sea is really receding, because, from time to time, a wave will dash further up the shore than those which had preceded it, but, if we continue our observation long enough, we see plainly, that the boundary of the land is on the whole advancing; so here, by extending our view over many Countries and through several Ages, we may distinctly perceive the tendencies which would have escaped a more confined research.

With respect to the point now most particularly before us, the provisions made for the *advancement* of society, so far as they are connected with the progress of national wealth, I shall proceed to offer a few remarks, after premising some observations as to the state of society *from* which it is, I conceive, that improvement must date its *commencement.* That this is not (as several writers on Political-Economy have appeared to suppose) what is properly called the *savage* state—that we have no reason to believe that any community ever did, or ever can, emerge, unassisted by external helps, from a state of utter barbarism, into any thing that can be called civilization—is a point which I think can be

very satisfactorily established. And I shall afterwards direct your attention to some of the principal steps by which nations have advanced, and may be expected to advance, from a *comparatively* barbarous, to a more civilized, condition. And I shall enter on these subjects in the next and following Lectures.

LECTURE V.

ORIGIN OF CIVILIZED SOCIETY.

Whether Mankind have emerged from the Savage state—Scripture not to be referred to in the outset, in examining the question—Historical evidence on the negative side—Causes of degeneracy into Barbarism—Confirmation of Scripture-history from existing monuments—Errors respecting a "state of Nature"—Scanty records of the earliest human Inventions.

Whether mankind have emerged from the savage state.

IT was observed in the last Lecture, that civilized Man has not emerged from the savage state;—that the progress of any community in civilization, by its own internal means, must always have begun from a condition removed from that of complete barbarism; out of which it does not appear that men ever did or can raise themselves.

This assertion is at variance with the hypothesis apparently laid down by several writers on Political-Economy; who have described the case of a supposed race of savages, subsisting on the spontaneous productions of the earth, and the precarious supplies of hunting and fishing; and have then traced the steps by which the various arts of life would gradually have arisen, and advanced more and more towards perfection.

One man, it is supposed, having acquired more skill than his neighbours in the making of bows and arrows, or darts, would find it advantageous both for them and for himself, to devote himself to this manufacture, and to exchange these implements for the food procured by others, instead of employing himself in the pursuit of game. Another, from a similar cause, would occupy himself exclusively in the construction of huts, or of canoes; another, in the preparing of skins for clothing, &c. And the division of labour having thus begun, the advantages of it would be so

apparent, that it would rapidly be extended, and would occasion each person to introduce improvements into the art to which he would have chiefly confined his attention. Those who had studied the haunts and the habits of certain kinds of wild animals, and had made a trade of supplying the community with them, would be led to domesticate such species as were adapted for it, in order to secure a supply of provisions, when the chase might prove insufficient. Those who had especially studied the places of growth, and times of ripening, of such wild fruits, or other vegetable productions, as were in request, would be induced to secure themselves a readier supply, by cultivating them in suitable spots. And thus the Society being divided into Husbandmen, Shepherds, and Artificers of various kinds, exchanging the produce of their various labours, would advance, with more or less steadiness and rapidity, towards the higher stages of civilization.

I have spoken of this description as being conformable to the views *apparently* entertained by some writers, and I have said, "apparently," because I doubt whether it is fair to conclude, that all, or any of them, have designed to maintain that this, or something similar, is a correct account of an actual fact;—that mankind universally, or some portions of them, have *actually* emerged, by such a process, from a state of complete barbarism. Some may have believed this; but others may have meant merely that it is *possible*, without contending that it has ever in fact occurred; and others again may have not even gone so far as this, but may have intended merely to describe the *steps by which* such a change must take place, supposing it ever *could* occur.

Be this as it may, when we dismiss for a moment all antecedent conjectures, and look around us for instances, we find, I think I may confidently affirm, no one recorded, of a tribe of savages, properly so styled, rising into a civilized state, without instruction and assistance from people already civilized. And we *have*, on the other hand, accounts of

various savage tribes, in different parts of the globe, who have been visited from time to time at considerable intervals, but have had no settled intercourse with civilized people, and who appear to continue, as far as can be ascertained, in the same uncultivated condition.

It will probably have occurred to most of you, that the earliest historical records extant, represent mankind as originally existing in a state far superior to that of our supposed savages. The Book of Genesis describes Man as not having been, like the brutes, created, and then left to provide for himself by his innate bodily and mental faculties, but as having received, in the first instance, immediate divine instructions and communications. And so early, according to this account, was the *division of labour*, that of the first two men who were born of woman, the one was a keeper of cattle, and the other a tiller of the ground.

Scripture not to be referred to in the outset, in examining the question.

If this account be received, it must be admitted, that all savages must originally have degenerated from a more civilized state of existence. But I am particularly anxious to point out, that, in a question of this kind, the Scriptures should not be appealed to, in the first instance, as a work of *inspiration;* but (if at all) simply as an *historical record* of acknowledged antiquity. And in the present instance I am the more desirous of observing this caution, because the inquiry now before us, if conducted with a reference to no authority but those of reason and experience, will lead to a result which furnishes a very powerful confirmation of the truth of our religion. Now it is plain that this evidence would be destroyed by an appeal to the authority of Scripture in the outset; which would of course be a begging of the question.

It should be observed, moreover, that the hypothesis above alluded to is not necessarily at variance with the historical records of the creation and earliest condition of mankind. These do indeed declare, that mankind *did not* begin

to exist in the savage state; but it would not thence follow, that a nation which had subsequently sunk into that state, might not raise itself again out of this barbarism.

Historical evidence on the negative side.

Such, however, does not appear to be the fact. On looking around us and examining all history, ancient and modern, we find, as I have said, that no savage tribe appears to have risen into civilization, except through the aid of others who were civilized. We have in this case all the historical evidence that a *negative* is susceptible of; viz. we have the knowledge of numerous cases in which such a change has *not* taken place, and of none where it has; while we have every reason to expect, that, if it had occurred, it would have been recorded.

On this subject I will take the liberty of citing a passage from a very well-written and instructive book, the account of the New-Zealanders, in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge; a passage, which is the more valuable to our present purpose, inasmuch as the writer is not treating of the subject with any view whatever to the evidences of religion, and is apparently quite unconscious of the argument which (as I shall presently shew) may be deduced from what he says.

"The especial distinction of the savage, and that which, more than any other thing, keeps him a savage, is his ignorance of letters. This places the community almost in the same situation with a herd of the lower animals, in so far as the accumulation of knowledge, or, in other words, any kind of movement forward, is concerned; for it is only by means of the art of writing, that the knowledge acquired by the experience of one generation can be properly stored up, so that none of it shall be lost, for the use of all that are to follow. Among savages, for want of this admirable method of preservation, there is reason to believe the fund of knowledge possessed by the community instead of growing, generally diminishes with time. If we except the absolutely necessary arts of life, which are in daily use and cannot be forgotten, the existing generation seldom seems to possess any thing

derived from the past. Hence, the oldest man of the tribe is always looked up to as the wisest; simply because he has lived the longest; it being felt that an individual has scarcely a chance of knowing any thing more than his own experience has taught him. Accordingly the New-Zealanders, for example, seem to have been *in quite as advanced a state when Tasman discovered the country in* 1642, *as they were when Cook visited it, 127 years after.*"[1]

It may be remarked, however, with reference to this statement, that the absence of written records is, though a very important, rather a secondary than a primary obstacle. It is one branch of that general characteristic of the savage, *improvidence.* If you suppose the case of a savage taught to read and write, but allowed to remain, in all other respects, the same careless, thoughtless kind of Being, and afterwards left to himself, he would most likely forget his acquisition; and would certainly, by neglecting to teach it to his children, suffer it to be lost in the next generation. On the other hand, if you conceive such a case (which certainly is conceivable, and I am disposed to think it a real one) as that of a people ignorant of this art, but acquiring in some degree a thoughtful and provident character, I have little doubt that their desire, thence arising, to record permanently their laws, practical maxims, and discoveries, would gradually lead them, first to the use of memorial-verses, and afterwards to some kind of material symbols, such as picture-writing, and then hieroglyphics; which might gradually be still further improved into writing properly so called.

Vague use of the term Savage.

There are several circumstances which have conduced to keep out of sight the important fact I have been alluding to. The chief of these probably is, the vagueness with which the term "Savage" is

[1] It is worth remarking, that, though in the rudest savage tribes the size and form of the skull indicate a deficient cerebral development, the New-Zealanders are in this respect not much inferior to the European Races; and yet we find that when left to themselves they could make no advance.

applied. I do not profess, and indeed it is evidently not possible, to draw a line by which we may determine precisely to whom that title is, and is not, applicable; since there is a series of almost insensible gradations between the highest and the lowest state of human society. Nor is any such exact boundary-line needed for our present purpose. It is sufficient if we admit, what is probably very far short of the truth,[1] that those who are in as *low a state as some tribes with which we are acquainted,* are incapable of emerging from it, by their own unassisted efforts.

But many probably are misled by the language of the Greeks and Romans, who called all men barbarians except themselves. Many, and perhaps all other nations, fell short of *them* in civilization: but several nations, even among the less cultivated of the ancient barbarians, were very far removed from what we should be understood to mean by the savage state, and which is to be found among many tribes at the present day. For instance, the ancient Germans were probably as much elevated above that state, as we are above theirs. A people who cultivated corn, though their agriculture was probably in a very rude state—who not only had numerous herds of cattle, but employed the labour of brutes, and even made use of cavalry in their wars, and who also were accustomed to the working of metals, though their supply of them, according to Tacitus, was but scanty—these cannot with propriety be reckoned savages. Or if they are to be so called, (for it is not worth while to dispute about a word,) then, I would admit, that, in this sense, men may advance, and in fact have advanced, by their own unassisted efforts, from the savage to the civilized state.

Again, we are liable to be misled by loose and inaccurate descriptions of extensive districts inhabited by distinct tribes of people, differing widely from each other in their degrees

[1] For, the New-Zealanders, for instance, who may be regarded as savages as far as my present purpose is concerned, are many degrees above the New-Hollanders, and several other tribes.

of cultivation. Some, for instance, are accustomed to speak of the ancient Britons, in the mass; without considering, that in all probability some of these tribes were nearly as much behind others in civilization, as the Children of the Mist, described by Sir Walter Scott in the Legend of Montrose, if compared with the inhabitants of Edinburgh at the same period. And thus it is probable that travellers have represented some nation as in the condition of mere savages, from having viewed only some part of it, or perhaps even some different nation, inhabiting some one district of the country.

When due allowance has been made for these and other sources of inaccuracy, there will be no reason, I think, for believing that there is any exception to the positions I have here laid down: the impossibility of men's emerging unaided from a completely savage state; and, consequently, the descent of such as are in that state (supposing mankind to have sprung from a single pair[1]) from ancestors less barbarous, and from whom they have degenerated.[2]

Records of this descent, and of this degeneracy, it is, from the nature of the case, not likely we should possess; but several indications of the fact may often be found among savage nations. Some have even traditions to that effect; and almost all possess some one or two arts not of a piece with their general rudeness, and which plainly appear to be remnants of a different state of things; being such, that the first *invention* of them implies a degree of ingenuity beyond what the savages, who *retain* those arts, now possess.[3]

It is very interesting to look over the many copious accounts we possess of various savage tribes, with a view to

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[1] See Prichard on the Human Race.

[2] Niebuhr is recorded, in a volume of reminiscences of his conversation, which I have since seen, to have held that all savage tribes have degenerated from a more civilized condition.—See Appendix [A.]

[3] Dr. Taylor, in his "Natural History of Society," has expanded and illustrated the views here slightly hinted at.

this point. You will find, I think, in the course of such an inquiry, that each savage tribe having retained such arts as are most essential to their subsistence in the particular country in which they are placed, there is accordingly, generally speaking, somewhat less of degeneracy in many points, in the colder climates: because these will not admit of the same degree of that characteristic of savages, improvidence. Such negligence in providing clothing and habitations, and in laying up stores of provisions, as, in warm and fertile countries, is not incompatible with subsistence in a very rude state, would, in more inhospitable regions, destroy the whole race in the course of a single winter.

Causes of degeneracy into barbarism.

As to the causes which have occasioned any portions of mankind thus to degenerate, we are, of course, in most instances, left to mere conjecture: but there seems little reason to doubt, that the principal cause has been War. A people perpetually harassed by predatory hostile incursions, and still more, one compelled to fly their country and take refuge in mountains or forests,[1] or to wander to some distant unoccupied region, (and this we know to have been anciently a common occurrence,) must of course be likely to sink in point of civilization. They must, amidst a series of painful struggles for mere existence, have their attention drawn off from all other subjects; they must be deprived of the materials and the opportunities for practising many of the arts, till the knowledge of them is lost; and their children must grow up, in each successive generation, more and more uninstructed, and disposed to be satisfied with a life approaching to that of the brutes.

A melancholy picture of the operation of these causes is presented in the kingdom of Abyssinia; which seems to have been for a considerable time verging more and more, from a state of comparative civilization, towards barbarism,

[1] Whence the name "Savage," *Silvagio.*

through the incessant hostile incursions of its Pagan neighbours, the Galla.

But whatever may have been the causes which in each instance have tended to barbarize each nation, of this we may, I think, be well assured, that though, if it have not sunk below a certain point, it may, under favourable circumstances, be expected to rise again, and gradually even more than recover the lost ground; on the other hand, there is a stage of degradation from which it *cannot* emerge, but through the means of intercourse with some more civilized people. The turbulent and unrestrained passions — the indolence—and, above all, the want of forethought, which are characteristic of savages, naturally tend to prevent, and, as experience seems to shew, always have prevented, that process of gradual advancement from taking place, which was sketched out in the opening of this Lecture; except when the savage is stimulated by the example, and supported by the guidance and instruction, of men superior to himself.

Any one who dislikes the conclusions to which these views lead, will probably set himself to contend against the *arguments* which prove it *unlikely* that savages should civilize themselves; but how will he get over the *fact*, that they never yet *have* done this? That they never *can*, is a theory; and something may always be said, well or ill, against any theory; but facts are stubborn things; and that no authenticated instance can be produced of savages that ever *did* emerge unaided from that state, is no *theory*, but a statement hitherto never disproved, of a matter of *fact*.[1]

Confirmation of Scripture-history from existing monuments.

Now if this be the case, when, and how, did civilization first *begin?* If Man when first created, was left, like the brutes, to the unaided exercise of those natural powers of body and mind which are common to the European and to the New-Hollander—how comes it that the European is not now in the condition of the New-Hollander? As the

[1] See Rhet. part i. ch. ii. § 4.

soil itself and the climate of New-Holland are excellently adapted to the growth of corn, and yet (as corn is not indigenous there) could never have borne any, to the end of the world, if it had not been brought thither from another country, and sown; so, the savage himself, though he may be, as it were, a soil capable of receiving the seeds of civilization, can never, in the first instance, produce it, as of spontaneous growth; and unless those seeds be introduced from some other quarter, must remain for ever in the sterility of barbarism. And from what quarter then could this first beginning of civilization have been supplied, to the earliest race of mankind? According to the present course of nature, the first introducer of cultivation among savages is, and must be, Man, in a more improved state: in the beginning therefore of the human race, this, since there was no *man* to effect it, must have been the work of *another Being*. There must have been, in short, a *Revelation* made, to the first, or to some subsequent generation, of our species. And this miracle (for such it is, as being an impossibility according to the present course of nature) is attested, *independently* of the authority of Scripture, and consequently in *confirmation* of the Scripture-accounts, by the fact, that civilized Man exists at the present day.

Taking this view of the subject, we have no need to dwell on the utility—the importance—the antecedent probability—of a Revelation: it is established as a fact, of which a monument is existing before our eyes. Divine instruction is proved to be necessary, not merely for an end which we *think desirable*, or which *we think* agreeable to divine wisdom and goodness, but, for an end which we *know has been* attained. That Man could not have *made* himself, is appealed to as a proof of the agency of a divine *Creator*: and that Mankind could not in the first instance have *civilized* themselves, is a proof, exactly of the same kind, and of equal strength, of the agency of a divine *Instructor*.[1]

[1] See "Introductory Lessons on the History of Religious Worship," Lecture j.

You will, I suspect, find this argument press so hard on the adversaries of our religion, that they will be not unlikely to attempt evading its force, by calling on you to produce an instance of some one art, *peculiar to civilized* men, and which it may be proved could not have been derived but from inspiration. But this is a manifest evasion of the argument. For, so far from representing as *peculiar* to *civilized* men all arts that seem beyond the power of savages to *invent*, I have remarked the *direct contrary:* which indeed is just what might have been expected, supposing savages to be, as I have contended, in a *degenerated* state.

The argument really employed (and all attempts to misrepresent it are but fresh presumptions that it is unanswerable) consists in an appeal, not to any *particular art* or arts, but to a *civilized condition*, generally. If this was *not* the work of a divine instructor, *produce an instance*, if you can, of a nation of savages *who have civilized themselves!* [1]

Such is the evidence which an attentive survey of human transactions will supply, to those who do not, in their too hasty zeal, begin by appealing to the authority of Scripture in matters which we are competent to investigate.

The full development of this branch of evidence, which I have slightly noticed, but which it would be unsuitable to the character of these Lectures to enlarge on, will be found, I think, to lead to very interesting and important views.

Mankind then having, as Scripture informs us, been favoured from the first with an immediate intercourse with the Creator, and having been placed in a condition, as keepers of domestic animals, and cultivators of the earth, more favourable to the development of the rational faculties, than, we have every reason to think, they could ever have reached by the mere exercise of their natural powers; it is probable they were thenceforth left to themselves in all that

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[1] See Appendix [B.]

relates to the invention and improvement of the arts of life. If we judge from the analogy of the other parts of revelation, we find it agreeable to the general designs of Providence, that such knowledge, and such only, should be imparted to Man *supernaturally*, as he could not *otherwise* have attained; and that whatever he is capable of discovering by the exercise of his natural faculties, (however important the knowledge of it may be,) he should be left so to discover for himself:—in short, that no further miraculous interference should take place, than is altogether indispensable. And if again we judge from observation, we know that a knowledge of *all* the arts of life was not divinely communicated. The first race of Mankind seem to have been placed merely in such a state as might enable and incite them to commence, and continue, a course of advancement.

Errors respecting a "state of Nature."

And to place Man in such a state, seems in truth no more than analogous to what was done for the lower animals in the mere act of creation; considering how much more completely they are furnished with instincts than we are. To have left Man (as the brutes are left) in what is called a state of nature, *i. e.* in the condition of an adult who should have grown up totally without cultivation, would have been to leave him with his principal faculties not only undeveloped, but without a chance of ever being developed; which is not the case with the brutes. Such a procedure therefore would in reality not have been analogous to what takes place in respect of the lower animals, but would have been disproportionately disadvantageous to Man.

In fact, there is no good reason for calling the condition of the rudest savages "a state of nature," unless the phrase be used (as perhaps in strictness it ought) to denote merely ignorance of *Arts*. But to call theirs a state of Nature (as several writers have done) in the sense of "a natural state," is a use of language quite at variance with sound philosophy: as much so as the dreams of those who imagine this state to

resemble the golden age of the poets, are at variance with well-ascertained facts. The peaceful life and gentle disposition, the freedom from oppression, the exemption from selfishness and from evil passions, and the simplicity of character, of savages, have no existence but in the fictions of poets, and the fancies of vain speculators: nor can their mode of life be called, with any propriety, the natural state of man. A plant would not be said to be in its natural state, which was growing in a soil or climate that precluded it from putting forth the flowers and the fruit for which its organization was destined. No one who saw the pine growing near the boundary of perpetual snow on the Alps, stunted to the height of two or three feet, and struggling to exist amidst rocks and glaciers, would describe that as the natural state of a tree, which in a more genial soil and climate, a little lower down, was found capable of rising to the height of fifty or sixty yards. In like manner, the natural state of Man must, according to all fair analogy, be reckoned not that in which his intellectual and moral growth are as it were stunted, and permanently repressed, but one in which his original endowments are, I do not say, brought to perfection, but enabled to exercise themselves, and to expand, like the flowers of a plant; and, especially, in which that characteristic of our species, the tendency towards progressive *improvement*, is permitted to come into play.

Such, then, I say, seems to have been the state in which the earliest race of mankind were placed by the Creator.

Scanty records of the earliest human inventions.

What were their earliest inventions and discoveries, and in what order the several arts originated, we have no means of ascertaining. The brief and scanty record of Genesis furnishes only a slight notice of two; the working of metals, and the construction of musical instruments. The knowledge of fire must have been earlier; but this was perhaps (agreeably

to the tradition of the Heathen respecting *Prometheus*[1]) no *human* discovery, but a gift of *Providence*, in the way of a revelation.[2] It does not seem likely, that Man could have discovered (at least till after a very long series of years) I do not say fire, but the *uses* of fire. A volcanic eruption, or a conflagration by lightning, might have exhibited fire itself; but the untaught savage would have been more likely to fly from so tremendous an agent, than to attempt making it his servant. Let any one who judges otherwise inquire of those who, having had intercourse with savages, are aware what unthinking Beings they are; and the result will, I suspect, be in favour of my conclusion.

I hardly know what to conjecture respecting the domestication of some of the larger quadrupeds, such as the Ox and Buffalo, which, in a wild state, are so formidable, that the idea of making them servants seems unlikely to have occurred to a rude nation. In the Sandwich Islands there are wild cattle, descended from those brought by Europeans, which none of the natives, though *aware of this descent from domestic* animals, have ventured to attempt reclaiming. They regard them with terror, on account of their fierceness. Yet these Islanders are far from being in the condition of mere savages. They were, even when first discovered by Europeans, an agricultural People, and *had domestic animals.*

A conjectural history of the probable origin of the various arts which are the most universal among mankind, would suggest much interesting speculation. It is not of course my design to enter on an inquiry which would be in a great degree foreign to the subject before us. I will merely remark, that the more you speculate on this curious subject,

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[1] *i. e.* The "Provident."

[2] The Heathen Mythology contains, among a chaos of wild fables, some broken and scattered fragments, as it were, of true history; like the organic remains of an ancient world, found dispersed, and often hard to be ascertained, in the midst of the strata formed from the deposits of a deluge.

the more you will be struck with this consideration; that many of the commonest arts, and which appear the simplest, and require but a very humble degree of intelligence for their *exercise*, are yet such, that we must suppose various accidents to have occurred, and to have been noted—many observations to have been made and combined—and many experiments to have been tried—in order to their being originally *invented*. And, as I have already observed, such arts will be found to exist among most savage nations, as appear beyond the ingenuity of savages to *originate*.

And the difficulty must have been much greater, before the invention, and the *familiar use*, of writing, had enabled each generation to record for the use of the next, not only its discoveries, but its observations and incomplete experiments. It has often occurred to me, that the *longevity* of the antediluvians may have been a special provision to meet this difficulty, in those early Ages which most needed such a help. Even now that writing is in use, a single individual, if he live long enough to follow up a train of experiments, has a great advantage in respect of discoveries, over a *succession* of individuals; because he will recollect, when the occasion arises, many of his former observations, and of the ideas that had occurred to his mind, which, at the time, he had not thought worth recording. But previous to the use of writing, the advantage of being able to combine in one's own person the experience of several centuries, must have been of immense importance: and it was an advantage which the circumstances of the case seemed to require.[1]

On the whole, then, it appears, that as soon, and only as soon, as Society has taken a certain step, and is enabled to start, as it were, from a certain point, viz. from such a con-

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[1] See the passage above cited (pp. 73, 74) from the Account of the New-Zealanders.

dition nearly, as that in which the first generation appears to have been actually placed, then, and thenceforward, the tendency towards advancement comes into operation, so far as it is not checked by external impediments. The causes which tend to the gradual increase of wealth, in a ratio even greater than the increase of population, and to the growth of all that we call by the collective name "Civilization," are thenceforth at work; with more or less certainty and rapidity, according as the obstacles are less or more powerful: and no boundary to the effects of these causes seems assignable.

Some remarks on the principal steps of this progress will occupy the next Lecture.

LECTURE VI.

BEGINNING OF ADVANCES IN CIVILIZATION.

Beginning of the advance in Civilization—Origin of the Division of Labour—Origin of Money—Emulation—Public interest promoted by individuals destitute of public-spirit—Effects of the conduct of a Miser, in different states of Society.

THERE is, as we have seen, a certain stage of civilization, though it may be difficult to determine precisely where it lies, which is necessary to the commencement of a course of improvement. A community placed in a condition short of this, and not aided from without, must, as experience has fully shewn, either remain stationary, or even sink deeper into barbarism. And when this point is once passed, the progress towards a higher state of civilization, will, as far as it is not prevented by accidental obstacles, begin, and gradually continue. Society may be compared to those combustible substances which will never take fire spontaneously, but when once ignited will generate heat sufficient not only to keep up the combustion, but to burn with still increasing force. A human community requires, as it were, to be kindled, and requires no more.

Beginning of the advance in civilization.

Let a Nation, though still in a rude state, possess the knowledge of some of the simplest and most essential arts—a certain degree of division of labour—and above all a recognition, and tolerable security, of *property;* and it will not fail, unless very grievously harassed by wars, inundations, or some such calamities, to increase its wealth, and to advance, more or less, in civilization. I have spoken of *security of property*

as the most essential point, because, though no progress can be made without a division of labour, this could neither exist without security of property, nor could fail to arise with it. No man, it is plain, could subsist by devoting himself either wholly or partially to the production of one kind of commodity, trusting to the supply of his other wants by exchanging part of that commodity with his neighbours, unless he were allowed to keep it, and to dispose of it, as his own. On the other hand, let property be but established and secured, and the division of labour would be a natural and speedy result; because the advantages of it to each individual, in each particular instance, would catch the attention of every one who possessed but a moderate degree of forethought.

Origin of the division of labour.

A. Smith, in treating of the advantages of the division of labour, has entirely omitted one, which is, in all respects, *one* of the most important, and, in *giving rise to* the practice, clearly the most important of all. He dwells chiefly on the superior skill which a man acquires, in an occupation to which he has confined himself. This is undoubtedly a very great advantange; but it is evidently such an effect of the division of labour, as could hardly be known but by experience; since indeed it could not exist till some time had elapsed for the increased expertness to be acquired: it could not, consequently, in any instance, *lead* to the division of labour, till the practice had been in several instances established, and the improvement in skill thence resulting become matter of common observation. But the advantage I am alluding to (in itself as important as any) is one which would readily be *anticipated*, and would be obtained *immediately*, previous to any advancement in skill. The advantage I mean is, that in a great variety of cases, nearly the same time and labour are required to perform the same operation on a *larger* or on a *smaller* scale—to produce many things, or one, of the same kind.

The most familiar instance of this, and the one most

frequently adduced, is the carriage of letters. It makes very little difference of trouble, and none, of time, to carry one letter, or a whole parcel of letters, from one town to another; and accordingly, though there is no particular skill requisite in this business, there is perhaps no one instance that more strikingly displays the benefit of the division of labour than the establishment of the Post-office; but for which, each person would have to despatch a special messenger whenever he wanted to communicate with his friend at a distance.

Extemporaneous adoption of a division of labour.

But the circumstance to which I am now particularly calling your attention, is, that *this* kind of advantage is one which would be *immediate*, and readily *anticipated*. In fact, a division of labour, with a view to it, is almost immediately adopted for the present occasion, on any emergency that arises, even when there is no peculiar fitness in each person for his own department, and no thought of making the arrangement permanent. For instance, suppose a number of travellers proceeding through some nearly desert country, such as many parts of America, and journeying together in a kind of cafila or caravan for the sake of mutual security: when they came to a halting-place for the night, they would not fail to make some kind of extemporaneous arrangement, that some should unlade and fodder the cattle, while others should fetch fire-wood from the nearest thicket, and others, water from the spring: some in the mean time would be occupied in pitching the tents, or erecting sheds of boughs; others in preparing food for the whole party; while some again, with their arms in readiness, would be posted as sentinels in suitable spots, to watch that the rest might not be surprised by bands of robbers. It would be evident to them that but for such an arrangement, each man would have to go both to the spring for water, and to the wood for fuel—would have to prepare his own meal with almost as much trouble as it costs to dress food for the whole—and would

have to perform all these tasks encumbered with his arms, and on the watch against a hostile attack. Of course, if some of our supposed party chanced to be by nature or by practice peculiarly qualified for some particular task, and others for another, these would be respectively allotted to them in preference; but if there were no such inequality, the division would still take place, and the *chief* advantage of it would still be felt.

Such a case as this exhibits an instance of what may be called a temporary Community, containing a distribution of labourers into several departments, which have a considerable correspondence with the different trades and occupations that are permanently established. One portion of the members of a community are employed to protect the rest from violence; another, to provide them with food; another, to construct their habitations; and so of the rest.

Recognition of property necessary for division of labour.

But in order to the existence of such a state of things, it is necessary (as I have said) that property should be recognized, and should be tolerably well secured. "It is this main spring," (says Archbishop Sumner, in the second volume of the Records of the Creation,) "which keeps the arts of civilized industry in motion. 'The first, who having enclosed a spot of ground, has taken upon himself to assert, *This is mine*, and has remained undisturbed in the possession of it, gives a new aspect to the society,' and lays the foundation, not of crimes, and wars, and murders, as Rousseau proceeds to say, as if these were unknown to the savage; but of improvement and civilization.

"Man is easily brought and quickly reconciled to labour; but he does not undertake it gratuitously. If he is in possession of immediate ease, he can only be induced to relinquish that present advantage by the allurement of expected gain. Gratification, which in some degree or other forms the chief excitement of civilized life, is almost unknown to the savage. The only stimulus felt by him, is that of necessity.

He is impelled by hunger to hunt for subsistence, and by cold to provide against the rigour of the seasons. When his stock of provision is laid in, his rude clothing prepared, and his cabin constructed, he relapses into indolence; for the wants of necessity are supplied, and the stimulus which urged him is removed. However experienced he may be in the preparation of skins for clothing or of reeds for building, beyond the wants of his own family he has no demand for ingenuity or skill; for the equality of property has confined each man's possessions to the bare necessaries of life; and though he were to employ his art in providing for his whole tribe, they have nothing to offer him in exchange. As long as this state of things continues, it is plain that we can expect neither improvement of art nor exertion of industry. Whatever is fabricated, will be fabricated with almost equal rudeness, whilst each individual supplies his own wants; and he will continue to supply them as long as the wants of the society are limited to the demands of nature. An intelligent traveller who had an opportunity of observing this on the spot, remarks exactly to the point, that 'the Indians of Guiana have no interest in the accumulation of property, and, therefore, are not led to labour in order to attain wealth. Living under the most perfect equality, they are not impelled to industry by that spirit of emulation, which in society leads to great and unwearied toil.'

"But as soon as it has been agreed, by a compact of whatever kind, that the property before belonging to the community at large, shall be divided among the individuals who compose it, and that whatever each of them shall hereafter obtain, shall be considered as his exclusive possession; the effect of this division will shew that industry requires no other stimulus than a reward proportioned to its exertion.

"We have an instance in the natives of the Pellew Islands, who, deprived as they were of all external advantages, afford a most decisive contrast to the inactivity of the

American tribes. Before their accidental discovery in 1783, they had enjoyed no intercourse with civilized nations, had no acquaintance with the use of iron, or the cultivation of corn, or regular manufacture. But they had been fortunate in the establishment of a division of ranks, ascending from the servant to the king; and a division of property, rendering not only 'every man's house, furniture, or canoe, his own, but also the land allotted to him as long as he occupied and cultivated it.' The effect of this is distinguishable in habits so different from those hitherto represented, that 'the portion of time each family could spare from providing for their natural wants, was passed in the exercise of such little arts, as, while they kept them active and industrious, administered to their convenience and comfort.' Here also were no traces of that want of curiosity, which all travellers remark as so extraordinary in America. Industry had sharpened their minds. The natives were constantly interested in obtaining every information respecting the English tools and workmanship."

I need not cite more from a book probably so well known to most of you; and will therefore only observe, that the whole chapter[1] is well worth a re-perusal, with a view to the point now before us.

When then this distribution of employments had been established, the benefits resulting from it would be so obvious, that it would tend towards a continual increase: the benefits, I mean, to each individual; who would discover, without any extraordinary sagacity, that he could much more amply supply his own wants, by directing his whole or his chief attention to one, or to a few, kinds of employment, and receiving from his neighbours in return the fruits of their industry, than by himself providing directly for all his own wants. As for the benefit to the *community* thence resulting, *that*, as I remarked in a former Lecture, is a provision of divine Wis-

[1] Chap. iii. part ii.

dom: it is not necessary, nor is it usually the case, that each who labours in his own department, should be stimulated to do so by public-spirit, or should even perceive and contemplate (as in the case of our supposed little party of travellers) the benefit he is conferring on the rest.

Origin of Money.

In proportion then as the division of labour was extended, *exchanges* would become more and more frequent. For, diversity of production is evidently the foundation of exchange; since, as long as each individual provides for all his own wants, and only for them, he will have nothing to part with, and nothing to receive. Barter then having become a customary transaction, would naturally be superseded, in the progress of society, by the employment of some kind of Money.

I do not design to enter at present on the multifarious and important inquiries which pertain to the subject of Money. It will suffice for our present purpose to state, that by Money, I mean, any commodity in general request, which is received in exchange for other commodities, not for the purpose of being directly used by the party receiving it, (for *that* is Barter,) but for the purpose of being again parted with in exchange for something else. It is not the very commodity which the party wants, or expects hereafter to want; but it is a security or pledge (οἷον ἐγγύημα, according to Aristotle) that he may obtain that commodity whenever he wants it, from those who have it to spare. The Herdsman who needed, or expected hereafter to need, a supply of corn, might, if he could not otherwise arrange an exchange, be willing to part with some of his cattle for cloth of which he had no need, in the expectation of being able to exchange that again for corn, with some one who either needed the cloth, or would accept it in the same manner as he had done. The cloth would serve the purpose of money, till it should reach the hands of one who designed to keep it for his own use. And there are some parts of Africa, it appears, where pieces of cloth of a certain definite

size and quality constitute the current coin, if I may so speak, of the country. In other parts again of Africa, wedges of salt are said to be applied to the same purpose.

But the herdsman would probably prefer receiving in this manner, instead of any articles of food or clothing which he did not himself need, some *ornamental* article in general request, such as a bracelet or necklace, of gold, silver, or valued shells or stones; not only as less bulky and less perishable, but because these could be *used* by him in the only way they *can* be used, viz. for the purpose of display, till he should have occasion to part with them; and could then be parted with without any inconvenience. Accordingly the prevailing tendency has always been to adopt as a medium of exchange, in preference to all others, articles of an ornamental character, prized for their beauty and rarity; such as the silver and gold which have long been much the most extensively used for this purpose—the cowry-shells, admired for making necklaces, and very generally used as money throughout an extensive region in Africa—the porcellane shells employed in like manner in some parts of the East Indies, and the wampum of some of the native American Indians, which consists of a kind of bugles wrought out of shells, and used both as an ornament and as money.

Articles of this kind, as traffic increased, would come to be collected and stored up in much greater quantities than their original destination for purposes of ornament could have called for; but it is from *that*, no doubt, that they must originally have been in demand; since it is inconceivable that all the members of any one community, much less, various nations, should in the first instance have made a formal agreement arbitrarily to attach a value to something which had not been before at all regarded by them. It is said, that at this day among some half-civilized nations, the women adorn themselves with strings of gold coins. But silver plate, and gold or gilt ornaments, are I believe in use, and that, to a very large

amount, among all nations who employ those metals as money. Some years ago I remember hearing an estimate of the gold annually consumed in gilding alone, in the one town of Birmingham, as amounting to one thousand pounds weight, or about £50,000 worth.

When then property was secured, and when exchanges were facilitated by the intervention of money, the use of this medium would re-act on the division of labour, and extend it; because, then, any one who could produce any commodity in general request, would be sure of employing himself beneficially in producing it, even though the particular persons who wanted that commodity, could not supply him in return with the precise articles he had need of. They would now be able to purchase it of him for that in exchange for which he might procure from others what he wanted.

Emulation.

As wealth increased, the continued stimulus of emulation would make each man strive to surpass, or at least not fall below, his neighbours, in this. I say, "the *continued* stimulus of emulation," because it is important to keep in mind, that the selfishness—the envy—the injustice and baseness of every kind, which we so often see called forth in the competitions of worldly-minded men, are not to be attributed to the increase of national wealth. Among poor and barbarian nations, (as I formerly remarked,) we may find as much avarice, fraud, vanity, and envy, called forth, in reference perhaps to a string of beads, a hatchet, or a musket, as are to be found in wealthier communities.

The desire of wealth (which has no name, except those denoting its vicious excess, Avarice or Covetousness,) and Emulation,—the desire of equalling or surpassing others, are, neither of them, in themselves, either virtuous or vicious. A desire of gain, which is either excessive, or has only selfish gratification in view, is base and odious: when the object is to keep one's family from want and dependence, it is commendable; when wealth is sought as a means of doing

extensive good, the pursuit is noble. Emulation, again, when it degenerates into Envy, is detestable;—when directed to trifling objects, contemptible;—when duly controlled, and directed to the best objects, though it does not of itself furnish the noblest and purest motive, it is a useful and honourable ally of virtue. And, in both cases, there are, between the highest and the basest motives, almost infinite gradations and intermixtures. But the point to which I wish to call your attention, as most pertinent to the present inquiry, is, that by the wise and benevolent arrangement of Providence, even those who are thinking only of their own credit and advantage, are, in the pursuit of these selfish objects, led, unconsciously, to benefit others. The public welfare is not left to depend merely on the operation of public-spirit. The husbandman and the weaver exert their utmost industry and ingenuity, to increase the produce of the earth and of the loom; each, that he may be enabled to command for himself a better share of other productions; but in so doing, they cause the community to be better fed, and better clothed. And the effort of each man, with a view to his own credit, to rise, or at least not to sink, in society, causes, when it *becomes general*, the whole Society to rise in wealth.

And the progress thus occasioned by *emulation*, is indefinite; because the object aimed at by each of a great number, viz. *superiority* to the rest, can never be *attained* by all of them. If men's desires were limited to a supply of the necessaries and commonest comforts of life, their efforts to attain this would indeed bring the society up to a certain point, but would not necessarily tend to advance it any further; because it is conceivable that this object might be attained by *all;* and if it were, the society might thenceforward continue stationary. But when a great proportion of its members are striving, each, to attain, not merely an absolute, but a comparative, degree of wealth, there must always be many, who, though they do advance, will yet

remain in the same position relative to their neighbours, who are equally advancing; and thus the same stimulus will continue to operate from generation to generation. The race never comes to an end, while the competitors are striving, not to reach a certain fixed goal, but, each, either permanently to keep a-head of the rest, or at least, not to be among the hindmost.[1]

All this, it may be said, is but a melancholy though true description, of the mean and silly ambition of mankind.

It would be more suitable to an Ethical treatise, than to these Lectures, to discuss the question as to the degrees of attention to worldly objects which may be allowable, or, more or less, foolish, or sinful. A decision of these questions is not at all necessary with a view to the particular point now more immediately before us. For that, it is sufficient if we keep in mind, what has been already observed, that a devotedness to temporal objects is no characteristic of a more wealthy and civilized, as distinguished from a more barbarian, state of society. Emulation, though directed to different objects, is found among savages, except when they are indulging in apathetic indolence, or gross sensuality. But there is this important difference; that in civilized life it is frequently directed (however seldom in comparison of what it should be) to many nobler objects, of which the savage cannot even form any conception; and again, that even when merely selfish, it tends (without design on the part of the individual) to produce many beneficial results to the Society, which it does not produce, or to a far less extent, among savages.

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[1] Hence Mandeville calls "Content, the bane of industry;" playing on the double meaning of the word "content." He who has attained the power of commanding with ease a supply of all that he wishes for, and is *content*, in the sense of desiring nothing further, is not likely to be industrious. But one who is exerting himself all his life in the pursuit of fresh and fresh advancement, whether in Wealth, Learning, Fame, Virtue, or any other object, is not necessarily *discontented*, and unhappy. On the contrary, a *pursuit* seems a main ingredient in happiness.

The same may be said of the desire of gain. The savage is commonly found to be covetous, frequently rapacious, when his present inclination impels him to seek any object which he needs, or which his fancy is set on. He is not indeed so *steady* or so *provident*, in his pursuit of gain, as the civilized man; but this is from the general unsteadiness and improvidence of his character; not from his being engrossed by higher pursuits. What keeps him poor, in addition to want of skill and insecurity of property, is not a philosophical contempt of riches, but a love of sluggish torpor and of present gratification. The same may be said of such persons as constitute the dregs of a civilized community; they are idle, thoughtless, improvident; but thievish. Lamentable as it is to see, as we may, for instance, in our own country, multitudes of Beings of such high qualifications and such high destination as Man, absorbed in the pursuit of merely external and merely temporal objects—occupied in schemes for attaining wealth and worldly aggrandizement, without any higher views in pursuing them,—we must remember that the savage is not *above* such a life, but *below* it. It is not from preferring virtue to wealth—the goods of the mind to those of fortune—the next world to the present—that he takes so little thought for the morrow; but, from want of forethought and of habitual self-command. The civilized man, too often, directs these qualities to an unworthy object; the savage, universally, is deficient in the qualities themselves. The one is a stream flowing, too often, in a wrong channel, and which needs to have its course altered; the other is a stagnant pool.

Errors are often committed in the estimate either of national or of individual character, by those who confound together qualities that are in some respects similar; or at least suppose them to imply each other. They imagine, for instance, that one who is recklessly profuse must be free from sordid cupidity;—that credulity and incaution imply a frank, open, sincere character, incapable of falsehood, and of

crafty and deliberate treachery; and that a liability to violent ebullitions of passion, must be accompanied with something of generosity, and is at least incompatible with insidious malice. All such expectations however are contradicted by the character of most savages, and of such persons as have in them something of the barbarian character.

Public interest promoted by individuals destitute of public-spirit.

But I am so far from attributing to Man, as a merit, the benefits which, in an advanced stage of society, he confers on the community, that, on the contrary, the very point I am especially dwelling on is, the beneficent wisdom of Providence, in directing towards the public good the conduct of those, who, even when not basely selfish, are yet not impelled to the course they pursue by patriotic motives.

A man, for instance, who has accumulated wealth, as in the progress of Society naturally takes place, more and more, may be so selfishly disposed, that he would willingly consume his own revenue himself, without a thought of benefiting others. But though there are various modes of expenditure, some more and some less beneficial to the Public, in which he may employ it, it is hardly possible for him to keep it entirely to himself. Directly or indirectly he will always be feeding labourers with it. He may employ them in producing something which will add to the stock of national wealth; in which case he will be enriching the community; but if he employ them in making lace, or diving for pearls, to add to the splendour of his dress, or in pulling down his house, and rebuilding it after some fancy of his own, or in waiting at his table, still he maintains them. And though it is a mistake (a very common one, by the way, and which hereafter it will be necessary to treat of) to suppose, that, in all this, he is a benefactor to the community, by furnishing employment, still he is at least no more consuming his revenue himself, than if he had thought fit to give it away to the same number of persons;—to bestow on those, who are now employed in labouring for

him, the bread they eat, leaving them to sit idle. The only difference is, that they are at work instead of doing nothing, and that they feel that they earn their own bread, instead of being fed by charity. It is only when a rich man lays down in forest, like William the Conqueror, a quantity of fertile land, or in some such way diminishes human subsistence, that his wealth is detrimental to the community.

And this is one of the points connected with our present subject, which is at once so simple, as to be easily explained to the labouring classes, and of high importance for them to understand. For at the first glance, they are apt to imagine, when they see a rich man whose income is a hundred times as much as suffices to maintain a poor man's family, that if he were stripped of all, and his wealth divided, a hundred poor families additional might thus obtain subsistence; which, it is plain, would not be the case, even when the income was spent in such ostentatious and selfish vanity, as I have been alluding to.

But, in fact, a very large portion of the wealth that exists in a country, is employed in procuring a further increase of wealth; in other words, is employed as Capital.

It would be premature to enter at present on a discussion of the nature of Capital, and the various questions connected with it. But it is sufficiently evident for our present purpose, that wealth is employed, and is a most important agent, for the production of wealth: so important indeed, that the first beginnings of it must have been attained with extreme difficulty, since labour is comparatively inefficient without it. Corn is raised by labour; but corn is needed both to sow the land, and to support the labourer till the harvest is ripe: the tools with which he works are produced by other tools: the handle of the axe with which he fells the wood, came from the wood; and the iron of it was dug from the mine with iron implements. We hardly know how to estimate the impediments to the few first steps, when stakes and sharp stones were the

tools, and the labourer's subsistence consisted in the spontaneous products of the earth, and the flesh of wild animals. But it is plain, that each succeeding step must have been easier, and at the same time more effective; till at length the various contrivances for abridging labour, that is, rendering labour incomparably more productive, enabled a large portion of the community to live exempt from all share in the labour of producing the necessaries of life; while yet the whole population, though immensely increased in numbers, were better fed, clothed, and lodged, than *any* had been, in that earlier stage, when every one without exception was compelled to labour for his daily food.

Effects of the conduct of a Miser, in different states of Society.

And it is remarkable, that the tendency which the conduct of individuals in pursuing their own private ends, even when these ends are purely selfish, has, towards promoting the interests of the community, is more and more developed, as society advances. Take, for example, the case of a Miser; one whose selfishness takes the turn of a love of hoarding. Such a person, though his individual character is of course every where the same, is yet, in respect of the effects of his conduct on others, very different in different stages of society. You will perceive, on a little reflection, that in a community where commercial transactions are yet in a rude state, the conduct of a miser is detrimental to the Public; while in one that is in a more advanced stage, he is rather benefiting others by the sacrifice of his own comforts.

In former times, the Miser *withdrew from use* such articles as constituted the wealth of the community; such as corn, clothing, implements and furniture of various kinds, and above all, as the least perishable and least bulky, gold and silver and jewels. All these things, even if not kept till spoilt, or hidden so as to be permanently lost, were at least withdrawn during his life-time from the enjoy-

ment of the community; which would supply the deficiency either directly by the labour of its own members, or by exchanging with other nations the produce of that labour.[1]

Some few instances occur, even in such a state of society as ours, of this kind of hoarding; but they are very rare, and generally on a very small scale, being chiefly found among the lowest orders.

On the other hand, in countries as far advanced in commercial transactions as almost the whole of Europe is, it may be said that, with hardly any exceptions, hoarding withdraws nothing from the public use. If the miser is engaged in any kind of business, he lives himself indeed (as in the other case) on a miserable pittance; but his desire of gain naturally prompts him to add continually his profits to his capital; which is a part of the capital of the country, viz. of the stock that is employed profitably, in producing more commodities; which are used by others, though the owner will not indulge himself with them. If he is not himself engaged in business, it comes to the same thing; for in that case he *lends* to others, for the sake of increasing his store; and continues to invest in like manner the interest they pay him. And it makes no difference whether he lends to individuals, or invests his money in government-securities; for since, in the latter case, the total

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[1] This, by the way, suggests a sure method of obtaining, what was so long sought by legislators, a general "favourable balance of trade" in the country. If a quantity of gold and silver be annually *buried*, a constant importation will ensue, of these metals, in exchange for other commodities, to supply the demand for bullion thus created.

Such is supposed to have been the condition, till within these few years, of the Peninsula of India; which was constantly receiving and absorbing a vast amount of silver; the insecurity of property (till lately) leading to the practice of this kind of hoarding.

In this way, or again, by an immense annual *consumption* of gold and silver in gilding and plating, &c. (and in no other way,) it is possible for a country to maintain a permanently "favourable balance of trade" with all the world: *i. e.* to import every year, on the whole, a less amount of other articles than it exports, receiving the difference in gold and silver.—See Senior on the Transmission of the precious Metals.

amount of government-securities is not increased, (the national debt remaining the same,) every purchase he makes sets free an equal amount, which is sure to find its way into the hands of some private borrower; and, generally speaking, of one who will employ this borrowed capital *productively*, in trade, agriculture, and manufactures. Whereas if he had lived in what is called a liberal style, most of what he has thus laid by would have been expended unproductively, in sumptuous dinners, the services of menials, race-horses, hounds, and the like; all of which would have left behind no increase of the capital of the country.

The individuals, however, who borrow the miser's money, not only owe him no thanks, as he had not their benefit in view, but are in most instances unable even to refer that benefit to him. We can no more trace the actual progress of each sum that is thus thrown into the general capital of the country, than of the drops of water of each shower that falls into the ocean; though it is demonstrable that the whole mass of waters must be increased by just so much.

Some points connected with the subject I have now briefly touched on, may, perhaps, present difficulties to such as have not been in the habit of pursuing such inquiries. I shall take occasion to advert to these points hereafter in their proper place. But this slight notice of the subject was introduced here, merely as affording a striking instance of the manner in which, by the wise arrangements of Providence, not only self-interest, but in some instances even the most sordid selfishness, are made, in an advanced stage of society, to conduce to public prosperity.

I am indeed far enough from holding with Mandeville, that on the whole, private vices conduce to public prosperity. The Spendthrift often diminishes it; and even the Miser, though his evil disposition is generally turned by an overruling Providence to a good end, yet might lay out his money much *more* beneficially still, if he were to receive the endowment of judicious public-spirit.

But the circumstance to which I wish to direct your attention, is, the general tendency—a tendency often interrupted and impeded indeed by human faults and follies—but not wholly or chiefly depending for its operation on human virtue and wisdom—towards the advancement of national wealth. The disturbing forces, as they may be called, of wars, and tumults, and misgovernment, I have not thought it necessary to dwell upon in the outset. The character and direction of the moving principle of a machine, should be first understood generally, before we attend to the impediments of friction and the resistance of the air. And that in spite of all impediments, the tendency I have been speaking of does exist, and produce immensely important results, every one must perceive, who contemplates, for instance, the present condition of this island, as compared with what it was when our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were first settled in it.

As to the connexion of what is usually called national *prosperity*, with the advancement of *civilization*, in the highest and most proper sense—and as to the question, how far Dr. Mandeville's doctrine, or its opposite, is true, that Virtue is unfavourable to national Wealth, and national Wealth to Virtue—although I have slightly adverted to the subject already, and shall from time to time recur to it as occasion may require—this, is the subject which will occupy the next Lecture.

LECTURE VII.

PROGRESS OF SOCIETY IN WEALTH.

Progress of Society in Wealth, considered as to its bearing on public morals—Progress of Knowledge—Antecedent probabilities that this should be favourable to moral improvement—Demoralizing effects of Famines—and of barbarian Invasions—What steps should be taken by those who think increase of wealth unfavourable to virtue—Causes which have led to this opinion: poetical descriptions—*Absolute* amount of vice, greatest in populous regions—and *apparent* amount greater still.

Progress of Society in Wealth, considered as to its bearing on public morals.

IT appears that Society, when once placed in a position removed a certain degree above utter barbarism, has a tendency, so far as wars, unwise institutions, imperfect and oppressive laws, and other such obstacles, do not interfere, to advance, in Wealth and in the Arts which pertain to human life and enjoyment.

How far such an advancement is favourable or unfavourable to that higher and better kind of Civilization which consists in moral elevation and improvement, is a digressive indeed, but a very important, inquiry, and one intimately connected at least, with the subject before us.

At first, the division of labour would be but imperfect, and mutual intercourse between different parts of the country, difficult and limited. In each of the scattered villages, several different arts would be exercised, with a very humble degree of skill, by the same person. Much labour would be wasted, through the want of tools, the clumsiness of implements, and the unskilfulness of workmen; and though the total produce of labour would be far less in proportion than in such a country, for instance, as ours, there would be a much smaller proportion of persons who could enjoy an

exemption from bodily labour; and the leisure again which some *would* enjoy, would conduce, but in a comparatively small degree, to their intellectual advancement; from their living within a confined circle, and wanting, in great measure, the excitement and the help of mutual communication.

Progress of Knowledge.

Subsequently, the advances which would be made in respect of each of these points, would all re-act on each other. Increasing division of labour, would lead to an increase of exchanges, and this, to the employment of money; and these latter improvements would, in turn, promote the first. All of these causes would tend to produce and to improve, roads, canals, and also navigation, and other means of conveyance for goods and persons; and this facilitation of intercourse again, both within the country, and with foreign nations, would re-act upon its causes, and accelerate that increase of capital from which it had sprung.

And thus a larger proportion of the Community, and that of a much more numerous Community, would be at leisure from mere mechanical toil, and would be enabled to turn their attention to some more refined sources of enjoyment than mere sensual indulgence; while their mutual intercourse would at once facilitate the improvement of their faculties by mutual collision, and at the same time direct the emulation of many of them into a new channel. Some, indeed, of the wealthier members of the Community would vie with each other merely in sumptuous feasts, and splendour of dress, or in the most frivolous accomplishments: but others again would be incited to direct, either their chief attention, or, at least, some part of it, towards the pursuit of knowledge; either with a view to some practical end, or for its own sake.

And here, again, we may perceive the beneficent wisdom of Providence, in not making the public good dependent on pure public-spirit. He who labours to acquire, and then to communicate, important knowledge, solely, or principally,

with a view to the benefit of his fellow-creatures, is a character more admirable than it is common. Knowledge would not have made the advances it has, if it had been promoted only by such persons. Far the greater part of it may be considered as the gift, not of human, but of divine, benevolence; which has implanted in Man a thirst after knowledge for its own sake, accompanied with a sort of instinctive desire to impart it. For I think there is in Man, independent of the desire of admiration, (called, in its faulty excess, *Vanity*,) which is a most powerful stimulus to the acquisition and propagation of knowledge—independent of this, I say, there is, connected with the desire of gaining knowledge, a desire (founded, I imagine, on Sympathy) of communicating it to others, as an ultimate end. This, and also the love of display, are, no doubt, inferior motives, and will be superseded by a higher principle, in proportion as the individual advances in moral excellence. These motives constitute, as it were, a kind of scaffolding, which should be taken down by little and little, as the perfect building advances, but which is of indispensable use till that is completed. To these inferior motives then, (which those who delight in degrading human nature, by applying to each propensity a name implying something faulty or contemptible, would call, Curiosity and Vanity,)—to these, with an intermixture, greater or less, of higher motives, we owe the chief part of the progress of society in knowledge.

Ulterior objects of utility do also contribute to supply motives. It is proverbial, that "Necessity is the Mother of Invention:" but the inventions thence originating will usually be of a simple and rude character. The barbarous and semi-barbarous nations, which are the most necessitous —the most frequently impelled to exert their faculties under this harsh instructress, have little to boast of in their contrivances, compared with those which arise in a more advanced stage of society. On those, however, who are not under the pressure of mere necessity, the desire of gain has

often operated to sharpen their faculties and to extend their knowledge. But it is not solely, or even chiefly, by an ulterior view to profit, that men have been incited to the pursuit of knowledge. On the contrary, it is, as Cicero observes, when men are released from the avocations of necessary business, that they are especially led to fix their desires on the hearing, the learning, the investigating, of whatever is attractive through its intrinsic grandeur or its novelty. "Cum sumus necessariis negotiis curisque vacui, tum, avemus aliquid videre, audire, ac discere; cognitionemque rerum aut occultarum, aut admirabilium, ad beate vivendum necessariam ducimus."

Accordingly, many of the discoveries which have proved the most useful, were probably the result of investigations not conducted with a view to utility. Those who first watched the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, had probably no thought of the important aid to navigation to which their observations were to lead. But *indirectly*, and as subsidiary to the thirst for knowledge, the desire of gain has led to very important results in this branch of improvement. The most important, perhaps, of all inventions, is that of *paper*, sufficiently cheap to allow of its general use; for, the introduction of *printing* would speedily spring from this, to meet the demand for books. And indeed, some contrivance of the nature of printing is extremely obvious, and, though in an imperfect state, was known long before; but could never be extensively applied, till a sufficiently *cheap material* for books should be invented. Now these arts were probably devised with a view to the profit of the inventors; but it was the demand for literary productions that must have held out the hope of this profit.

Knowledge then, and intellectual cultivation and refinement, being thus advanced, would, from the nature of the case, continually tend, as well as national wealth, towards a still further increase, without any limits that we are able to assign.

Antecedent probabilities that this should be favourable to moral improvement.

And such a state of things one would certainly, at the first glance, expect to be, on the whole, favourable rather than not, to the moral improvement of mankind. The presumptions are manifestly on the affirmative side. For in the first place, there is one antecedent presumption, from what we know of the divine dispensations, both ordinary and extraordinary. I am aware, what caution is called for in any attempt to reason *à priori* from our notions of the character and designs of the Supreme Being. But in this case there is a clear *analogy* before us. We know that God placed the Human Species in such a situation, and endued them with such faculties and propensities, as would infallibly tend to the advancement of Society in wealth, and in all the arts of life; instead of either creating Man a different kind of Being, or leaving him in that wild and uninstructed state, from which, as we have seen, he could never have emerged. Now if the natural consequence of this advancement be a continual progress from bad to worse—if the increase of wealth, and the development of the intellectual powers, tend, not to the improvement, but rather to the depravation, of the moral character—we may safely pronounce this to be at variance with all analogy;—a complete reversal of every other appointment that we see throughout creation.

And it is completely at variance with the revealed Will of God. For, the great impediments to the progress I am speaking of are, war, and dissension of every kind,—insecurity of property—indolence, and neglect of providing for ourselves, and for those dependent on us. Now God has forbidden Man to kill, and to steal; He has inculcated on him gentleness, honesty, submission to lawful authority, and industry in providing for his own household. If therefore the advancement in national wealth,—which is found to be, by the appointment of Providence, the result of obedience to these precepts—if, I say, this advancement naturally tends to counteract that improvement of the moral character, which the

same God has pointed out to us as the great business of this life, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that He has given contradictory commands;—that He has directed us to pursue a course of action, which leads to an end the very opposite of what we are required by Himself to aim at.

Man's evil propensities less mischievous as natural wealth increases.

In the next place, it may be observed, that, as the tendencies towards selfishness and rapacity—cruelty—deceit—sensuality—and all other vices, exist in all mankind in every state of society; so, the counteracting and restraining principles, of Prudence, Morality, and Religion, will have the less or the more sway, (speaking generally, and taking a society in the mass,) according as each society is less or more advanced from a state of rude and barbarian ignorance. Savages, it should be remembered, and all men in proportion as they approach the condition of savages, are *men* in respect of their *passions*, while, in *intellect*, they are *children*. Those who speak of a state of nature, *i. e.* of uncultivated nature, as one of pure and virtuous simplicity, and regard vice as something introduced, imported, and artificial, are ignorant of what they might learn from observation, and even from consciousness, as well as from Scripture—the corruption of human nature. The actual existence of this—the proneness, *i. e.* of Man to let the baser propensities bear rule over Reason and Conscience, and to misdirect his conduct accordingly—this corruption, or original-sin, or frailty, or sinfulness, or whatever name it may be called by, is, I say, in respect of its actual existence, not a matter of Revelation, (any more than that the sun gives light by day,) but of experience. What Revelation does teach us is, that it is not to be accounted for merely by bad education, unwise laws, excess of artificial refinement, or any such cause, but arises from something inherent in the human breast; inasmuch as we have before us the recorded case of those who fell from a state of innocence, when none of those other causes existed.

Human nature then being such, it is idle to expect that it will remain pure by being merely left uncultivated;—that noxious weeds will not spring up in it, unless the seeds of them are brought, and artificially sown. The contrivance mentioned by Herodotus of that Queen of Babylon, who removed every night the bridge over the Euphrates, that the inhabitants of the opposite sides might not pass over to rob each other, was not more preposterous than the idea of maintaining virtue among men by precluding them from mutual intercourse, and keeping them secluded from each other, in a state of barbarian rudeness and ignorance.

If it be true that Man's duty coincides with his real interest both in this world and the next, the better he is qualified by intellectual culture, and diffusion of knowledge, to understand his duty, and his interest, the greater prospect there would seem to be (other points being equal) of his moral improvement. For, that Integrity, Temperance, and other Virtues, which often require us to forego present gratification, do, in the long run, conduce to our temporal prosperity and enjoyment, is a truth which is perceived more and more as our views become enlarged; and cannot be comprehended at all by those who are so dull and unthinking as hardly to look beyond the passing moment.

If again our religion be true, and be important for the amelioration of mankind, it must be important that the knowledge of it should be diffused, and enlightened views of it entertained. Now as a very poor Community is likely to be a comparatively ignorant one, (since men universally occupied in a difficult struggle to subsist, must have little leisure and little inclination for intellectual culture,) so, the religion of a very ignorant people must always be a gross and debasing superstition, either *in*operative on their conduct, or mischievous in its operation. Christianity is designed, and is calculated, for all mankind, except savages and such as are but little removed above the savage state. Men are not indeed (unhappily) always the better Christians

in proportion as they advance in refinement and intellectual cultivation: these are even compatible with utter irreligion. But all experience shews, that a savage (though he may be trained to adore a crucifix, or an image of the Virgin) cannot be a Christian. In all the successful efforts of Missionaries among savages, *civilization* and conversion have gone hand in hand.

Demoralizing effects of famines,

In the next place it may be observed, that agricultural improvement, accumulation of capital, commercial resources, and the other results of national wealth, afford the best preservative against the calamity of occasional *famines*;—such extremities, I mean, of famine, as (with all the distresses occasioned among us by unfavourable seasons) we have no notion of but by description:—such famines as, if you look back to the history of ruder times, you will see noticed as of no unfrequent occurrence. Now nothing, perhaps, tends more to deteriorate the human character than the pressure (especially a *sudden* pressure) of severe distress;—"*malesuada* fames," as the Poet calls it. Even great part of the corruption of morals induced by War, is through the medium of the sudden *indigence* to which men are reduced by its ravages. "In peace and *prosperity*," says Thucydides, "men are better disposed; from their not being driven into distressing difficulties: but War is a severe instructor (*βίαιος διδάσκαλος*, nearly answering to Virgil's "malesuada fames,") and, depriving them of the abundant supply of their daily wants, tends to make the *moral character* of the generality conformable to the existing state of things."[1]

and of barbarian invasions.

In the last place, you may observe what a security is afforded to a community advanced in wealth, in the use of artillery, and the science of

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[1] Ἐν μὲν Εἰρήνῃ, καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν, αἵ τε πόλεις, καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἀμείνους τὰς γνώμας ἔχουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας πίπτειν· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος, ὑφελὼν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν, βίαιος διδάσκαλος, καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ.

the engineer, against that most *demoralizing*, as well as otherwise frightful, calamity, the overrunning of a civilized nation by hordes of Barbarians; which happened to the Roman Empire, and led to that dismal and degraded period known by the name of the Dark Ages. From the recurrence of precisely such an event, the civilized world is secured, through the arts connected with the use of gunpowder. These arts, as experience has shewn, have not rendered wars more frequent or more destructive: and though wars still occur, to the disgrace of rational Beings and of Christians, their ravages, frightful as they are, produce no effect comparable to the subjugation of a civilized nation by a tribe of Huns.

Just notions of Political-Economy tend to prevent wars.

It may be observed, however, in addition, that commerce between different nations, (which is both an effect and a cause of national wealth, by making them *mutually dependent*, tends to lessen their disposition to go to war. Many wars have indeed been occasioned by commercial jealousy; but it will be found, that in almost every instance this has arisen, on one side, if not on both, from unsound views of Political-Economy, which have occasioned the general interests of the community, to a very great amount, to be sacrificed for a much smaller advantage to a few individuals.

The ruinous expensiveness also of war (which will never be adequately estimated till the spread of civilization shall have gained general admission for just views of Political-Economy) would alone, if fairly computed, be almost sufficient to banish war from the earth.

On the whole, then, there seems every reason to believe, that, as a general rule, that advancement in National Prosperity which mankind are, by the Governor of the universe, adapted, and impelled, to promote, must be favourable to moral improvement. Still more does it appear evident, that such a conclusion must be *acceptable* to a pious and philanthropic mind. If it is not probable, still less is it desirable,

that the Deity should have fitted and destined Society to make a continual progress, impeded only by slothful and negligent habits, by war, rapine, and oppression, (in short, by violations of divine commands,) which progress inevitably tends towards a greater and greater moral corruption.

And yet there are some who appear not only to think, but to *wish* to think, that a condition but little removed from the savage state—one of ignorance, grossness, and poverty—unenlightened, semi-barbarous, and stationary, is the most favourable to virtue. You will meet with persons who will be even offended if you attempt to awaken them from their dreams about primitive rural simplicity, and to convince them that the spread of civilization, which, they must see, *has* a tendency to spread, does not tend to increase depravity. Supposing their notion true, it must at least, one would think, be a melancholy truth.

It may be said, as a reason, not for wishing, but for believing this, that the moral dangers which beset a wealthy community are designed as a trial. Undoubtedly they are; since no state in which Man is placed is exempt from trials. And let it be admitted also if you will, that the temptations to evil, to which civilized Man is exposed, are, *absolutely*, stronger than those which exist in a ruder state of society; still, if they are also *relatively* stronger—stronger in proportion to the counteracting forces, and stronger than the augmented motives to good conduct—and are such, consequently, that, as Society advances in civilization, there is less and less virtue, and a continually decreasing prospect of its being attained—this amounts to something more than a state of trial: it is a distinct provision made by the Deity for the moral degradation of his rational creatures.

What steps should be taken by those who think increase of

This can hardly be a desirable conclusion: but if it be nevertheless a true one, (and our wishes should not be allowed to bias our judgment,) those who hold it, ought at least to follow it up in practice, by diminishing, as far as is possible, the

wealth unfavourable to virtue.

severity of the trial. There is no virtue in exposing ourselves to temptations which may be avoided;—in cultivating, or neglecting to extirpate, the poisonous nightshade with its tempting and deadly berries. Let Mandevillians read the Fable of the Bees, and advocate the measures which the Author, in conclusion, (I myself am inclined to think, sincerely, but at any rate, consistently,) recommends. Let us put away from us the "accursed thing." If national wealth be, in a moral point of view, an evil, let us, in the name of all that is good, set about to diminish it. Let us, as he advises, burn our fleets, block up our ports, destroy our manufactories, break up our roads, and betake ourselves to a life of frugal and rustic simplicity; like Mandeville's bees, who,

> "flew into a hollow tree,
> "Blest with content and honesty."

I will conclude this Lecture with some brief remarks, intended merely to suggest matter for your own consideration, on the principal causes which have led to an erroneous estimate of the superior virtue of a poor and half-civilized condition of society.

Causes which have led to this opinion: poetical descriptions.

One powerful, but little-suspected cause, I take to be, an early familiarity with poetical descriptions, of pure, unsophisticated, rustic life, in remote, sequestered, and unenlightened, districts;—of the manly virtue and practical wisdom of our simple forefathers, before the refinements of luxury had been introduced;—of the adventurous wildness, so stimulating to the imagination, of savage or pastoral life, in the midst of primæval forests, lofty mountains, and all the grand scenery of uncultivated nature. Such subjects and scenes are much better adapted for Poets than thronged cities, workshops, coal-pits, and iron-founderies. And Poets, whose object is to please, of course keep out of sight all the odious or disgusting circumstances pertaining to the

life of the savage or the untutored clown, and dwell exclusively on all the amiable and admirable parts of that simplicity of character which they feign or fancy. Early associations are thus formed; whose influence is often the stronger and the more lasting, from the very circumstance that they are formed unconsciously, and do not come in the form of propositions demanding a deliberate assent. Poetry does not profess to aim at conviction; but it often leaves impressions which affect the Reasoning and the Judgment. And a false impression is perhaps oftener conveyed in other ways, than by sophistical argument; because *that* rouses the mind to exert its powers, and to assume, as it were, a reasoning mood.[1]

The very senses, again, in such as possess a taste for rural scenery, aid in such associations. A thatched cottage on a flowery heath, on the border of a fine wood, or the bark-covered sheds of Indians, amidst the noble forests and rivers of America, are more picturesque objects, than a comfortable brick-house near a turnpike-road, and surrounded with corn-fields. And the imagination is led to suggest the connexion of what is morally, with what is physically beautiful. In the account of a youth who was born blind, and couched by Mr. Chesselden, it is mentioned, that he was greatly astonished at not finding, as he had expected, that the persons and other objects, which had been the most agreeable to him in other respects, were also the most pleasing to the sight. The converse of this mistake may, in a certain degree, be found in many. Not a few who have passed good part of their lives in the country, and travelled through regions celebrated for wild and romantic scenery, know in fact very little of the character of men in any class of life but

[1] In a very recent publication I have seen mention made of a person who discovered the falsity of a certain doctrine (which, by the way, is nevertheless a true one, that of Malthus,) *instinctively*. This kind of instinct, *i. e.* the habit of forming opinions at the suggestion rather of feeling than of reason, is very common.

their own, except from the description of poets; but take for granted that the picturesque hovels of mountaineers must be the abode of nothing but peaceful innocence and felicity, and must have much the advantage, in this respect, of a smoky and bustling town. "We give you joy of your innocence, but covet not your silliness."[1]

Moreover, travellers have sometimes, without any design to deceive, given very overcharged pictures of the moral state of savage or half-civilized nations; whom they have perhaps chanced to see under favourable circumstances; and then, reporting faithfully what came under their observation, have supplied the rest from their own conjectures.

Evils of civilized life better known *to civilized men.*

Another cause which powerfully co-operates with the foregoing, is, that those who are themselves members of a wealthy and civilized community, *know* much more of all the vices and other evils which prevail in such a community, than of those existing in a different state of things. And when vexed and mortified at the evils we see among ourselves, the feeling which Horace describes in reference to a different point,—the disposition to imagine others better off than ourselves,[2]—induces us to think that another state of society may be exempt from such evils; inasmuch as we are sure it cannot have the very same. Avarice, for instance, we commonly denote by the phrase, "love of *money*;" and hence we are led to imagine, that a people among whom there is no *money*, must be free from avarice: and so in other points.

In other instances again it will be found, that the vices to which civilized men are liable, are really different in kind from those of the uncultivated; and, though the latter are not the less in reality vices, or, necessarily, of the less magnitude,

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[1] Μακαρίσαντες ὑμῶν τὸ ἀπειρόκακον, οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον. Thucyd. b. v.

[2] "Laudet diversa sequentes."

they are more likely to be overlooked by those whose attention has been habitually directed to a different class of faults.

It is wonderful what an apparently strong case may, on this principle, be made out against any given form of Society, by dwelling, in a style of eloquent declamation, on all the follies and crimes existing in it, described according to the particular shape they assume in that particular Society; thus leading the unreflective reader to forget, that faults substantially the same, or equivalent ones, may exist no less in other forms of Society also. A beautiful specimen of this kind of artifice may be found in Burke's "Defence of Natural Society," written in the assumed person of Lord Bolingbroke, to expose the same kind of sophistry, employed by that author against revealed religion.

Absolute *amount of vice, greatest in populous regions,*

There is also probably much error occasioned by a fallacy so obvious as soon as noticed, that hardly any one ever suspects himself of a liability to be misled by it; that, I mean, of neglecting to take into account in our calculations, the relative *numbers* of the persons we are speaking of. Since increase of national wealth is, I believe I may say, always, accompanied by an increase of population, it is evident that unless allowance be made for this, when we are computing the amount of crime in two countries, the result will always be unduly favourable to the poorer community. We must be improved incredibly, if the absolute amount of crime in this island is not greater than when its population was, perhaps, one-fifth of what it now is. In any one of the United States of America, the number of persons tried and convicted of offences, probably equals or exceeds the whole population of the tribes of wild Indians, who formerly wandered over the same district.

In the same way, men are liable to form an over-estimate of the purity of morals in the Country, as compared with a Town; or in a barren and thinly peopled, as compared with a fertile and populous, district. On a *given area*, it must always

be expected, that the absolute amount of vice will be greater in a Town than in the Country; so also will be that of virtue: but the *proportions* of the two must be computed on quite different principles. A physician of great skill and in high repute, probably loses many more patients than an ordinary practitioner; but this proves nothing, till we have ascertained the comparative numbers of their patients. Yet this, which is as clear when stated as any arithmetical proposition can be, is often, through inadvertency, overlooked in other cases as well as this; and important practical mistakes are frequently the result.[1]

and apparent *amount greater still.*

It should be observed also, that in large towns, and in populous districts intersected by roads which furnish a rapid conveyance of intelligence from place to place, and where newspapers are in common use, much more in proportion is *known* of every enormity that is perpetrated, than in remote country-districts, thinly peopled, where there is less facility of mutual communication, and where the natural appetite for news is compelled to limit itself to the gossip of the nearest hamlet. Much *apparent* increase of crime (I will not undertake to say how much) consists, I am convinced, in the increase of newspapers. For crimes, *especially* (be it observed) *such as are the most remote from the experience of each individual,* and therefore strike him as something *strange,* always furnish interesting articles of intelligence. I have no doubt that a single murder in Great Britain has often furnished matter for discourse to more than twenty times as many persons as any twenty such murders would in Turkey. We should remember, that there are not more particles of dust *in the sunbeam* than in any other part of the room; though we *see* them more where the light is stronger.[2]

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[1] Mistakes such as this (which are very frequent) remind one of the well-known riddle, "What is the reason that white sheep eat more than black ones?"

[2] Some foreign traveller in England is said to have remarked on the perceptible *diminution in the number of crimes* committed during the sitting of

On the whole, then, I think we may conclude, that the notions of those who consider a poor and imperfectly civilized community as possessing, cæteris paribus, superior or even equal advantages in point of moral improvement, are as much opposed to reason and to experience, as they are to every rational wish: and that as the Most High has evidently formed Society with a tendency to advancement in National Wealth, so, He has designed and fitted us to advance, by means of that, in Virtue, and true Wisdom, and Happiness.

But every situation in which Man can be placed has, along with its own peculiar advantages, its own peculiar difficulties and trials also; which we are called on to exert our faculties in providing against. The most fertile soil does not necessarily bear the most abundant harvest; its weeds, if neglected, will grow the rankest. And the servant who has received but one talent, if he put it out to use, will fare better than he who has been entrusted with five, if he squander or bury them. But still, this last does not suffer *because* he received five talents; but because he has not used them to advantage.

Civilization nowhere complete.

I am far from thinking, that any nation has realized as fully as it might have done, and may yet do, the picture I have drawn of the apparent design of a bountiful Providence;—that men have availed themselves of the advantages which increased and increasing national wealth holds out, in respect of moral advancement, to the extent to which they would, if these advantages had been duly contemplated, as such.

Almost every one, when a state of "civilization" is spoken of, understands by that phrase, *our own* state, and that of the other most refined European nations. No doubt

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Parliament, as a proof of our high reverence for that Assembly: the fact being, as we all know, that the space occupied in the newspapers by the Debates causes the *records* of many crimes to be omitted.

we are *more* civilized than our ancestors, and than the mass of mankind at the present day. But I hope and trust that our posterity five centuries hence will look back on *us* as semi-barbarians.

The views here taken are greatly at variance with a theory which, I regret to think, has obtained considerable currency; chiefly, I conceive, on the supposed authority of Mr. Malthus; in whose work however I have never myself been able to find this doctrine.

"Population having," it is said, "a tendency to increase in geometrical, and subsistence, only in arithmetical progression, it follows that, in each successive generation, the pressure of population on the means of support, and the consequent misery which is the result, must, unless new and extraordinary remedies be adopted, become greater and greater."

On this theory, our own country, and almost every other in the civilized world, ought to possess scantier means of subsistence in proportion to the population, now, than some centuries ago.

But we know that the reverse is the fact; and that our population, though so greatly increased since the time, for instance, of Henry VIII., is yet better off, on the average, in point of food, clothing, and habitations, than then.

It is urged, however, that since want and misery do exist among the lower classes, this is a proof that their numbers have gone on increasing at *too great* a rate. So it is: but the *existence* of an *excess* does not prove that that excess is *increasing;* or that it is not diminishing. These writers evidently confound together an "*excess of increase,*" and an "*increase of the excess.*" What would be thought of one who should reason thus;—the flood is increasing, and must be expected to extend further and further; for though it is lower to-day than yesterday, and yesterday, than the day before, still there are fields under water, which ought to be

dry; which proves that more water comes down than the regular channel can carry off;—there is, in February, a progress towards total darkness; for though each day is longer than the last, still the nights are too long in proportion to the days!

But we are to expect, it seems, that the same causes which have *always* been in operation, are henceforth to lead to results opposite to all that have taken place hitherto. "Xanthe retro propera, versæque recurrite lymphæ!"

To any one who will steadily stand by his theory in the face of notorious *facts*, all *arguments* would be in vain. But as an illustration of the importance of a careful employment of language, I have, in the Ninth Lecture, traced the error in question to its origin, in the ambiguity (that common source of confusion of thought) in the word "tendency."

Some remarks on the difficulties and dangers most peculiar to a wealthy community, and on the faults which its members are most apt to commit, in not rightly availing themselves of its peculiar advantages—in not rightly estimating those duties, and guarding against those dangers, which are especially connected with such a state of things—in short, in not acting conformably to the situation in which they are placed—will form the subject of the next Lecture.

LECTURE VIII.

OBSTACLES TO NATIONAL WELFARE.

Inequalities in respect of moral advancement, independent of National Wealth—In what senses Communities are called rich or poor—Differences in religion, and institutions, and in distribution of wealth and modes of expenditure—One danger arising from excessive division of labour, noticed by A. Smith—What education is desirable for the labouring classes—Another danger noticed by Mr. Senior—Evils of ill-conducted diffusion of knowledge, how to be prevented.

Inequalities in respect of moral advancement, independent of national wealth.

I HAVE all along spoken of the possession of National Wealth, as more favourable than poverty, to moral improvement, *supposing other points equal.* For there *are* several other points in which such inequalities may exist as shall affect the result. Wise or unwise Laws and Customs,—a better or worse Religion,—and other such variations of circumstances, do indeed tend to make a great difference as to the advancement of a society in wealth; but they also make a difference as to the results of its wealth; so that National Prosperity is not every where in an exact ratio to intellectual culture and refinement of manners; nor these, again, to the moral condition of the society. Two nations may be equal in wealth, yet unequal in the higher and better part of civilization; or the superiority may even be on the side of the poorer. But when this is the case, that superiority must be attributed to some other cause rather than to poverty; if, at least, the general conclusion be just, which, I have endeavoured to shew, is deducible, both from a consideration of the nature of Man, and from a wide observation. To argue hastily from a scanty

induction, leads to the fallacy described by Logicians under the title of "non causa pro causa;" by which the incautious are often brought to mistake even an impediment in spite of which some effect has been produced, for the very cause of that effect.

And such would be our procedure, if, on observing some poorer community to be more moral and enlightened than a richer one, we should attribute this difference to their comparative degrees of wealth, and should advise, as Mandeville does, a voluntary impoverishment, as the expedient for improving morals.[1]

In what senses communities are called rich or poor.

But it is necessary here to premise, that when I speak of national wealth as an advantage with a view to moral improvement, I mean, wealth in *proportion to the population.* This seems sufficiently obvious; but it is yet necessary to be mentioned, because other views of the comparative wealth of different communities are often taken; and that, very suitably, when the questions at issue are different. If any one, for instance, were speaking of the wealth requisite for the building and maintenance of a Navy, or the erection of some public edifice, or other national work, he would place the Russian Empire far above such States as Hamburgh, or Geneva; though they are, in proportion to their population, much richer.

Again, for other purposes, the wealth of a nation would be computed according to that of the *richest individuals.* A dealer, for instance, in the most costly pictures, statues, or jewels, might find, that in a given Country he could not

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[1] The lady who was exhibited some time ago, who being born without arms or legs, practised needlework, painting, and other arts, notwithstanding the deficiency, did indeed absolutely excel many whose bodily conformation is perfect: but those who are conscious of inferiority to her in those arts, would not be therefore recommended to throw away their natural advantages, but to make the most of them;—to aim at greater proficiency by *learning to employ* their hands, not by cutting them off.

dispose of his most valuable articles: this or that People, he would say, is too poor to purchase such things; and he might find a ready sale for these things in another country, whose collective wealth, in proportion to its population, might be much less, but great part of it distributed in larger masses among a few individuals. It is evident, that for our present purpose, it is the wealth of the people generally, not of a few individuals, that is to be considered.

With equal wealth however, and in the same sense of the phrase, different communities may be considerably unequal in the most important points of civilization, from various causes; most of which do indeed exert a considerable influence, even in respect of wealth itself, but yet have, besides this, a direct effect also on the national character, and tend to promote, or retard, or entirely stop, the advancement of a people in intelligence, or in morality, or in both.

Differences in religion,

The character of their religion, for instance, makes a great difference: and in this respect the most eminent nations of antiquity laboured under a great disadvantage, as compared with those of Christendom; and of these, such as are more or less enthralled by various superstitions, are far from being on a level with those who have approached nearer to the religion of the Bible. To the diffusion of knowledge, in particular, a narrow-minded and timid bigotry, — a system of pious fraud, — or spiritual tyranny, disguised in the garb of Christianity, are even more opposed than Paganism itself; which (as a religious system) may be considered as neutral and indifferent to it; while a truly evangelical religion absolutely requires it, since it cannot be really embraced without a certain degree of education. The direct effects of religion and national character, few will be disposed to deny, even of those who believe in no religion; since of several different forms of superstitious error, supposing all religions to be such, one may at least be more compatible with moral improvement than another.

Not however that religion has not an indirect effect also, through its influence on national Prosperity. To take one point out of many: War, which, if Christianity were heartily and generally embraced, would be wholly unknown, has been, even as it is, much mitigated by that humanizing influence. Now War is, in the present day, generally regarded, though to a far less degree than it really is, as a great destroyer of wealth. But the direct demoralizing effect of War is probably still greater than its impoverishing effect. The same may be said of Slavery, in its various forms, including the serfship of the Russians, and the Hungarians. If both Slavery and War were at an end, the wealth of nations would increase, but their civilization, in the most important points, would increase in a still greater ratio.

and institutions,

If again there be a community whose foundation has been laid with a population chiefly consisting of the worst kind of slaves—transported criminals, the scum and refuse of another country, (which Lord Bacon long ago proclaimed to be "a shameful and unblessed thing,") and if, from time to time, fresh supplies be poured into it, of the sweepings of jails—such a community, though its natural advantages of soil, climate, and situation, may enable it nevertheless to advance in wealth, must have but a wretched prospect in respect of moral improvement.[1] And

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[1] See the "Letters to Earl Grey, on Transportation and other Secondary-Punishments;" and also "The Substance of a Speech," on the same subjects, in the House of Lords.—See Appendix [E.] [F.] and [G.] to this volume.

Any one who wishes to investigate more fully this subject, which has at length attracted the serious attention of Government, (see Edinburgh Review, No. 173, July 1847, Art. 10,) may consult the Minutes of the Evidence given before the Committees of the House of Commons, in 1838.

It is a curious instance of the degree to which men of intelligence may be blinded by their prejudices, that some have represented that Evidence as "one-sided;"—as consisting almost exclusively of the testimony of those *unfavourable* to the system of Penal-Colonies. It seems not to have occurred to these persons to ask themselves the question, *how it came to pass that evidence on the other side was not produced;*—that favourable witnesses were not called up. Besides the great number of persons interested in the system,

if a colony, so constituted, prove, not so much a place of dreaded punishment to the convicts sent out to it, as a nursery of vice, sending back, from time to time, such as have become the most thorough proficients in villany, the moral condition of the mother-country, also, must suffer from the operation of the system.

A community, again, would, cæteris paribus, labour under a great disadvantage in respect of advancement in virtue at least, whose institutions were such as tended to arm against the laws large bodies of such persons as were not, in the outset, destitute of all moral principle, but whose mode of life was a fit training to make them become so. Such are, Poachers and Smugglers. An excessive multiplication of the latter class is produced by the enactment of laws, whose object is, not revenue, but the exclusion of foreign productions for the supposed benefit of domestic industry. Whatever may be thought of the expediency of those laws, with a view to national wealth, all must agree, that the extension of smuggling must produce the most demoralizing effects.

and in distribution of wealth and modes of expenditure.

Again, among nations equal in wealth, the greatest and most important varieties may exist in respect of its *distribution.* If a large proportion of the wealth of a community consist of the enormous and overgrown fortunes of a few, that community has not near such promising prospects in respect of the intellectual and moral advancement of the rest of the people, or even of the possessors of those fortunes, with one which

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the Government of that day were, and continued to be, decided supporters of it. How can it be accounted for that they did not produce numerous witnesses on their own side?

The fact is that they *did* so. I can bear testimony—having been present at many of the examinations—that, as might have been expected, numerous witnesses favourable to the system were produced; whose evidence as to the real state of things was most reluctantly given. In this sense only is that Evidence "one-sided," that it greatly *preponderates against* the system; most especially those facts which were drawn from unwilling witnesses who were desirous of supporting it.

enjoys a greater diffusion of wealth. "That state of society," (says the late Professor in his Introductory Lecture,) "in which the productiveness of labour, and the mode in which it is applied, secure to the *labouring classes* all the necessaries and some of the conveniences of life, seems to be, not merely conducive, but essential, both to their morals and their happiness."

Again, it is a point of the highest importance in many respects, what course the prevailing current of *expenditure* takes, in a nation of considerable wealth. And in this point different ages and countries exhibit great diversities. In some, the favourite, and, in short, most fashionable style of expenditure, shall be in masques and pageants, feasts, and fire-works, and things of that nature, which perish in the very act of using; in others, in sumptuous dress, which is but a little less perishable; in others again, in furniture; or again, in buildings, paintings, libraries, gardens and museums. It will be apparent on a detailed and extensive survey, that every advance from a more gross or puerile, to a more refined and tasteful, and at the same time more rational and useful, style of expenditure, is both the effect, and again also a cause, of a general advance in civilization. A coarse profusion in the most perishable articles, and again, the delight in a tawdry kind of splendour, and showy ornament, are characteristics of a semi-barbarous people.

These, however, and several other circumstances which tend to produce inequality in different communities in respect of moral advancement, it will be sufficient to have thus, generally and briefly, pointed out to your notice.

The points which more particularly claim our attention at present, are, those circumstances more immediately *connected with national wealth*, which may prove unfavourable to national morality.

One danger arising from excessive division

The first of these is, one result of the division of labour when carried to a great extent; —the evil of reducing each man too much to the

of labour, noticed by A. Smith.

condition of a mere machine, or rather one part of a machine; the result of which is, that the mind is apt to be narrowed—the intellectual faculties undeveloped, or imperfectly and partially developed, through the too great concentration of the attention on the performance of a single, and sometimes very simple, operation.

With respect to this point, I cannot perhaps do better than to cite the remarks of A. Smith on the evil in question, and on the remedy proposed for it. "In the progress of the division of labour, the employment of the far greater part of those who live by labour, that is, of the great Body of the people, comes to be confined to a few very simple operations; frequently to one or two. But the understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects too are, perhaps, always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him, not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extensive interests of his country he is altogether incapable of judging; and unless very particular pains have been taken to render him otherwise, he is equally incapable of defending his country in war. The uniformity of his stationary life . . . . renders him incapable of exerting his strength with vigour and perseverance, in any other employment than that to which he has been bred. His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be

acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilized society this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great Body of the People, must necessarily fall, unless Government takes some pains to prevent it.

"It is otherwise in the barbarous societies, as they are commonly called, of hunters, of shepherds, and even of husbandmen in that rude state of husbandry which precedes the improvement of manufactures, and the extension of foreign commerce. In such societies the varied occupations of every man oblige every man to exert his capacity, and to invent expedients for removing difficulties which are continually occurring. Invention is kept alive, and the mind is not suffered to fall into that drowsy stupidity, which, in a civilized society, seems to benumb the understanding of almost all the inferior ranks of people. . . . . In such a society indeed, no man can well acquire that improved and refined understanding, which a few men sometimes possess in a more civilized state. Though in a rude society there is a good deal of variety in the occupations of every individual, there is not a great deal in those of the whole society. Every man does, or is capable of doing, almost every thing which any other man does, or is capable of doing. Every man has a considerable degree of knowledge, ingenuity, and invention; but scarce any man has a great degree. The degree, however, which is commonly possessed, is generally sufficient for conducting the whole simple business of the society. In a civilized state, on the contrary, though there is little variety in the occupations of the greater part of individuals, there is an almost infinite variety in those of the whole society. These varied occupations present an almost infinite variety of objects to the contemplation of those few, who, being attached to no particular occupation themselves, have leisure and inclination to examine the occupations of other people. The contemplation of so great a variety of objects necessarily exercises their minds in endless comparisons and

combinations, and renders their understandings, in an extraordinary degree, both acute and comprehensive. Unless those few, however, happen to be placed in some very particular situations, their great abilities, though honourable to themselves, may contribute very little to the good government or happiness of their society. Notwithstanding the great abilities of those few, all the nobler parts of the human character may be, in a great measure, obliterated and extinguished in the great Body of the People.

"The education of the common people requires, perhaps, in a civilized and commercial society, the attention of the Public more than that of people of some rank and fortune. . . . . The common people have little time to spare for education. Their parents can scarce afford to maintain them even in infancy. As soon as they are able to work, they must apply to some trade by which they can earn their subsistence. That trade too is generally so simple and uniform as to give little exercise to the understanding; while, at the same time, their labour is both so constant and so severe, that it leaves them little leisure and less inclination to apply to, or even to think of, any thing else.

"But though the common people cannot, in any civilized society, be so well instructed as people of some rank and fortune, the most essential parts of education, however, to read, write, and account, can be acquired at so early a period of life, that the greater part even of those who are to be bred to the lowest occupations, have time to acquire them before they can be employed in those occupations. For a very small expense the Public can facilitate, can encourage, and can even impose upon almost the whole Body of the People, the necessity of acquiring those most essential parts of education.

"The Public can facilitate this acquisition, by establishing in every parish or district a little school, where children may be taught for a reward so moderate, that even a common labourer may afford it; the master being partly, but

not wholly, paid by the Public; because, if he was wholly, or even principally, paid by it, he would soon learn to neglect his business. In Scotland the establishment of such parish schools has taught almost the whole common people to read, and a very great proportion of them to write and account. In England the establishment of charity-schools has had an effect of the same kind, though not so universally, because the establishment is not so universal. If in those little schools the books, by which the children are taught to read, were a little more instructive than they commonly are; and if, instead of a smattering of Latin, which the children of the common people are sometimes taught there, and which can scarce ever be of any use to them; they were instructed in the elementary parts of geometry and mechanics, the literary education of this rank of people would perhaps be as complete as it can be. There is scarce a common trade which does not afford some opportunities of applying to it the principles of geometry and mechanics, and which would not therefore gradually exercise and improve the common people in those principles, the necessary introduction to the most sublime as well as to the most useful sciences.

"The Public can encourage the acquisition of these most essential parts of education by giving small premiums, and little badges of distinction, to the children of the common people who excel in them.

"The Public can impose upon almost the whole Body of the People, the necessity of acquiring those most essential parts of education, by obliging every man to undergo an examination or probation in them before he can obtain the freedom in any corporation, or be allowed to set up any trade, either in a village, or town corporate."[1]

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[1] Vol. iv. p. 182—188.—The author has not perhaps much exaggerated the stupid narrow-mindedness of the labouring classes where their education is totally neglected: but he appears to have very greatly over-rated the intelligence, the thoughtfulness, and the mental activity of Barbarians.

What education is desirable for the labouring classes.

On this passage I need hardly remark, that the *religious* education (to which our author does not advert) of the children of the poor, and that, up to a much higher point than is at present generally thought of among us, ought to occupy a prominent place. And instruction on several other points also might, I am convinced, be very easily and very advantageously added. There are some very simple but important truths belonging to the science we are now engaged in, which might with the utmost facility be brought down to the capacity of a child, and which, it is not too much to say, the Lower Orders cannot even safely be left ignorant of.[1] One of them I adverted to in a former Lecture. Can the labouring classes, (and that too in a country where they have a legal right to express practically their political opinions,) can they safely be left to suppose, as many a demagogue is ready, when it suits his purpose, to tell them, that inequality of condition is inexpedient, and ought to be abolished—that the wealth of a man whose income is equal to that of a hundred labouring families, is so much deducted from the common stock, and causes a hundred poor families the less to be maintained;—and that a general spoliation of the rich, and equal division of property, would put an end to poverty for ever?

"If a horse" (says Mandeville, in his treatise against

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[1] This experiment has subsequently been successfully tried, in the "Lessons on Money-matters," which appeared originally in the Reading-books of the Irish National Schools (now in the hands of several hundred thousand children in various parts of the Empire), and also in the Saturday Magazine; from which they were reprinted in a separate little volume, of which many thousands have been sold; besides a reprint in the United States, and a French translation extensively circulated in Belgium and France. Similar experiments were afterwards tried, with like results, in the "Lessons on Reasoning," on "Christian Evidences," on the "History of Religious Worship" and on "The British Constitution."

Some of these Lesson-books have been translated into French, Italian, Spanish, Welsh, German, Swedish, Romaic, Turkish, Armenian, Irish, Polish, Bohemian, and (Maori) the New-Zealand language.

Charity-schools) "knew as much as a man, I should not like to be his rider." There is a reason for this beyond what was in the author's mind. It would be not only *unsafe*, but *unjust*, to treat a *rational* Being (which, on that supposition, the horse would be) as a *slave;* governed, not for his own benefit, (however humanely,) but for his master's.[1] If however in any Country it is the settled plan to keep the Lower Orders in this kind of brutish subjection, it is at least consistent to keep them in brutish ignorance also. But where they are admitted not only to freedom, but also, many of them, to a share of political power, it is the height of inconsistency to neglect any means of instructing them how to make a good use of their advantages. It seems preposterous to reckon a man fit to take a part in the management of a ship, and yet unfit to learn anything of seamanship. Any one who says with Mandeville, "If a horse knew as much as a man, I should not like to be his rider," ought to add, "If a man knew as little as a horse, I should not like to trust him to ride."[2]

Much of that kind of knowledge to which I have been alluding, might easily be embodied, in an intelligible and interesting form, not merely in regular didactic treatises, but in compilations of history, or of travels, and in works of fiction, which would afford amusement as well as instruction. For, amusement, of one kind or another, men *will* seek, and find: and it is therefore a great point gained in respect of morality, if the mass of the people can be provided with such as shall be, even merely not hurtful. He who advertised a reward for any one who should discover a new pleasure, would have deserved well of mankind, if he had stipulated that it should be innocent. It is not enough to teach the people to read, and then merely to put the Bible into their hands. Books should be written

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[1] See Sermon "on Education," preached at Halesworth.

[2] See "Introductory Lessons on the British Constitution."

expressly for their use, (and how can men of education be more laudably occupied?) not merely of grave instruction, but also such as may form in them a taste that shall tend to withdraw them, in their hours of recreation also, from all that is gross and corrupting.

To the workmen in large manufactories in particular, assistance of such a kind as A. Smith speaks of, is, from the peculiarly monotonous character of their employment, the most needed, and, from their being collected in such large bodies, the most easily afforded.

As a set-off against this, however, it should be remembered, that manufacturers who are collected in large bodies have the advantage of mutual intercourse to sharpen their faculties, to a much greater extent than agricultural labourers. In most instances they may even during their work be engaged in conversation; which, however unprofitable and even hurtful in other respects, at least affords some intellectual exercise. And if their conversation be on the whole of a hurtful or frivolous character, must not this be attributed in a great measure to the want of a well-conducted education?

Some large manufacturers have accordingly established schools and chapels, appropriated to the use of their enormous families. It is, I cannot but think, a disgrace to the nation, that this procedure is not, and has not been long since, universal. Since A. Smith wrote, much has been done in England in regard to the education of the people. But much remains to be done. If we compare our present condition in this point, not with what it was thirty years ago, but with what it ought to be, we shall find less reason for self-satisfied exultation, than for increased exertion.

As for the danger apprehended from over-educating the labouring classes, I shall offer some observations presently, on the true character of that danger, and on the means of averting it.

I wish first to call your attention to another inconvenience which may result from a high degree of division of labour: I mean, the additional liability to the evil of being thrown out of employment. I cannot describe this better than in the words of the late Professor.

Another danger noticed by Mr. Senior.

After adverting to the remark of M. Garnier, in his notes to the French translation of A. Smith, that in France no man of health and strength need be without employment, which that author attributes to the absence of such restrictions as our poor-laws impose, Mr. Senior observes, that nevertheless the common people in France are worse fed, and incomparably worse clothed, than in England; and adds, that "the French labourer being employed in more capacities than the Englishman, has more trades to turn to, and for that very reason is less efficient at any one. The Russian is probably more seldom out of employ than the Frenchman, and the Tartar, less frequently than either. But I believe nothing to be more clearly established than that, cæteris paribus, the productiveness of labour is in proportion to its subdivision; and that, cæteris paribus, in proportion to that subdivision must be the occasional suffering from want of employment."

"A Savage may be compared to one of his own instruments, to his club, or his adze, clumsy and inefficient, but yet complete in itself. A civilized artificer is like a single wheel or roller, which when combined with many thousand others in an elaborate piece of machinery, contributes to effects which seem beyond human force and ingenuity; but alone is almost utterly useless."

It is curious to contrast the case of Alexander Selkirke, who was left for some years on the Island of Juan Fernandez, with that of a Musquito-Indian mentioned in Dampier's Voyages, who was also left (but by accident) on the very same Island for about as long a time. The savage cheerfully exercised all the little ingenuity possessed by his tribe, in providing himself with such implements, clothing, and

habitation, as he had been accustomed to; and was found living in much the same style as prevails among the nation of Indians. The European was overwhelmed with melancholy, and seems scarcely to have exerted any of his powers.

The inconvenience just described is both an evil in itself, and also (what is more especially to our present purpose) tends towards a demoralizing effect through the medium of the occasional distress resulting from it. It is an inconvenience which, though it may be greatly mitigated, cannot, I think, be *entirely* obviated, in an advanced state of Society, without not only foregoing the advantage of the division of labour, but introducing the most oppressive compulsory enactments; since, where there is a free competition, that workman will always obtain a preference, who, from having chiefly confined himself to one kind of operation, possesses superior skill. It is proverbial, that the man of many trades does not thrive, being, in each department, surpassed by others; and resembling Homer's Margites, who practised many arts, but all, unskilfully:

Πόλλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα.

Plato, in his Erastæ, represents Socrates ridiculing one who represented a Philosopher as this kind of person, having a slight knowledge of various arts, but perfect in none, and like the Pentathlete in the Games. When, says he, good artists are to be had, such a one is useless.

But there are means by which the evil in question may be much alleviated. A small degree of care in education will diminish the extreme helplessness which is often found in manufacturing labourers. The women in particular are often so improvident, in devoting themselves exclusively and unremittingly to a single operation, for the sake of earning higher wages *for the present*, that they grow up ignorant of the common domestic offices; and when they marry, are wholly dependent on such as they hire for those purposes;

so that a fall of wages, or want of work, reduces their families to a state of much greater discomfort, than others, with the same absolute poverty, have to encounter. The plan has been adopted accordingly in many schools, of teaching the children, even of both sexes, both needle-work and several other little manual arts, which at all times may be a convenience to them, and, in emergencies, may materially alleviate the pressure of distress.

Another expedient which provident good sense would suggest as a safeguard against the worst extremities of this evil, is, that the several members of a family should betake themselves, as far as that is possible, to *different occupations;* by which means, as it will very seldom happen that a stagnation of trade will equally affect all at the same time, they will be enabled to assist each other. Each family may thus in some degree combine within itself the variety of employments which exists in the whole community; in which, now one, and now another class, will be comparatively depressed, though the whole may be prosperous and advancing.

It is true, the proposed expedient can be but very imperfectly adopted in a town that is the seat of some great manufacture which absorbs perhaps four-fifths of the inhabitants; and even in other cases, there is generally some little advantage in point of convenience and of *present* gain, in the opposite procedure: but it is the very province of prudence, to sacrifice a smaller immediate, to a greater future, benefit.

But the great resource is, in habits of forethought and frugality. The Savings-Banks, which Archbishop Sumner recommended with such philanthropic zeal, and which he has happily lived to see very generally established, have done, and are doing, incalculable good in this way; though, if they had become general some ten or twenty years earlier, at the time when wages were at the highest, they would have saved probably much moral degradation, resulting from the distress

which followed. It happens as a fortunately countervailing circumstance, that in those very employments which are the most liable to fluctuation, wages are, generally speaking, the highest: so that in prosperous times, the workman of steady habits, and not, like the savage, a slave to present gratification and thoughtless of the future, may accumulate a little store, which, when employment falls short, may either enable him to subsist till times improve again, or till he shall have acquired a competent skill in some other kindred art; or else, to remove with his family to some place where he can earn support.

Of the two evils then, which are connected with the division of labour, the contraction of the faculties and consequent debasement of mind, resulting from a too limited range of occupation, and, the danger of being thrown out of work, the appropriate remedies are, I think, to be found in judicious education, and habits of provident frugality. That advanced state of Society, which is the most exposed to the evils, is also the most favourable to the application of the remedies.

Evils of ill-conducted diffusion of knowledge.

The other danger to which a community may be exposed, through great and increasing wealth, is connected with that augmentation and diffusion of knowledge, and of intellectual culture, to which it naturally leads. Many apprehend mischief from what they call over-education of the mass of the people; the too *great* amount, or too *sudden* increase, of the knowledge placed within their reach—of their taste for intellectual pursuits—and their disposition to think and judge for themselves. They are thence, it is said, disposed to be puffed up with conceit at their superiority to their unenlightened forefathers, arrogant, and averse to subordination—deeming themselves competent to decide on every question—rashly embracing crude theories, and craving after innovation, from an idea that all ancient institutions must be either obsolete remnants of a state of general barbarism and darkness, or

contrivances of fraudulent oppressors for imposing on the simple.

I am far from thinking that serious dangers of this kind do not arise as accompaniments of the Progress of Society, in wealth, and in knowledge, and intelligence. But I am convinced they do *not* arise from the too great amount, or too great diffusion, of mental cultivation, but from *misdirected* and *disproportionate* cultivation. And this misdirection does not consist so much in the imparting of knowledge which had better be withheld from a particular class, or the exercise of faculties which, in them, had better be left dormant, as in the violation of *proportion*—the neglect of preserving a due *balance* between different studies and different mental powers. No illustration will better explain my meaning than that of the bodily growth. A child neglected at the period of growth, will become rickety and deformed, from some of the limbs receiving, though no absolutely undue increase, yet a disproportioned increase; while others, do not indeed shrink, nor perhaps cease to grow, but do not increase at the same rate. In such a case, we sometimes say that the head or the trunk is grown too large for the limbs; meaning, however, not absolutely, but relatively;—not that the growth of one part is in itself excessive, but that the other parts have not kept pace with it. And though such a distortion is worse even than a general dwarfish and stunted growth, it is obvious that a full and regular development of all the parts, is far preferable to either; and also, that it is, when Nature is making an effort towards growth, not only more desirable, but more practicable, to make that an equable and well-proportioned growth, than to repress it altogether. We should endeavour rather to strengthen the weak parts, than to weaken the strong. But if we take no pains to do either the one or the other, it is plain that both the corporeal, and also the intellectual and moral, expansion, must lead to disease and deformity.

As far as relates to Religion, the most important point of all, (both in itself, and in regard to the question now more immediately before us,) I will avail myself of the words of a most valuable Work, which express sentiments in which I wholly coincide.

"A vast and momentous moral crisis is rapidly approaching—the rise of Education throughout the mass of the People. Amidst pretensions to sensible spiritual communion on the one hand, and a careful avoidance of recognizing any divine interposition on the other—amidst theories invented or imported, that would subject the sacred volume to the rules of mere ordinary criticism, opposed only in partial and personal controversy—a large portion of the community, which has been hitherto uneducated, is suddenly roused into free inquiry, and furnished with ability to perceive all that darkens and deforms the subject; but—it must be owned and lamented—not furnished with that spiritual training, which alone enables the inquirer to see his way through it.

"It is not that the people at large are without any religious and moral instruction—it is not that they have *absolutely* less now than heretofore—they have probably more. But the progress of spiritual and worldly knowledge is unequal; and it is this inequality of progress that constitutes the danger. It is a truth which cannot be too strongly insisted on, that if the powers of the intellect be strengthened by the acquisition of science, professional learning, or general literature—in short, secular knowledge, of whatever kind, without being *proportionately* exercised on spiritual subjects, its susceptibility of the objections which may be urged against Revelation will be increased, without a corresponding increase in the ability to remove them. Conscious of having mastered certain difficulties that attach to subjects which he has studied, one so educated finds it impossible to satisfy himself about difficulties in Revelation; Revelation not having received from him the same degree of attention;

and, forgetful of the unequal distribution of his studies, charges the fault on the subject. Doubt, discontent, and contemptuous infidelity, (more frequently secret than avowed,) are no unusual results. It seems indeed to have been required of us by the Author of Revelation, that his Word should have *a due share* of our intellect, as well as our heart; and that the disproportionate direction of our talents, no less than of our affections, to the things of this world, should disqualify us for faith. What is sufficient sacred knowledge for an uneducated person, becomes inadequate for him when educated; even as he would be crippled and deformed, if the limb which was strong and well-proportioned when he was a child, should have undergone no progressive change as his bodily stature increased, and he grew into manhood. We must not think to satisfy the divine law, by setting apart the same *absolute* amount as the *tithe* of our enlarged understanding, which was due from a narrower and more barren field of intellectual culture.

"Nor let it be imagined that this is true only of minds highly gifted, and accomplished in science, elegant literature, or professional pursuits. It is not the *absolute* amount of worldly acquirements, but the proportion that they bear to our religious attainments, be these what they may, that is to be dreaded. If the *balance* of intellectual exercise be not preserved, the almost certain result will be, either an utter indifference to religion; or else, that slow-corroding scepticism, which is fostered by the consciousness, that difficulties corresponding to those that continue to perplex our view of Revelation have, in our other pursuits, been long surmounted and removed." [1]

It may be added, that with respect to another matter also of high importance in itself, and (as I trust has been shown) not unconnected with religion,—Political-Economy,—as ignorance, or erroneous views concerning it, are in

[1] Hinds on Inspiration, pp. 4—6.

themselves to be deprecated, so, there is here also, an especial danger in a *disproportionate* neglect. For since men who regard themselves as generally well-educated, *will* always, however uneducated they may in fact be in respect of these subjects, reckon themselves, though they may shun the *name* of Political-Economy, competent judges of the questions pertaining to it, (which appear to be every one's business,) the consequence must be, that their education on other points will only serve to superadd to their ignorance, the rashness of confident self-conceit.

How far either in respect of these or of other points any given community may be exposed to the dangers resulting from an ill-regulated and disproportionate growth, must depend on the rapidity of its increase in wealth and intelligence, combined with the negligence, or the obstinacy, with which its members forget, or refuse, to conform themselves to the situation in which they are placed. Their danger will be in proportion to the degree of prevalence (to speak more precisely) of two opposite errors: one, that of those who deprecate the increase and spread of intellectual culture, as in itself an evil, though an evil which, after all, they can only murmur at, but not effectually repress; and who look back with vain regret on those ages of primitive rudeness and torpid ignorance, which they cannot recall: the other, that of those whose views, though more cheerful, are not more enlightened—who hail with joy every symptom of any kind of advancement, without at all troubling themselves to secure an equable and well-balanced advancement; or apprehending, or even thinking of, any probable mischief from the want of it. The one party sighs for the restoration of infancy; the other exults in the approach of a distorted maturity.

How to be prevented.

This subject, if fully developed, would alone occupy a considerable volume. It will be sufficient for our present purpose, to have merely pointed out to you the considerations which deserve your

attention, and to have slightly hinted at the circumstances which may occasion one community to avail itself better, and another worse, of the advantages which wealth and civilization afford, with a view to moral improvement.

It is plain, that if, of two communities equal in wealth, the one were to make the wisest, the other the most unwise, use of this advantage, their moral conditions would be immensely different; though it would be not the less true, that a real advantage had been placed within the reach of both.

Let it be supposed, for instance, that in the one, the higher classes were anxiously occupied in diffusing the blessings of education among the people, and had provided adequately for the instruction both of children and adults; taking care that the *most essential* points of education should occupy the foremost place, and the next to them, the next; and exercising the judgment of a cultivated understanding as to the relative importance of each, and as to the best modes of conveying instruction in each: let us suppose their wealth to be employed in making an adequate provision for a sufficient number of respectable religious teachers, and of places of worship, to meet fully the wants of their population: let the schools again, for the education of the children of their own class, be conducted on a similar principle; making sound religious instruction, and the cultivation of sincere and practical religious habits, the primary object of attention, and placing every other branch of education in its proper order; taking especial care not to let showy accomplishments become a readier path to distinction than substantial cultivation of the understanding; and guarding most sedulously against that besetting danger, the introduction into their schools of a wrong code of morality—a *false point of honour*, distinct from, or at variance with, christian principle: let their Universities, again, and other institutions for ulterior education, be so regulated as to exhibit in the disposition of their endowments, the full efficiency of well-di-

rected wealth, in carrying on a plan of manly instruction, of which the foundations should have been laid in earlier years; not sending forth into the world, to assume the office of legislators and directors of public affairs, such as shall have completed their education without having ever even begun the study of the subjects with which they are to be conversant, except so far as they may have taken upon trust some long-venerated prejudices; but men qualified for the high profession they are to follow, by a preparation analogous to what is required even of the humblest artisan:—let these objects, and such as these, occupy the attention, and employ the resources, of an enlightened and opulent community—let these be, I do not say, *perfectly attained*, (since perfection is not to be expected of Man), but at least sedulously *aimed at*,—proposed *as* objects—thought of; (and this surely is no impossibility:)—and let the other community, perversely or negligently, pursue, in all or in many of these points, an opposite course; and it is easy to pronounce which of the two is employing its wealth with the better prospect of success, in attaining superior objects;—which is likely to improve, and which, to stand still or fall back, in respect of true national greatness;—which is the more advanced, and has the fairer prospect of advancing towards a higher and better kind of civilization than any nation has hitherto exhibited. And yet each party shall have received perhaps the very same number of Talents; though the one promises fair to double them, and the other is in danger of having them taken away.

I have thought it best thus to introduce the subject of Political-Economy, by directing your attention to some of the topics by which the current prejudices against the study may be removed, and its importance evinced, because I feel certain that you will often have occasion to encounter such prejudices, and will often meet with persons who under-rate that importance.

In my next Lecture, I shall endeavour to explain some practical principles relative to the mode in which the Science should be studied, which I think ought to be kept in view by those who are engaged in, and especially by those who are first entering on, the pursuit.

LECTURE IX.

MODE OF PURSUING THE STUDY OF THE SCIENCE.

General character of the study—Importance of beginning aright—Mistake of beginning by a crude collection of facts—Distinction between the two requisites in each science—What knowledge of facts requisite—Character of the facts which history records—Danger from misapplied learning—History records the *impediments* to advancement—Difficulty of avoiding Theory—Knowledge of facts no remedy for logical inaccuracy—Mere ignorance causes no positive evil—Importance of Nomenclature—Definitions not given where most needed—Charge of making innovations in language—Disagreement of different writers in their use of terms—Ambiguity of the expressions high and low, as applied to Wages—Ambiguous use of the word Wealth—Ambiguous use of the word Tendency—Accidental circumstances mistaken for essential—Labour not essential to Value—Errors arising from elliptical expressions—Fine writing not to be expected or aimed at in this subject.

IT is not my design, either now or hereafter, to attempt delivering a complete and detailed system of Political-Economy. It seems to me, for several reasons, more desirable to endeavour to suggest (as I propose to do in the present Lecture), such general principles of procedure as may be of service to the student in his pursuits, and as may serve to facilitate, not to supersede, his profitable perusal of works already before the public. It may be desirable also from time to time to suggest refutations of prevailing errors relative either to Political-Economy generally (such as I have noticed in the preceding Lectures) or to particular questions in it;—to comment on the several doctrines maintained by various writers; and to discuss any particular points of an interesting character, which they may have either omitted, or not sufficiently dwelt on.

But a complete course of Political-Economy, which should discuss every question of importance that properly comes under the province of the science, would (unless so much compressed as to be with difficulty followed by the

hearer) occupy a space far beyond what is allotted to any single professor; and at the same time would comprise much of what the student might find well treated of in books already extant.[1] Add to which, that, even if such a complete course were to be delivered by any one professor, it is not likely that the majority of his class would remain, throughout, the same.

General character of the study.

I propose then in the present Lecture (which will conclude this course) to offer, chiefly for the use of those who are entering on the study, some general observations on the character of it, and on the method in which it should be pursued.

Importance of beginning aright.

It is a rule as important in this as in most other studies, though here more frequently violated, "to begin at the beginning:"—not to rush at once to the discussion of insulated questions, however interesting; but to approach these with the advantage of a systematic and familiar acquaintance with the leading principles. In no study is the opposite procedure more common. One may frequently hear persons who have never taken the pains to bestow any regular attention on the science, proceed to the discussion of some of the most complicated questions pertaining to it; and, giving an opinion, or perhaps asking the opinion of some one who is supposed to have made those matters his study, as to the nature and effects, for instance, of the national debt,—or the operation of the poor-laws,—or of absenteeism; without having ever settled in their own minds what they consider Wealth to consist in, or what are the fundamental laws that regulate its distribution. And perhaps they will be dissatisfied if the grounds of the opinion given are not made perfectly clear and satisfatory to their minds; and will attribute this, either to some defect in the science itself, or to some incapacity in him whom they are

[1] The substance of Professor Senior's first course of Lectures is to be found in the Article on Political-Economy in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

consulting. But this is as if one who declined entering on the regular study of Geometry, and had no acquaintance with the definitions of Euclid, should consult some mathematical professor as to the measurement of altitudes, or the squaring of the circle; and complain that the explanation and proof given him were not satisfactory; or as if one who had not learned the rudiments of Chemistry, should find fault with a chemist for not making perfectly clear to him the decomposition of the alkalies.

There is "*no royal road*" to Political-Economy, any more than to Geometry. But the error I am speaking of is much more frequent in this than in other subjects; because men are apt to suppose that questions relating to *common* life, and which are involved in transactions in which almost every one takes some share, must be capable of being settled by a *common* degree of attention, and without need of systematic study. Whereas this circumstance adds to the difficulty, on account of our liability, in any subject, to mistake *familiar acquaintance* for accurate *knowledge*;—from our having, in addition to all that is to be learnt, much also to unlearn, of prejudices insensibly imbibed,—and from the influence of personal interests and feelings in biassing the judgment, on almost every question that can arise. Had this been the case with mathematical questions, the demonstrations of Euclid (as was long ago observed) would not have commanded universal assent.

Mistake of beginning by a crude collection of facts.

It may be asked, however, with respect to the subject before us, what *is* the *beginning?* It is a science which professes to have its foundation on *facts;* are we then to begin the study by collecting from all quarters,—from History—Statistical accounts—Travels, and all other sources, as great an amount as possible of all the facts that we can conceive to have any kind of bearing on the subject? And, after spending some years in accumulating a variety of information, are we, then only, to proceed to arrange the materials, and

deduce from them some general principles? I mention this, because I have heard such a procedure as this recommended by a very intelligent man; and because I believe notions approaching to his, to be not very uncommon. But the character of the study in question I conceive to be totally different from what these would imply.

Political-Economy, is indeed a science which is founded on facts, and which has a practical application in reference to facts; but which yet requires for the establishment of its fundamental principles very little information beyond what is almost unconsciously, and indeed unavoidably, acquired by every one. And in this respect it is distinguished from many other sciences.

Distinction between the two requisites in each science.

Every branch of study, it should be observed, which can at all claim the character of a science (in the widest acceptation), requires two things: 1. A correct *ascertainment of the data* from which we are to reason; and, 2. Correctness in the process of *deducing conclusions* from them. But these two processes, though both are in every case indispensable, are, in different cases, extremely different in their relative difficulty and amount;—in the space, if I may so speak, which they occupy, in each branch of study. In pure Mathematics, for instance, we set out from arbitrary Definitions, and Postulates, readily comprehended, which are the principles from which, by the help of Axioms hardly needing even to be stated, our reasonings proceed. No facts whatever require to be ascertained; no process of induction to be carried on; the reasoning-process is nearly every thing. In Geology, (to take an instance of an opposite kind,) the most extensive information is requisite; and though sound reasoning is called for in making use of the knowledge acquired, it is well known what erroneous systems have been devised, by powerful reasoners, who have satisfied themselves too soon with observations not sufficiently accurate and extensive.

Various branches of Natural-Philosophy occupy, in this respect, various intermediate places. The two processes which I have elsewhere[1] endeavoured to describe, under the titles of "Physical investigation," and "Logical investigation," will, in different cases, differ very much in their relative importance and difficulty. The science of Optics, for instance, furnishes an example of one approaching very near to pure Mathematics; since, though the foundation of it consists in facts ascertained by experiment, these are fewer, and more easily ascertained than those pertaining to other branches of Natural-Philosophy. A very small number of principles, (comprehensible even without being verified by the senses,) being assumed, the deductions from them are so extensive, that, as is well known, a blind mathematician, who had no remembrance of seeing, gave an approved course of lectures on the subject. In the *application*, however, of this science to the explanation of many of the curious natural phenomena that occur, a most extensive and exact knowledge of facts is called for.

In the case of Political-Economy, that the facts on which the science is founded are few, and simple, and within the range of every one's observation, would, I think, never have been doubted, but for the error of confounding together the theoretical and the practical branches of it;—the *science* of what is properly called Political-Economy,—and the practical *employment* of it. The Theory supplies principles, which we may afterwards apply practically to an indefinite number of various cases; and in order to make this application correctly, of course an accurate knowledge of the circumstances of each case is indispensable. But it should be remembered that the same may be said even with respect to Geometry. As soon as we come to the practical branch of it, and apply it in actual measurements, a minute attention to facts is requisite for an accurate result. And in each practical question

[1] Logic, book iv. ch. ii. § 1.

in Political-Economy that may arise, we must be prepared to ascertain, and allow for, various disturbing causes, which may more or less modify the results obtained from our general principles; just as, in Mechanics, when we come to practice, we must take into account the thickness, and weight, and the degrees of flexibility, of ropes and levers.

What knowledge of facts requisite.

The facts then which it may be necessary to ascertain for the practical decision of any *single* case that may arise, are, of course, in Political-Economy (as in respect of the *application* of the principles of *any* science), indefinite in number, and sometimes difficult to collect; the facts on which the general principles of the science are *founded*, come within the range of every one's experience.

"By practical men," (says the late Professor, in his Introductory Lecture,) "are meant, I suppose, those who have had experience in the matters which Political-Economy considers. But who has not had that experience? The revenue of all men must consist of rent, profit, or wages; they must all exchange it for commodities or services. They all know, or have equally the means of knowing (for it can be discovered only by reflection), why they set a high value on some things, a low one on others, and disregard a third class.

"An Academical Body is not very commercial; but probably there is no one present who does not make twenty exchanges every week. If this experience is not enough to enable him to understand how the human passions act in buying and selling, he would be unable to comprehend it though his transactions equalled in number and amount those of Baring or Rothschild. It is in fact as impossible to avoid being a practical Economist, as to avoid being a practical Logician."

If then any one should attempt the plan of collecting extensive historical and statistical details, as preparatory to his entering on the study of this science, he would be bur-

dening his memory with an immense, and (as far as relates to the particular study before us) *confused* mass of materials; out of which he would afterwards have to select such facts as bear on the subject, from a multitude of others, which, for that purpose, would be quite irrelevant.

But such a procedure would not merely imply a needless labour; it would be worse probably than a mere waste of time and toil; for two reasons:

1st. The student would be likely to bestow least attention on the facts which, for the present purpose, demand the most; and *vice versâ*. And 2dly. He would be likely to form, unconsciously, an erroneous theory.

Character of the facts which history records.

1st. He would be liable to be misled by the circumstance, that historians and travellers occupy themselves principally (as is natural) with the relation of whatever is *remarkable*, and different from what commonly takes place in their own time or Country. They do not dwell on the ordinary transactions of human life (which are precisely what furnish the data on which Political-Economy proceeds), but on every thing that appears an exception to general rules, and in any way such as could not have been anticipated. The sort of information which the Political-Economist wants, is introduced, for the most part, only incidentally and obliquely; and is to be collected, imperfectly, from scattered allusions. So that if you will give a rapid glance, for instance, at the history of these islands from the time of the Norman conquest to the present day, you will find that the differences between the two states of the Country, in most of the points with which our science is conversant, are but very imperfectly accounted for in the main outline of the narrative.

If it were possible that we could have a full report of the common business and common conversation, in the markets, the shops, and the wharfs, of Athens and Piræus, for a single day, it would probably throw more light on the state of things in Greece at that time, in all that Political-Economy

is most concerned with, than all the histories that are extant put together.

There is a danger, therefore, that the mind of the student, who proceeds in the manner I have described, may have been even drawn off from the class of facts which are, for the purpose in question, most important to be attended to.

Danger from misapplied learning.

For, it should be observed, that, in all studies there is a danger to be guarded against, which Bacon, with his usual acuteness, has pointed out: that most men are so anxious to make, or seek for, some application of what they have been learning, as not unfrequently to apply it improperly, by endeavouring, lest their knowledge should lie by them idle, to bring it to bear on some question to which it is irrelevant; like Horace's painter, who being skilful in drawing a cypress, was for introducing one into the picture of a shipwreck. Bacon complains of this tendency among the logicians and metaphysicians of his day, who introduced an absurd and pernicious application of the studies in which they had been conversant, into Natural-Philosophy: "Artis sæpe ineptus fit usus, *ne sit nullus.*" But the same danger besets those conversant in every other study likewise, (Political-Economy of course not excepted,) that may from time to time have occupied a large share of each man's attention. He is tempted to seek for a solution of every question on every subject, by a reference to his own favourite science or branch of knowledge; like a schoolboy when first entrusted with a knife, who is for trying its edge on every thing that comes in his way.

Now in reference to the point immediately before us, he who is well read in history and in travels, should be warned of the danger (the more on account of the real high importance of such knowledge) of misapplying it;—of supposing that because Political-Economy is conversant with *human transactions*, and he is acquainted with so much greater an amount of *human transactions* than the generality of men, he

must have an advantage over them in precisely the same degree, in discussing questions of Political-Economy. Undoubtedly he *has* a great advantage, if he is careful to keep in view the true principles of the science; but otherwise, he may even labour under a *dis*-advantage, by forgetting that (as I just now observed) the kind of transactions which are made most prominent, and occupy the chief space, in the works of historians and travellers, are usually not those of every-day life, with which Political-Economy is conversant. It is in the same way that an accurate *military survey* of any district, or a series of sketches accompanying a *picturesque* tour through it, may even serve to mislead one who is seeking for a knowledge of its *agricultural* condition, if he does not keep in mind the different objects which different kinds of survey have in view.

Geologists, when commissioning their friends to procure them from any foreign country such specimens as may convey an idea of its geological character, are accustomed to warn them against sending over collections of *curiosities;* i.e. specimens of spars, stalactites, &c., which are accounted, in that country, curious, from being *rarities;* and which consequently convey no correct notion of its general features. What they want is, specimens of the *commonest* strata;—the stones with which the roads are mended, and the houses built, &c. And some fragments of these, which in that country are accounted mere rubbish, they sometimes, with much satisfaction, find *casually adhering* to the specimens sent them as curiosities, and constituting, for their object, the most important part of the collection. Histories are in general, to the Political-Economist, what such collections are to the Geologist. The casual allusions, to common, and what are considered insignificant matters, convey, to him, the most valuable information.

History records the impediments

An injudicious study of history, then, may even prove an hindrance instead of a help to the forming of right views of Political-Economy. For

not only are many of the transactions which are, in the historian's view, the most important, such as are the least important to the Political-Economist, but also a great proportion of them consists of what are in reality the greatest *impediments* to the progress of a society in wealth: viz. wars, revolutions, and disturbances of every kind. It is not in consequence of these, but in spite of them, that society has made the progress which in fact it has made. So that in taking such a survey as history furnishes of the course of events, for instance, for the last 800 years (the period I just now alluded to), not only do we find little mention of the causes which have so greatly increased national wealth during that period, but what we chiefly do read of is, the *counteracting* causes; especially the wars which have been raging from time to time, to the destruction of capital, and the hindrance of improvement. Now if a ship had performed a voyage of 800 leagues, and the register of it contained an account chiefly of the contrary winds and currents, and made little mention of favourable gales, we might well be at a loss to understand how she reached her destination; and might even be led into the mistake of supposing that the contrary winds had forwarded her in her course. Yet such is History! *to advancement.*

In the second place, it is hardly possible, however carefully any one may have abstained from setting out on his course of study with any principles of Political-Economy in his mind, that he should not, in the course of his reading, form to himself, insensibly and undesignedly, some kind of crude theory which will bias his future speculations. For as I remarked in a former Lecture, Man is so formed as to theorize unconsciously; facts *will* arrange themselves in his mind under certain classes, without his having any such design; and thus the materials he has been heaping together, will have been, as it were, building themselves up, into some,—probably faulty,—system, while he was not aware of the process going on in his own mind. *Difficulty of avoiding theory.*

Knowledge of facts no remedy for logical inaccuracy.

Some persons complain, not altogether without reason, of the prevailing *ignorance* of facts, relative to this and to many other subjects; and yet it will often be found that the parties censured, though possessed of less knowledge than they ought to have, yet possess more than they know what to do with. Their deficiency in arranging and applying their knowledge,—in combining facts,—and correctly deducing and employing general principles, shall be greater than their ignorance of facts. Now to attempt remedying this fault by imparting to them additional knowledge,—to confer the advantage of wider experience on those who have not the power of profiting by experience,—is to attempt enlarging the prospect of a short-sighted man by bringing him to the top of a hill.

In the tale of Sandford and Merton, where the two boys are described as amusing themselves with building a hovel with their own hands, they lay poles horizontally on the top, and cover them with straw, so as to make a flat roof: of course the rain comes through; and Master Merton then advises to *lay on more straw:* but Sandford, the more intelligent boy, remarks that as long as the roof is flat, the rain must, sooner or later, soak through; and that the remedy is to make a new *arrangement,* and form the roof sloping. Now the idea of enlightening incorrect reasoners by additional knowledge, is an error similar to that of the flat roof; it is merely laying on *more straw:* they ought first to be taught the right way of raising the roof. Of course, knowledge is necessary: so is straw to thatch the roof; but no quantity of materials will supply the want of knowing how to build.

I believe it to be a prevailing fault of the present day, not indeed to seek too much for knowledge, but to trust to accumulation of facts as a *substitute* for accuracy in the logical processes. Had Bacon lived in the present day, I am inclined to think he would have made his chief complaint against unmethodized inquiry, and illogical reasoning. Cer-

tainly he would *not* have complained of *Dialectics* as corrupting Philosophy. To guard *now* against the evils prevalent in *his* time, would be to fortify a town against battering-rams, instead of against cannon. But it is remarkable that even that abuse of Dialectics which he complains of, was rather an error connected with the reasoning-process than one arising from a want of knowledge. Men were led to false conclusions, not through mere ignorance, but from hastily assuming the correctness of the data they reasoned from, without sufficient grounds. And it is remarkable also that the revolution brought about in philosophy by Bacon, was not the *effect*, but the *cause*, of increased knowledge of physical facts: it was not that men were taught to think correctly by having new phenomena brought to light; but on the contrary, they discovered new phenomena in *consequence* of a new system of philosophizing.

Mere ignorance causes no positive evil.

In fact, mere ignorance, of itself, *never can do* any *positive harm;* it can only prevent good. The evil is done when men act on *mistaken* views;—when they *imagine themselves to know* what they do not, whether their actual knowledge be little or much; or when they are compelled to *take some step* without adequate information.

And it should be added that *false steps* are also taken by those whose knowledge of facts is *not* deficient, if they have what may be called a *logical* deficiency. Whereas mere want of information, (and it is a want which *all* must labour under in some points; since no one can know all things,) only compels us to *stand still.* A clear, logical, accurate mind, is always useful *as far as it goes;* though in this or that class of subjects it may be hampered by ignorance of facts. Whereas, with an inaccurate reasoner, the greatest accumulation of knowledge only serves to lead him the further astray. He who knows how to build, but is short of materials, must build but a *small* house, till he can collect more materials: but to one who knows not how to build,

the greatest abundance of materials either lies useless in a heap, or is so put together as to fall down and crush the inhabitant.

Let the student then, while he is careful not to let his judgment be biassed by any theory not borne out by facts, begin, and proceed, by making *use of* the knowledge he possesses and acquires; and carry with him in his inquiries such principles as he shall have been enabled satisfactorily to establish; and the plan, as it were, of the building being thus correctly laid out, he will be enabled to employ profitably all the materials that from time to time come to hand, in carrying on the superstructure.

If the view which has been taken of this study be correct, it will be plain that the prominent part, and that which demands the principal share of our attention, in Political-Economy, strictly so called (*i. e.* considered as to the *principles* of the science), must be the Reasoning-process;—the accurate and dexterous application of Logical principles, in combining, and drawing inferences from, those few and simple data from which we set out;—in short, the Logical, not the Physical investigation.

Importance of nomenclature.

And in this, a great, and almost peculiar difficulty, presents itself, in the want of a well-constructed and established nomenclature. The terms which may be considered as forming the technical language of Political-Economy, being all taken from common discourse, in which most of them are used with great laxity of signification, stand more in need than those of almost any science, of accurate definition, and rigid confinement to their defined sense; and yet they have (probably for that very reason) seldom been defined at all by the writers who employ them.

Definitions not given where most needed.

I have said, that the very circumstance which makes a definition the *more* necessary, is apt to lead to the *omission* of it: for when any terms

are employed that are *not* familiarly introduced into ordinary discourse, such as "parallelogram," or "sphere," or "tangent," "pencil of rays," or "refraction,"—"oxygen," or "alkali,"—the learner is ready to inquire, and the writer to anticipate the inquiry, what is meant by this or that term? And though in such cases it is undoubtedly a correct procedure to answer this inquiry by a definition, yet, of the two cases, a definition is even more necessary in the other, where it is not so likely to be called for;—where the word, not being new to the student, but familiar to his ear, from its employment in every-day discourse, is liable to the ambiguity which is almost always the result. For in respect of words that sound something new and strange, though it is, as I have said, much better to define them in the outset, yet even without this, the student would gradually collect their meaning pretty correctly, as he proceeded in his study of any treatise; from having nothing to mislead him,—nothing from which to form his notions at all, except the manner in which the terms were employed in the work itself that is before him. And the very desire he had felt of a definition would lead him in this way to form one, and generally a sufficiently correct one, for himself.

It is otherwise with terms to which we are familiarly accustomed. Of these, the student does not usually crave definitions, from supposing, for that reason, that he understands them well enough: though perhaps (without suspecting it) he has in reality been accustomed to hear them employed in various senses, and to attach but a vague and inaccurate notion to them. If you speak to an uninstructed hearer, of any thing that is *spherical*, or *circular*, or *cylindrical*, he will probably beg for an explanation of your meaning; but if you tell him of any thing that is *round*, it will not strike him that any explanation is needed; though he has been accustomed to employ the word indiscriminately, in *all* the senses denoted by the other three.

I have dwelt thus fully on points which may be thought almost self-evident to an academical audience, because I know that you will be not unlikely to meet with some persons, not only who have overlooked, but even who openly oppose these principles;—who honestly avow their dislike of accurate and precise language on this subject, and object to "the pedantic practice of defining terms." Many of them probably speak thus from really knowing no better;—from having a superficial and ill-cultivated mind. Others perhaps know well enough what they are doing, and are engaged by interest or prejudice on the side of some doctrines which they are conscious cannot abide the test of clear and accurate reasoning. The thief, according to Homer's allusion, rejoices in a fog.[1]

The only effect which declamations against the absurdity of using precise language in Political-Economy will have on a man of well-trained understanding, will be to put him on his guard against such declaimers; well knowing what description of persons are usually foremost in a mob that is clamouring against Police and Gas-lights.

Charge of making innovations in language.

Definitions then (such I mean as shall serve to preclude ambiguity)[2] are most wanted in those very cases where (as in Political-Economy) both the reader and the writer are the most apt not to perceive the want, from the terms being such as are in common

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[1] Κλεπτῃ δέ τε νυκτὸς ἄμεινω.

[2] See Logic, book iv. ch. ii. § 3.—Some have objected to the procedure of *founding our reasonings* (in Political-Economy) *on definitions*. And such a procedure would certainly deserve the censure. But it should be remembered that in Mathematics the Definitions answer *two* purposes: 1st, so far forth as they are *nominal*, to *remove ambiguity* (which is the purpose required in Political-Economy); 2dly, so far forth as they are *real*, to serve as the *basis of our reasonings*: and with such reasonings we should of course never rest satisfied in any subject except Mathematics or other *pure* science;—never, in short, where matters of FACT are concerned.

See Burke's Essay on Taste, prefixed to his Treatise "On the Sublime and Beautiful." See also D. Stewart's Philosophy, vol. ii.

use. And there is this additional difficulty; that here it is necessary to define and to use each term in some sense corresponding as nearly as possible to common use;—agreeably to some *one*, and, if possible, the most usual of the several popular meanings. Else, there will be some justice in the complaint (which at any rate we must expect *will* be made, whether justly or unjustly) against our making innovations in language, and endeavouring to attach a new sense to words. This complaint, I say, will most likely be made, because it really is, to a certain degree, an innovation in language (though for scientific purposes indispensable) to confine to a precise and definite sense an expression which in ordinary discourse is used loosely and in various senses. But still we should endeavour to innovate as little as possible.

Moreover, even after a definition shall have been fully comprehended and admitted, there will be need of continual care to avoid sliding insensibly into ambiguity by employing the term occasionally in some different sense, at variance with the definition, but conformable to one of the popular meanings.

For a specimen of the popular ambiguity of the terms most employed in Political-Economy, and of the tendency to neglect the defining of them, or to depart in practice from the defined sense, I may refer you to the late Professor's account (placed in Appendix to Elements of Logic) of the different definitions or employments by political-economists, of some of the commonest, and most important terms: viz. Value, Wealth, Labour, Capital, Rent, Wages, Profit. There is no one of these in the use of which all the most eminent writers have agreed with each other; and hardly one of them in the use of which some one or other of these writers has not occasionally disagreed with himself. Mr. Senior remarks in his Introductory Lecture, "I almost regret now that I did not suggest in each place the definition which appeared to me the most convenient." That he did not,

Disagreement of different writers in their use of terms.

however, I am inclined to think better on the whole; because objections might have been raised against each of his definitions; the discussion of which would have had the effect of drawing off attention from that which is perhaps, in the outset, the most essential point; viz. a full perception both of the *importance* of accurate definitions, and of the existing *want* of them. When the reader is brought to perceive clearly the discrepancy of writers on a scientific subject, in their use of language, and to reflect on the confusion and inaccuracy which must be the result, the first and perhaps most essential step is made. The existence, and the character, of the disease being ascertained and fully admitted, it is then time enough to propose a remedy. The difficulties in the study of Political-Economy will appear much less disheartening, when it is distinctly perceived in what they principally consist; and the uncertainty often complained of in the study will be traced to its true cause;—a cause which it is in our power to remove, since it lies, not in the subject-matter itself, but in the inaccurate and inattentive reasoning of those who have written on it.

Let the student then consider correctness of the reasoning process, and (with a view to this) a clear definition of technical terms, and careful adherence to the sense defined, as the first—the most important—and the most difficult point in the science of Political-Economy. Let him by all means collect facts to the greatest possible amount, that are likely to throw light on any of the questions to be discussed; but let him be prepared to state and to reason upon these in the most precise language; otherwise he will only be encumbering himself with a confused heap of materials, which will be rather an impediment than an assistance.

And when much doubt has been thrown over any question that arises, let him apply the utmost attention to ascertain, both from the existing discussions of it, and from the nature of the case, whether the difficulty springs from

the misstatement or ignorance of facts, or (as will much oftener happen) from some ambiguity of language, or other fault of reasoning. The latter is not only, as I have said, a more common source of error in the present subject, but also in itself more important; because a mistake as to the facts of any particular case, leads merely to an erroneous conclusion as to *that* case, and does not interfere with the correctness of the results obtained in other cases where we may be better informed; whereas the ambiguous use of a term may vitiate a whole train of reasoning, and thus establish an unsound general principle, which will lead to an indefinite number of errors in particular cases.

Ambiguity of the expressions high and low, as applied to wages.

If, for instance, Mr. Ricardo (to take one of the instances Mr. Senior has introduced) had merely been under a mistake as to the existing rate of wages in some particular Country, this would indeed have vitiated his conclusions relative to that Country, but need not have affected the general principles of his work: but by speaking of wages sometimes (in the ordinary sense) as a certain *amount*, and sometimes (in the sense he introduced) as a certain *proportion*, he has involved the whole subject in perplexity. He, and several who have followed him,[1] have spoken of *high or low* wages, sometimes in reference to the labourer's receiving so much *per day*, sometimes to his receiving so much *per cent.* of the price of the commodity he produces: and thus a vein, as it were, of ambiguity and confusion,

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[1] Among the rest, the interesting writer, Miss Martineau, in the "Manchester Strike." The *lowest* rate of wages is there defined (in the sense of the *lowest amount*) as the lowest that will enable the labourer to subsist: the highest rate is defined (in the sense of the highest *proportion*) as the utmost that will leave a reasonable profit to the capitalist. According to this definition, it may, and often does happen, that a labourer shall be receiving at once the highest and the lowest wages. A hand-loom weaver will often receive for the produce of a week's labour, hardly enough for a week's scanty subsistence, and yet within a very little of what the capitalist afterwards sells the web for; so that it is scarcely worth while, for so low a profit, to employ him.

runs through all the discussions connected with the subject.

Ambiguous use of the word Wealth.

Dr. Hamilton, in his work on the "Progress of Society,"—which I mention, both because when Mr. Senior's statement was written, of the various uses of terms by Political-Economists, this author's were not included, the work not having been then published; and also because, notwithstanding the laxity I complain of in his employment of language, there is much in the book to repay the perusal,—Dr. Hamilton, I say, uses "Wealth" in one part of his work, in the ordinary sense; and censures writers on Political-Economy, for treating of that too exclusively, and not enough considering human welfare in general, which is not wholly dependent on wealth; while in other places he employs wealth as synonymous with welfare.

Ambiguous use of the word Tendency.

Again, the doctrine, as mischievous as it is, I conceive, unfounded, that since there is a tendency in population to increase faster than the means of subsistence, hence, the pressure of population against subsistence may be expected to become greater and greater in each successive generation, (unless new and extraordinary remedies are resorted to,) and thus to produce a progressive diminution of human welfare;—this doctrine, which some maintain, in defiance of the fact that all civilized countries have a greater proportionate amount of wealth, now, than formerly,—may be traced chiefly to an undetected ambiguity in the word "*tendency*," which forms a part of the middle term of the argument. By a "tendency" towards a certain result is sometimes meant, "the existence of a cause which, if *operating unimpeded*, would produce that result." In this sense it may be said, with truth, that the earth, or any other body moving round a centre, has a *tendency* to fly off at a tangent; *i. e.* the centrifugal force operates in that direction, though it is controlled by the centripetal; or, again, that Man has a

greater tendency to fall prostrate than to stand erect; *i. e.* the attraction of gravitation and the position of the centre of gravity, are such that the least breath of air would overset him, but for the voluntary exertion of muscular force: and, again, that population has a *tendency* to increase beyond subsistence; *i. e.* there are in Man propensities which, if unrestrained, lead to that result.

But sometimes, again, "a tendency towards a certain result" is understood to mean "the existence of such a state of things that that result *may be expected to take place.*" Now it is in these *two* senses that the word is used, in the two premisses of the argument in question. But in this latter sense, the earth has a greater tendency to remain in its orbit than to fly off from it; Man has a greater tendency to stand erect than to fall prostrate; and (as may be proved by comparing a more barbarous with a more civilized period in the history of any country) in the progress of society, subsistence has a tendency to increase at a greater rate than population. In this Country, for instance, much as our population has increased within the last five centuries, it yet bears a less ratio to subsistence (though still a much greater than could be wished) than it did five hundred years ago.

It is, I am convinced, from failing to distinguish clearly between these two senses of the word "tendency," that Malthus has been sometimes represented (besides other consequences fathered upon him) as impugning Providence, and teaching that it has either "made Man too prolific, or the earth too barren." To me it has always appeared that the only sense in which he has done so is that in which one might be said to teach that Providence has made a certain river *too wide and too deep,* by pointing out that one who cannot swim should not attempt to cross it without a boat. And if any one should warn men that the juice of the grape has a "tendency" to produce intoxication, and should caution them accordingly to avoid intemperance, he would not be understood as finding fault with Providence for making

vines "too prolific." Malthus all along represents Providence as having endowed Man with *reason*, and requiring that we should make use of it to avoid many dangers which would otherwise beset us. If men *will* act irrationally, they are liable to be drowned in attempting to ford a river, no less than to incur such evils as Malthus points out.[1]

Inaccuracies of this kind lead of course to those discrepancies and occasional absurdities from which some persons infer that Political-Economy is throughout a chimæra; and that to decide all the questions of which it treats, by random guesses, and without any attempt to gain fixed principles, is preferable to all thought of systematic study: in the same manner as the errors and the bitter contests of theologians have led some to decry or deride all religion; under the name of which indeed, yet more, and more mischievous absurdities have been broached than even Political-Economists can be charged with.

Accidental circumstances mistaken for essential.

It may be worth observing that, in examining, framing, or altering, definitions in Political-Economy, you will find in most persons a proneness (as in other subjects also) to introduce *accidental*, along with, or instead of, *essential* circumstances: I mean, that the notion they attach to each term, and the explanation they would give of it, shall embrace some circumstances, *generally, but not always*, connected with the thing they are speaking of; and which might, accordingly, (by the strict account of an Accident) be "absent or present, the essential character of the subject remaining the same." A definition framed from such circumstances, though of course incorrect, and likely at some time or other to mislead us, will not unfrequently obtain reception, from its answering the purpose of a correct one, at a particular time and place.

For instance, the Latin word *Meridies* (Noon), to denote

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[1] See the Article (by Professor Senior) on Political Economy, in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

the *southern* quarter, is etymologically suitable (and so would a definition founded on that etymology) *in our hemisphere;* while in the other, it would be found just the reverse. Or if any one should define the North Pole, that which is "inclined towards the sun," this would, *for half the year,* answer the purpose of a correct definition; and would be the opposite of the truth for the other half.[1]

Labour not essential to value.

Such glaring instances as these, which are never likely to occur in practice, serve best perhaps to illustrate the character of such mistakes as do occur. A specimen of that introduction of accidental circumstances which I have been describing, may be found, I think, in the language of a great number of writers, respecting Wealth and Value; who have usually made *Labour* an essential ingredient in their definitions.[2] Now it is true, *it so happens,* by the appointment of Providence, that valuable articles are, in *almost* all instances, obtained by Labour; but still, this is an accidental, not an essential circumstance. If the aerolites which occasionally fall, were diamonds and pearls, and if these articles could be obtained in no other way, but were casually picked up, to the same amount as is now obtained by digging and diving, they would be of precisely the same value as now. In this, as in many other points in Political-Economy, men are prone to confound *cause* and *effect.* It is not that pearls fetch a high price *because* men have dived for them; but on the contrary, men dive for them because they fetch a high price.

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[1] I remember once hearing, in conversation, many years ago, a definition given (and it was received by the company with high approbation) of a "Tory" and a "Whig;" that "a Tory is one who considers every measure of Government right till it is proved to be wrong: and a Whig, one who regards each measure as wrong till it is proved to be right."——The definitions evidently are, of "*Ministerialist*" and "*Oppositionist.*" And had such a reasoner lived about a century earlier, or ten years later, he would probably have applied his definition of the "Tory" to the "Whig," and *vice versâ.*

[2] For another specimen of a like character, see Lect. I. p. 6, note.

Errors arising from elliptical expressions.

Another source of difficulty connected with language, is, that, in respect of any subject concerning which the generality of men are accustomed to speak much and familiarly, in their conversation relative to that, they usually introduce ELLIPTICAL expressions; very clearly understood in the outset, but whose elliptical character comes, in time, to be so far lost sight of, that confusion of language, and thence, of thought, is sometimes the result. Thus, the expression of a person's possessing a fortune of ten thousand pounds is an elliptical phrase; meaning, at full length, that all his property if sold would exchange for that sum of money. And in ninety-nine instances out of a hundred, no error or confusion of thought arises from this language; but there is no doubt that it mainly contributed to introduce and foster the notion that Wealth consists especially of gold and silver (these being used to *measure* and to *express* its amount); and that the sure way to enrich a Country is to promote the importation, and prevent the export, of the precious metals; with all the other absurdities of what is commonly called "the mercantile System."

Again, when a man complains of being "out of *work*,"—is "looking out for employment,"—and hopes for subsistence from "labour," this is elliptical language; well enough understood in general. We know that what Man lives on, is food; and that he who is said to be looking out for work, is in want of food and other necessaries, which he hopes to procure in exchange for his labour, and has no hope of obtaining without it. But there is no doubt that this elliptical language has contributed to lead those who were not attentive to the character of the expression, to regard every thing as beneficial to the labouring classes which *furnishes employment*, i. e. gives trouble; even though no consequent increase should take place in the Country, of the food and other commodities destined for their support.

What has been said may serve sufficiently to explain my

meaning in laying down as the most essential circumstance, and that which demands the most diligent care, in this science, an attention to the accuracy of the logical processes, and particularly to the precision of the language employed, with a perpetual watchfulness against the ambiguities to which it is, in this subject, especially liable.

Fine writing not to be expected or aimed at in this subject.

I need only remark, in conclusion, that, this being the case, you must be prepared to encounter occasionally in any treatise on the subject that is really worth studying, a good deal of somewhat repulsive logical *dryness* of style; which in fact is unavoidable in a course of rigidly-accurate reasoning on abstract subjects. The discussion of them may indeed be more or less enlivened by appropriate and interesting illustrations; and more or less skill may be employed in making the language terse and luminous, and the arrangement easy to be followed; but eloquence, in the sense of what is called *fine writing*, is not to be looked for in the treatment of scientific subjects; nor consequently is much scientific instruction to be gained from the works of those who are ambitious of writing finely. There is a neatness indeed, and a sort of beauty resulting from the appearance of healthful vigour, in a well-tilled corn-field; but one which is overspread with blue and red flowers gives no great promise of a crop.[1]

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[1] The taste however of many, in the present day, sets very strongly in favour of a sort of mystical sublimity;—of a style full of high-sounding words, sometimes hardly English,—which dimly expresses, or obscurely hints at, doctrines supposed to be above the reach of ordinary mortals, and such as ordinary language could not express at all. And such a style of writing is admired not only as very eloquent, — not only as displaying originality of genius,— but as highly "*philosophical*," and as placing the writer far above any one who condescends to be "practical;" *i. e.* who writes so that his hearers may understand distinctly what he says, and *learn* something from it, and become the wiser or the better for it. To such a writer a very subordinate place will be assigned, by those of the School I am speaking of. His principles they will designate as of the "grosser"

Those therefore who, as writers or as readers, can take no interest in any thing but brilliant description and impassioned declamation, should be exhorted to occupy themselves on some other subject, better adapted for the display of eloquence, and in which such a display is less likely to lead to mischievous results.

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kind. They under-rate the depth of water that is very transparent; and regard the muddy as profound, because they cannot see to the bottom.

> "A fico for the world," (says Ancient Pistol,) "and worldlings base!
> "I speak of Africa, and golden joys."

The late Bishop Copleston, in a letter published in the Memoir of him, characterizes this mystical kind of writing as "the Magic-lantern-School." [See "Cautions for the Times," No. 29.] And it is not,—as might at first sight be supposed—that the admirers of such a style are, in each case, led by their favourite writers to mistake falsehood for truth. The fault lies deeper. Truth—which used to be regarded as the first point, in all Philosophy,—is, according to this new School, a matter of secondary consideration. The ingenious, the splendid, the original, the "poetic and ideal" — every thing that may enable a man to be the "founder of a SCHOOL," by dazzling a host of idolizing followers, and converting, (to use Bacon's language,) his own "Idola Specus" into "Idola Theatri"— all this is regarded as more *philosophical* than the attainment of Truth. I have actually seen high encomiums lavished on "the freshness of spirit, and breadth of view" of a Writer's religious speculations, *even when (confessedly) erroneous!*

Now if, even in what relates to revealed *religion*—to that which comes from the Most High, and which concerns Man's eternal welfare, — if in *these* matters, truth is regarded as of less account than "glorious imaginations" and eloquent sublimity, — we may well expect that in all other subjects, the striking and showy will be more thought of, than the right and true; and that Poetry and Oratory will not merely be preferred to Philosophy, but will usurp her place and assume her name.

No very long duration indeed can be expected for Schools founded on such principles. Most of the Idols of the present generation will probably be forgotten in the next; or remembered only as matter of wonder or of ridicule. But some others, of a new fashion, will probably be set up in their stead. Always, I suppose, will men be exposed, more or less, to the temptation of following some brilliant though transitory meteor, instead of being guided by the stars which may enable them to steer their course aright.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

[A.]—PAGE 76.

Extract from an Essay on the Diversity of the Human Species, by PRESIDENT SMITH, *of the College of New Jersey. Second Edition. New York,* 1810.

"THE original and absolute savagism of mankind is a principle which appears to me to be contradicted equally by sound reason, and by the most authentic documents which remain to us of ancient history. All the earliest monuments of nations, as far as we can trace them, fix their origin about the middle regions of Asia, and present Man to us in a state already civilized. From this centre we perceive the radiations of the race gradually shooting themselves towards every quarter of the globe. Savage life seems to have arisen only from idle, or restless spirits, who, shunning the fatigues of labour, or spurning the restraints and subordination of civil society, sought at once, liberty and the pleasures of the chase, in wild uncultivated regions, remote from their original habitations. There forgetting the arts of civilized life, they with their posterity degenerated, in a course of time, into all the ignorance and rudeness of savagism, and furnished ample materials to the imagination of the poets, for the pictures they have presented to us of the abject condition of the primitive men. But let us consult reason as well as history, for the truth or probability of their pictures.—Hardly is it possible that Man, placed on the surface of the new world, in the midst of its forests and marshes, capable of reason indeed, but without having formed principles to direct its exercise, should have been able to preserve his existence, unless he had received from his Creator, along with his being, some instructions concerning the use and employment of his faculties, for procuring his subsistence, and inventing the most necessary arts of life. Nature has furnished the inferior animals with many and powerful instincts to direct them in the choice of their food, &c. &c. Man * * * must have been the most forlorn of all creatures, although destined to be lord of the creation; unless we can suppose him, like the primitive Man of the sacred Scriptures, to have been placed in a rich garden which offered

him, at hand, its abundant and spontaneous fruits. Cast out, an orphan of nature, naked and helpless, into the savage forest, he must have perished before he could have learned how to supply his most immediate and urgent wants.

"Suppose him to have been created, or to have started into being, one knows not how, in the full strength of his bodily powers, how long must it have been before he could have known the proper use of his limbs, or how to apply them to climb the tree, &c. &c. If we believe, that in this deplorable condition, he could have found means to sustain life, Man originally a savage, and a savage in the most abject state, must have remained a savage for ever." * * * * Fact: "During the three centuries since America was first discovered by Europeans, he (the savage) has not been known to advance a single step in the amelioration of his state."

"Let us be careful," says Von Humboldt, "not to compare these nations, called by the ancients Barbarians, with the savages of America, as if there were any analogy between them: for the degree of civilization respectively attained by them, was entirely different. Neither has the important question yet been resolved, whether that savage state, which even in America is found in various gradations, is to be looked upon as the dawning of a society about to rise, or whether it is not rather the fading remains of one sinking amidst storms, overthrown and shattered by overwhelming catastrophes. To me the latter supposition seems to be nearer the truth than the former."—(M. Von Humboldt, Untersuch üb. d. Uebewolmar. Hispanicus. Berlin, 1821.)

[B.]—Page 80.

There is one remarkable difference between all the Arts, Institutions, &c. of civilized life, on the one hand, and the facts of the Christian-Revelation on the other: that these last are,—all and each of them—what no general cultivation of mind,—no knowledge however extensive, in all other departments,—would have enabled men to discover; any more than the most accurate acquaintance with the productions of the Old World could have enabled a naturalist prior to the voyage of Columbus, to ascertain the productions of America. Of the Arts of life, on the other hand, there is

no *one* which civilized Man, already in possession of several *others*, might not attain to.

In the former case, consequently, the facts, supposing them true, and important for Man to know,—required, not merely a *general* enlightenment of the understanding, but a distinct revelation of *those specific* facts: while in the other case, we cannot say that a revelation was necessary of such and such particular Arts or branches of knowledge, but only, of *some* out of a large class; so as to enable men to rise out of a state of savage brutishness, and proceed to advance themselves.

It is conceivable accordingly that two distinct tribes of equally rude savages might be raised from that state, and put into a condition to carry on for themselves the work of civilization, by two distinct sets of instructors, who might teach quite *different* arts to their respective pupils, but might equally furnish to each the indispensable rudiments from which to make their start.

Inattention to the distinction just pointed out has probably contributed much to keep out of sight the impossibility of savages civilizing themselves, and the argument thence deduced. Because *either* A *or* B *or* C *or* D *or* E &c. might have been devised by Man without any superhuman aid, it is hence inferred (by the fallacy of *Composition*) that *all of them together* might. I can find out for myself the side and angles of a triangle; given, the other two sides and the contained angle: but the knowledge of *two* sides is not essential: I can proceed on the knowledge of only *one* side, *if* the two adjacent angles are given, &c. But I must have *some* data to start from. And so must Man, in commencing his career of improvement.

"The arguments urged against these conclusions by writers not deficient in intelligence are such as to furnish no small confirmation to any unbiassed mind; being what no man of sense would resort to, except when very hard-pressed indeed. *E. G.* It has been urged that no superhuman instruction in any of the arts of life could ever have been afforded to Man, because the Jews, who are supposed to have been peculiarly favoured with revelations respecting religion, were, in the days of Solomon, ignorant that the diameter of a circle is less than one-third of the circumference. This is inferred from what is said in the second Book of Chronicles (ch. ii. v. 2), though the inference is somewhat hasty; since the difference is so minute between one-third of the circumference and the diameter, (which is less than $\frac{7}{21}$ and more than $\frac{7}{22}$ of the circumference,) that practically it may generally be disregarded altogether; and many a person

well-aware of the geometrical truth, will yet, in describing some building, &c., speak as if the circumference were treble the diameter; even as he might speak of a *straight line* from one place to another on the earth's surface; though well knowing that in reality the line must be not quite straight, but a very small arch of a circle. However, let it be supposed that the Jews *were* thus ignorant: the conclusion thence drawn is such as, in any other subject, would be laughed to scorn. *E. G.* A man has his several sons educated for the different professions he designs them for; the Church, the Law, Medicine, the Navy, &c., and then if it be found that the Lawyer is no anatomist, that the Sailor has but little knowledge of Law and Medicine, and that the Clergyman does not understand navigation, this objector would be bound, on his own principle, to infer that the father cannot have provided any education at all for any of his children!

"More recently, the assertion has been made that a solution has been found of the problem I proposed;—that there *is* an instance of Savages civilizing themselves without external aid. Such, it has been said, were the tribe of American Indians called the Mandans, who have been described by Mr. Catlin as having possessed a considerable degree of civilization, though surrounded by savage tribes. These latter, not long ago fell upon and destroyed the whole remnant of the tribe, after it had been thinned by small-pox.

"Now all that is wanted, in reference to the case here produced, is—precisely the very thing that is wanted in all others—*proof* that they *had been* Savages, and had civilized themselves. And this, which is *the very point at issue*, instead of being proved, is taken for granted! Such is the short and easy refutation which 'Science,' we are told, furnishes of the position I was maintaining!

"It is assumed, 1st, that these Mandans were of the *same Race* with the Savage tribes around them; 2ndly, that the state in which all of them had originally been was that of *Savages;* and 3rdly, that the Mandans raised themselves from that state without any *external aid.* And of no one of these assumptions is there, or can there be found, even a shadow of proof! To *assume* at pleasure any premisses whatever that may suit one's purpose, is certainly neither Baconian nor Aristotelian 'Science.'

"1st. How do we know that these Mandans *were* of the same Race as their neighbours? I had an opportunity, in a casual interview with Mr. Catlin, of asking his opinion on this point; he instantly replied that he had never doubted their being a *different* Race: their complexion, he said,—their very remarkable and pecu-

liar kind of hair,—their customs and whole character,—all indicated a distinct Nation.

" They may, for aught we know, have been a remnant either of the aboriginal inhabitants of the region, or of some colony which had been fixed there; the others having been destroyed—as these Mandans ultimately were—by the surrounding Savages.

" 2ndly. Again, if we suppose, in defiance of all indications to the contrary, that this tribe did belong to the same Race as their neighbours, and that consequently all were, once, at the same level, how do we know that this may not have been the *higher* level, from which the others had degenerated?

" 3rdly, and lastly, supposing that the Mandans did emerge from the Savage state, how do we know that this may not have been through the aid of some strangers coming among them—like the Manco-capac of Peru—from some more civilized Country, perhaps long before the days of Columbus?

" Of all these different suppositions there is not one that is not incomparably more probable (since there are recorded instances of the like) than that which is so coolly assumed.

" On the whole, the reasoning employed in this case much resembles that of some of the Alchemists. When they found a few grains of gold in a large mass of ore of some base metal, they took for granted that the whole had been originally *one* kind of metal; and also, that this one was, not gold, of which part had degenerated into lead, but lead, of which part had ripened into gold; and thence they easily inferred the possibility of transmutation.

" Such attempts at refutation as this, serve to shew the strength of the position assailed. The position however was one which it was necessary to assail somehow or other, from its being fatal to the attempt made to revive Lamarck's theory of the spontaneous transition of one species into another of a higher character; the lowest animalcules having, it seems, in many generations, ripened into fish, thence into reptiles, beasts, and men. Of the earlier stages of these supposed transmutations I never had occasion to treat; but the view I took of the condition of Savages, 'breaks the pitcher' (as the Greek proverb expresses it) 'at the very threshold.' Supposing the animalcule safely conducted, by a series of bold conjectures, through the several transmutations, till from an Ape it became a Man, there is, as I have shown, an insuperable difficulty in the last step of all, from the Savage to the Civilized-Man.

" There is however in truth, a similar difficulty—or rather, impossibility—in every preceding stage. The theory proceeds through-

out on unsupported and most improbable conjectures. One, and only one, fact is alleged that is open to the test of experiment; on the reality of which fact therefore the whole theory may be considered as staked. It is asserted that Oats, if kept constantly mown down during the summer, will, the next year, become Rye. And this being the only instance adduced that is not, confessedly, a mere conjecture, it is consequently the basis—supposing it established—of all the conjectures thrown out. Now I would suggest to some of our Agriculturists to offer a *trial of the experiment*, proposing to the speculators a *wager* on its success. If the Oats do become Rye, the conjectures as to other such transmutations will at least be worth listening to; though it would still be very doubtful whether from Rye they would advance into Oaks and Vines. Should it prove—as I have no doubt it will—a failure, the key-stone of the whole structure will have been taken away.

"It may be worth while to add, that I have seen it suggested—apparently as a hasty conjecture—that there may perhaps be different Species or Varieties of Mankind; of which some are capable of originating civilization by their own natural powers, while others are only capable of receiving it by instruction. What I wish chiefly to point out, is, that admitting—and it would be a great deal to admit—the possibility of the supposition, it would leave unsolved the main problem; to *produce an instance* of Savages who *have* civilized themselves. None can be found: and the supposed capability of self-civilization, if it has ever existed, seems never to have been called into play.

"Of the hypothesis itself, the utmost that can be said, is, that it cannot be demonstrated to be impossible. There is not only no proof of it whatever, but all the evidence that the case admits of is on the opposite side.

"Great as are the differences in respect of size, colour, and outward appearance, in those different Races of Animals (such as dogs and horses of different breeds) which are capable,—as we know is the case with the human Races—of free intermixture, there is no case, I think, of so great and essential a difference in these, as there would be between the supposed two varieties of Man; the 'Self-civilizing,' and Man such as we know to exist. That difference indeed would hardly be less than between Man and Brute. If a good Physiologist were convinced of the existence of two such Races, (whether called Species or Varieties,) one of them, a Being, capable—when left, wholly untrained, to the mere spontaneous exercise of his natural endowments,—of emerging from the Savage state, so as

to acquire, in the course of successive generations, the highest point of civilization, and the other, such as actual experience presents to us, he would, I think, assign to this latter an intermediate place between the self-civilizing Man and the Oran-otang; and nearly equidistant from each: and he would not conceive the possibility of an intermixture of any two of the three Races.

"However, allowing the abstract possibility of the conjecture I have been alluding to, the main argument, as I have said, remains untouched. If Man generally, or some particular Race, be capable of 'self-civilization,' in either case it may be expected that some record, or tradition, or monument, of the actual occurrence of such an event, should be found: and all attempts to find any have failed."[1]

Since writing the above, I met with a passage in an article in the Edinburgh Review on Mr. Catlin's account of the Mandan Indians, which furnishes a curious specimen of the readiness with which some philosophers will be satisfied with explanations which in reality explain nothing.

"Mr. Catlin himself—who seldom ventures into the regions of speculation, but judging from their acquaintance with this and some other arts not generally known among the Red Men, and reasoning also from some differences of hue in the complexion and hair—starts a theory that these Mandans derived not only instruction, but some blood, from Europe;—and he proposes as a question, whether some of the followers of Madoc, who, in the year 1174, is supposed to have sailed with ten ships to the Gulf of Mexico, and afterwards, as he was never heard of, to have entered the Mississippi and settled somewhere — might not have been aiding in their greater civilization?

"To us, their advancement seems sufficiently explained by their more settled mode of life. They have always lived in the presence of the numerous and warlike Sioux; and necessity has compelled them to establish themselves in dwellings more permanent and capable of defence;—thus giving them, what in England we should call 'a stake in the country,' and enabling them to cultivate arts which could not flourish in a roving community."[2]

Now what would be thought of a philosopher, who being informed of the remarkable cleanliness, in clothes, person, and habitations, of some tribe who lived in the midst of barbarians of the most filthy habits, should say, "To us, their cleanliness seems suffi-

[1] Rhetoric, pp. 421—426, Seventh Edition.

[2] Edinburgh Review, Jan. 1842, pp. 423, 424.

ciently explained by their use of *soap?*" A man of plain sense would be apt to reply, "Well, but *how came they* to make and use soap?" How came the Mandans to build their settled habitations? "Oh, they were impelled to it," we are told, "by necessity; being surrounded by warlike enemies:" as if the same were not the case with almost every one of the numerous tribes of North-American savages; none of whom learned, from the same necessity, the same arts; even with the example of the Mandans, or with that of European settlers, before their eyes!

[C.]—See Page xi. Preface.

Extracts from the Evidence of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin *as taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the collection and payment of Tithes in Ireland.* 1832.

What is your opinion of the permanent system upon which the provision for the Church should be placed in Ireland?

I should mention that I think it would be a very dangerous thing to legislate in a way that should carry on the face of it the appearance of relief for Ireland, without holding out a prospect, at least, of some, if not the same, system of relief in England; because if it were understood that relief from what has been lately and is still, in many instances, complained of as a grievance in England, was given in Ireland, in consequence of violent and turbulent measures, it seems to me that that would be a bonus on insurrection in England, and I have no doubt the most fearful results would follow.

Does not the Tithe in England stand upon a very different footing from that in Ireland?

It does; but though *all* the causes which occasion it to be unpopular in Ireland do not exist in England, yet I think that many of them do; and the fact is, that it *has* been complained of as a grievance in many instances in England; partly on just grounds, and partly on others which are imaginary; but still it is felt as a grievance. There is, I am convinced, so much disposition to oppose Tithe,

dormant, as it were, in England, that if in Ireland resistance were rewarded by concession, many persons in England would immediately try the experiment whether Tithes could not be diverted to the purpose of providing a substitute for the poor-rates. One of the topics which has been the most strenuously resorted to by many of the leaders of the opposition to Tithe, is, that a fund by that means would be provided for the relief of the poor. Now in England, perhaps, that might be urged with quite as great force; for many are ignorant enough to believe that the sacrifice of the Tithes for the maintenance of paupers would not only prevent all distress in the country, but remove entirely the burden of poor-rates; and I have no doubt that resistance would be generated by a relief held out to Ireland, accompanied by no prospect or promise of any thing being done with respect to the mode of collecting church-revenue in England.

Without reference to that consideration, what would you propose in Ireland?

I had contemplated a plan of commutation for England long before I had any thoughts of being settled in Ireland; and I have not found the circumstances of that country sufficiently different from those of England to make it less desirable in Ireland; but rather even more so; though, perhaps, some greater difficulties may be incurred in the details. I will shortly state the outline of that plan, after a few prefatory remarks.

The measure which in any case may be the first in point of importance, may not always be the first to be considered in point of time. Those whose main object is to commute Tithes, may perhaps find that that object will be the most easily accomplished through some preliminary arrangements, which they may think in themselves insignificant. With respect to the desirableness of such an arrangement, I would premise another remark; that an apparent advantage or disadvantage may be in effect a real one in proportion as it is *believed* to be such. If a sick man's mind is soothed or is irritated by some application which is in itself inert, that soothing, or that irritation may produce a real effect upon the disorder. A grievance may be imaginary, and yet the complaint founded upon it may lead to consequences far from imaginary.

There are many reasons (with which I will not trouble your Lordships at present) which induce me to think that Tithes are a disadvantageous kind of church-property generally. And I would propose, as a preliminary step to commutation, (preliminary, I mean,

in order, not necessarily in time; because both may be simultaneously introduced,) that the whole of the church-property, in each diocese, or archdeaconry, or district that may be selected, should be thrown into a common stock, in the hands of a Dean and Chapter, or a Board, or College, or whatever else it might be called; which should be constituted a Corporation, and should distribute, according to a valuation, the share due to each incumbent, in proportion to the value of the Tithes of his benefice; exactly in the same manner as each College at Oxford or Cambridge, manages through its bursars, the joint property, and allots to each fellow, scholar, exhibitioner, &c. his proper share out of the common fund. A very small per-centage, compared with what is paid by most incumbents to their agents, would afford sufficient remuneration to the commissioners, since it would be far less trouble in proportion to collect the revenues of fifty parishes than of one. There would then, even if no commutation at all took place, be a removal or alleviation of almost all the evils which are complained of. There would be an end of the frauds which take place in the collection of Tithes and other church-dues; of the bickerings about Tithes; of refusing to go to church on account of personal enmity with the clergyman, and the like; and leases of the church-property might be granted without any more difficulty than now occurs in respect to the property of Colleges and Chapters. But no plan would so much facilitate commutation. One of the commonest objections to a commutation for land is, "Where, in some parishes, can you find land to serve the purpose?" and "you will have to build farm-houses and barns, and so forth, and to keep them in repair; and if a good tenant could not be found, the parson must become a farmer," &c. Now, on the proposed plan, Tithe might be commuted by the Corporation, for land, wherever land could be most easily found. It might be done, if precipitate changes were thought inexpedient, as gradually as could be wished, by private arrangement in each particular instance; that is, by allowing the Tithes to be redeemed, if not for land, for money, to be laid out in the purchase of land; and if any disputes arose, the pastor might remain perfectly at peace with his people, quite unconnected with the business, as much as a fellow of any College, residing in a parish where his College holds property of any kind. If any farmer should come to complain to a fellow of a College, under those circumstances, about rents or tithes, he would at once explain to him that he must apply to the bursar of the College.

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Do you consider the Rent of land to be a more advantageous provision for the Clergy than Tithe?

Very much so. I have heard persons, not deficient in intelligence, express an apprehension that if Tithes were commuted for land, the Clergy might hereafter not be able, in the progress of national wealth, to maintain their present place in society. But this proceeds from a view which I conceive is just the reverse of the truth. As national wealth increases, Tithe-property, generally speaking, *diminishes* in its relative value, as compared with land. In a new Country, Tithe may greatly exceed Rent; indeed in many young Colonies uncleared land will fetch absolutely no rent at all. And there are probably many districts in which an acre of land, whose gross produce, we will say, is worth 50*s*., might be rented for 2*s*. 6*d*., subject to a payment of Tithe (supposing Tithe established there), which would of course be double the Rent; there would remain 42*s*. 6*d*. for the expenses and farmer's profit. Now, if we suppose the gross produce of this land to become of the value of 100*s*., through the increase of population, and the construction of roads, &c., while (by improvement in agricultural skill and implements, and diminution of the wages of labour) the expense of cultivation remained the same, the result would be (supposing no unoccupied land to remain in the country) an enormous disproportion between Rent and Tithes; for the farmer would be content to receive, as before, (since if he was not, others would be,) 42*s*. 6*d*. for his expenses and profits. The Tithe would be 10*s*.; only double of what it was before; and the remaining 47*s*. 6*d*. would go to the landlord as Rent; which would consequently be increased nineteen times. This instance may serve to explain my meaning as to the comparative tendency to increase of Tithes and of Rent.

It may be answered that this reasoning applies only so far as the increased value of the produce is not caused by increased *expenditure*. Garden ground, it may be said, in the neighbourhood of a large town, though letting for a high rent, will often yield, especially through the aid of artificial heat, and other expensive processes, a gross produce of which the actual tenth would far exceed the rent. I will not deny that in some (though I apprehend few) instances, the Tithe actually paid may approach to, or even exceed the Rent; but in most cases of highly cultivated ground I have found that a fallacy is very apt to prevail in the computation of the comparative value of Rent and Tithe. Rent is always computed according to what the landlord actually *receives* or *could* obtain; whereas Tithe is often computed as the actual tenth of the gross produce, even in

cases where nothing approaching to that either is, or possibly *could* be, obtained. In many cases of very expensive cultivation the tithe-owner (however covetous) must, from regard to his own interest, be content with much less than a tenth, because if he were to insist on a full tenth, that high cultivation would cease to be profitable, and would be abandoned. The Tithe of nursery-grounds in the parish of Kensington is half a guinea an acre; the gross annual value of the produce of each acre must far exceed five guineas; in all probability it exceeds one hundred guineas. Indeed I am convinced, that in the majority of instances at least, the tendency of Tithes, even if estimated according to the utmost that *can actually be obtained,* is, to diminish in value as compared with Rent, in the progress of wealth. The circumstance which probably has chiefly contributed to keep this tendency out of sight is, that in a great many instances Land has been *subdivided,* while Livings have not. The incumbent therefore of a given parish shall not be much worse off, as compared with the neighbouring land-owners, than the incumbent of the same parish three hundred years ago; but then these land-owners shall be perhaps three or four times more *numerous;* and all the parishioners increased in proportion. And indeed it is one great additional evil of the endowment of Tithes, that the provision for the maintenance of the Clergy diminishes in many instances precisely in proportion as the call for clerical labour increases. Several of the Livings near large cities, for example, were formerly worth more than double their present value, when much of the land which is now covered with houses consisted of corn-fields.

According to your Grace's knowledge and experience, are the landed properties of colleges managed pretty beneficially for the parties interested, and for the community at large?

I have had experience of only one college; which I have had reason to believe is in some respects better managed than the average; but, from all I can learn, it appears to me that they are much better managed than those belonging to a *corporation-sole;* I mean, that in the case where the endowment is in the hands of a single individual who has a life interest, and only a life interest, in it, and has nothing to do with the appointment of his successor.

Are they as well managed as the property of individuals?

Not so as to produce the same absolute rent, I should think, in any instance; but I conceive that upon the whole the lands in most instances that have come under my knowledge are not worse culti-

vated, nor the people that live upon them, either as farmers or as labourers, less happy. And the charity-schools and hospitals, and institutions of that kind, that are upon them or connected with them, are supported, I should say, in many instances with more liberality than if they were in the hands of individuals. But I have no doubt that the rent paid to those colleges has in all instances fallen short of the rent which would have been paid to individuals.

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Do you consider that the same objections that might be made to commutation of Tithe into Land in England would apply equally, under all the circumstances of their state, to the Clergy in Ireland, if so provided for?

I have no doubt that a great many of the Clergy in Ireland, who, if they were as well off as those in England, and had as good a security for their revenues at the present time as the Clergy in England, would be opposed to any kind of commutation, would *now* accept this gladly. Many of them have expressed to me their willingness, if they thought their property was not to be confiscated, to accept any thing they could depend upon, instead of having their lives in perpetual insecurity in endeavouring to obtain any portion of their property, and in many cases obtaining nothing at all.

The question was not with reference merely to the feelings of the Clergy themselves, but with reference to the general expediency of such a provision for the Church; whether the same objections that might be entertained by some persons in England to the Clergy being made landed proprietors, would apply in the same degree to Ireland?

I am not aware of any objection that could be applied in one country that would not apply to the other.

Supposing it to be, not in the hands of the commissioners, but in the hands of the incumbent, would not the Irish incumbent be in a better situation for the purpose of deriving his income from the land than the English?

I cannot say whether he would be *absolutely* in a better situation than the English; the *exchange* would be more for his advantage; he would be much more a gainer by the exchange, considering how obnoxious Tithes are in Ireland to the Roman Catholics.

Would not the circumstance of the great bulk of the population

being Roman Catholic, and the circumstance of the limited religious duties which the clergyman of the Protestant Church in Ireland would have to perform, make his occupation of land less objectionable than it would be in a parish entirely Protestant?

It is possible it might; but I should be sorry that the clergyman should become, in either country, principally a farmer. In fact, however, if the clergyman takes his Tithes in kind, he must be occupied in the very worst parts of the business of farming; because he must become a general small dealer in a great variety of commodities; which seems to me to be, for a clergyman, the most objectionable part of a farmer's life. He must collect the Tithes from a great many individuals, and then have numerous transactions to sell again the different kinds of produce to different purchasers.

Have you a knowledge of any instances, or have any been stated to you, in which any difficulty has been experienced in obtaining the Rent for glebe land being the property of the Church?

I have heard some instances; I have none in the papers before me; but there have been instances mentioned to me in conversation which I cannot precisely detail. There are, however, a vast number of instances in Ireland, in which it is to be easily ascertained that there was glebe land originally belonging to the minister. There are many fields actually bearing the name of glebe-fields, although they have been irrecoverably alienated. There are now many parishes without any, or with a very small portion of glebe. Many hundred instances have been brought to my knowledge of that alienation. My objections are very strong against the investment of land in an individual who is a corporation-sole, and has a life interest, and no more than a life interest, having no share in the appointment of his successor. It appears to me to lead to much loss of church-property, and to a great deal of injustice of various kinds.

Was your Grace correctly understood to state that Tithe is ultimately paid by the landlord in all instances, and that it operates solely as a reduction of Rent?

I conceive that it operates solely as a reduction of rent, except so far as it may prevent improvements which were not contemplated when the lease was granted and the rent adjusted. In such cases the farmer may not extend his cultivation to the high degree of exactness which he otherwise would; and thus some degree of loss incurred; or rather, some gain prevented.

Is not the Tithe upon land, where the produce has been augmented by the application of increased capital by the tenant, a reduction from the profits of that tenant, during the continuance of his lease?

I apprehend that the tenant does not usually make such improvements, except in cases where he thinks he is pretty well secured as to a moderate demand of Tithe; but, undoubtedly, there are cases in which he is mistaken; and in those cases, during the continuance of the lease, undoubtedly the Tithe falls in part on the tenant. For, a *Tenant* may be considered, *during the continuance of his lease,* as a *Land-owner.*

I mentioned, however, before, that a common fallacy occurs in computing the comparative value of Tithe and of Rent; that Tithe is usually computed to be the actual tenth of the gross produce, not only in cases where it *is not* actually received, through the *forbearance* and kind feeling in the incumbent, but where it *could* not be received; because the expensive cultivation would be immediately discontinued if it were claimed; whereas Rent is always computed at what might *actually* be obtained.

Would not the check which would be thereby given to improved cultivation in consequence of the Tithe, during the occupation of such Tenant, prevent the application of capital, and be a check therefore to production?

Without doubt it does operate in that way, to a certain extent; but principally with respect to those improvements which return a remote profit. Since it is not the interest of the incumbent himself to claim a Tithe when the claim would diminish production, I am inclined to think that in operations completed within a moderate period, the incumbent and the farmer usually come to an arrangement; but even those operations may sometimes be prevented, from the mere apprehension that the claim would be advanced.

In arable land, would not your Grace estimate the value of the Tithe as about a fifth of the tithe-free Rent?

I cannot speak as to that; since it is so extremely variable upon land of different qualities. Even portions of land that produce very nearly the same crops, will, in one district, through the natural richness of the soil, and the facility of obtaining manure, &c., produce these crops at so much *less expense* than in another, that the *gross produce* of the two districts will be far more nearly on a

level than the *net produce;* on which last depends the *rent* to be obtained.

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You have stated that there is considerable opposition to the payment of Tithe in the hands of lay impropriators; would you include, in the relief you propose to extend to the Clergy, the same measure to be adopted with regard to the holders of lay Tithes?

I should be apt to say (so far as I have considered that point) that they must be left to themselves to make their own bargain, if they found Tithe an inconvenient kind of holding.

Do you not conceive, that if the kind of measure you have suggested were adopted with respect to clerical Tithes, and Tithe were to be so far extinguished, that the objection to the payment of lay Tithe would be very considerably increased?

I think very likely it might, and might probably lead to the same result,—an arrangement between the holder and the payer for redeeming the Tithe. The chief difficulty of arranging it, in the case of the Clergy, is, that they, being merely tenants for life, of course cannot make a bargain which shall affect their successors. This inconvenience must be remedied, either in the way I have proposed, or by some similar contrivance, so as to secure the permanency of the endowment. But a lay impropriator may sell or lease his Tithes, like any other property.

Would you extend the arrangement you have proposed to the Land as well as to the Tithes?

I am convinced of the utter inexpediency of leaving any endowment in land in the hands of a single individual, who has himself a life interest, and only a life interest, in it. In the first place, he is exposed to a strong temptation to seek for his own immediate benefit at the expense of a much greater injury to his successors. The present system of letting the bishops' lands in Ireland is an instance of this; and when such a system has once been begun, others, who never would have thought of introducing it, are forced to continue it in self-defence. Moreover, a person who enters upon any preferment, especially if vacated by the death of his predecessor, will often be able to obtain only a very imperfect and confused knowledge of the state of the revenues of the Benefice or See. Advantage will often be taken of this to encroach upon its lands or other property; and when maps or other

documents are wanting, or are imperfect, as is often the case, church-property is often irrecoverably lost; and in other cases, where it might be recovered by legal means, the incumbent is frequently deterred from resorting to these by a dread of law-expenses; expenses much less perhaps than the value of the land *in fee*, yet greater than his *life interest* in it. Accordingly, I have ascertained that there are many hundred parishes in Ireland, in which portions of land actually exist, bearing the very title of glebe-land, yet irrecoverably lost to the Church. There are many persons, I am aware, who do not regret the impoverishment of the Church, and would even gladly see a further portion of its endowments withdrawn, and appropriated to other *national* purposes; but they should remember that this spoliation of the Church by *individuals*, confers no benefit whatever on the Public, and only holds out a bounty upon fraud. I would, therefore, place all church-endowments, without exception, in the hands of Boards of Commissioners, to be administered by them as trustees.

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In your Lordship's last examination you referred to certain grounds which had satisfied you as to the inexpediency of Tithe as a mode of endowment for the Clergy; have you any further ground which you wish to state as the foundation of your opinion upon that subject?

There are some additional considerations which have long since occurred to my mind in support of that opinion. In the first place, an association is created between the ideas of religion and compulsory payment, most injurious to the minds of the parishioners. It is true that the farmer pays only in the sense in which a man *pays* an annuity charged on an estate left to him; and that his landlord allows for Tithes in the rent; but it is equally true, that during the continuance of the lease, whatever he can succeed in withdrawing from the minister, by flattery, by deceit, or by intimidation, goes into his own purse. For when I speak of Tithe falling on the Landlord, it should be observed that, during the current lease, I regard the Tenant as being, to all practical purposes, the Landlord; it is he who is burdened by any augmentation, and benefited by any diminution of the Tithes; and he is therefore tempted to feel and call a grievous burden whatever he cannot succeed in withholding from the right owner. He is tempted, in short, to hate the minister if he cannot succeed in defrauding him, and to despise him, if he does. It will be remem-

bered that I am not bringing a charge against individuals, but against the tendency of the system.

Secondly, an incumbent, who may be in many respects different from what a christian minister should be, but who, from indolence, ignorance, timidity, or any other cause, accepts a grossly inadequate composition, is likely to be more popular than, perhaps, a successor who may be a model for pastors, but who will not, or cannot, perhaps, in justice to his family, afford to forego his just claim. This must be not only a hardship to the individual, but a great detriment to the cause of religion.

Thirdly, the existing system leaves an opening for multifarious frauds: for instance, a man is presented to a Living by the 'squire of the parish, on an understanding that he is to accept such and such a composition; the land-owner lets his land tithe-free, paying, himself, perhaps, less than half the value of the Tithes; and the incumbent (as Paley observes) not only buys the Living, but robs the succession to pay for it. Again—a clergyman is leading a scandalous life, and several of the parishioners are disposed to present him, but they are almost all of them tenants of one great proprietor, who, for good and weighty reasons, shuts his ears to every such representation, and will not allow any complaints to be made. How many cases of this kind have occurred I cannot of course pronounce; but one has come under my own observation. Again—I have known an instance of an incumbent compelled to take a very inadequate composition, by a threat from the sole proprietor of planting the whole parish with wood. And a loss, again, is often unavoidably incurred of revenue which fairly belongs to the incumbent, especially of a vicarage: small scattered Occupations lying at a great distance from the Parsonage are not of unfrequent occurrence, to a very considerable amount; and the occupiers know well enough that if the Tithes were to be set out, the expense of collecting them would exceed their worth; they consequently pay just what they please.

Lastly, the trouble and vexation to which an incumbent is often exposed in obtaining even a small part of his due may be regarded as a serious deduction from his income; since (as A. Smith observes) every thing of this kind may be estimated at as much money as a man would give to be exempted from it. But this vexation, though a loss to one party, is no gain to the other, except when it gratifies a malignant and spiteful feeling.

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You stated an opinion, in your former examination, that Tithe falls upon Rent; are you of opinion, then, that the landlord is not able to remunerate himself for that charge by the increased price of produce arising out of it?

I believe that when Tithes have long existed they have no influence on the price of corn. Their effect in this respect appears to me to be no greater than would follow if we suppose the Country in which they exist to have been originally somewhat *smaller* than it is; or to have had lakes covering certain districts which are actually fertile valleys. If England, again, had been larger than it is—if, for instance, the Goodwin Sands were, and always had been, corn-fields, no one will maintain that corn would have been cheaper. We should have had rather more corn, absolutely, and a rather larger population, and rather a larger aggregate amount of rent; but the price of corn and the rate of rent would have been just what they are. So, if Kent had never existed, the people of England would have been less by the amount of the people in Kent; the total rental of the kingdom would have been less by the rental of Kent; but the price of corn would have been just what it is.

Without doubt, if Tithes were *suddenly imposed* on a Country whose population had grown up in their absence, or if they were *suddenly removed* from a Country in which they had previously existed, the price of corn would be affected. So, if the people of Kent were to be removed into the remainder of England, and the whole county, with all its corn, immediately sunk into the sea, the price of corn would rise; or if, again, the Goodwin Sands were to be suddenly left bare by the sea, in a state fit for immediate cultivation, the price of corn would fall; but by the time the population had adjusted itself to the new state of the supply of corn, the price would again rise to its ordinary level.

I apprehend that the opinion that Tithes fall on the consumer is founded on a confusion of the immediate effects of the *sudden* imposition of Tithes, or sudden removal of Tithes, with the ultimate and *permanent* effects of Tithes after they have long existed.

Have you any means of stating, from the information you have received in Ireland, what are the ultimate objects of those who have taken an active part in promoting the resistance to the payment of Tithes?

The ultimate object of many is, I have no doubt, simply to get rid of the Protestant establishment: some without even a wish,

others without a hope, of transferring its revenues to the Roman Catholic Church, but thinking only of gratifying hostile feelings. And others contemplate, or profess to contemplate, the application of these revenues to the establishment of a fund for the relief of the poor. Some, perhaps, hold out the prospect of this supposed benefit merely as a lure in order to induce Protestants to join in the opposition to Tithes; but many, probably, are persons of sincere but mistaken benevolence, who, having never witnessed the effects of the pauper system in England, look only to the bright side of the question, and do not perceive the tendency of the system to produce far more distress than it alleviates, by diminishing *industry*, *forethought*, and *charity;* and by degrading the pauper into a condition approaching that of a Slave, fed, not according to the *value* of his exertions, but to his *wants*, and accordingly impelled to labour only by the fear of punishment. I am convinced that if a fund for providing legal relief for the poor could be raised even without robbing the Establishment or instituting poor-rates,—if, for example, a rich gold mine were discovered in Ireland, and appropriated to that purpose,—the distress in that country would be increased many fold.

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Your Grace will observe that your plan of a Corporation would not embrace any provision for the Tithes in the hands of lay impropriators: do you think that any mode of arrangement of the tithe system would be satisfactory unless it embraced the lay impropriators?

I think it would. I do not see the same necessity of interfering with the lay impropriators, since *they* can help themselves. They can make permanent arrangements. The inability of the clerical tithe-owner to do this is, next to their moral evils, the principal inconvenience of clerical Tithes. It occasions the necessity of forming a new agreement with every new incumbent; and the farmers often suffer from the very circumstance of a clergyman having long received much less than his due. When that has been the case for a considerable period, there is a tendency to a rise of Rent; not quite equal indeed to the diminution of Tithe, but still bearing some relation to it. A change occurs in the incumbency; a much larger Composition for Tithe is required; and the farmer finds himself engaged to pay a Rent which, under the altered circumstances of the case, has become excessive. And the misfortune is, that in nine cases out of ten he casts the blame, not on his own imprudence, or on the exactions of his landlord, or on the carelessness of the former

rector, but on the avarice of the new rector; who is in fact the only person perfectly blameless.

I do not mean to infer from all this, that, except in getting rid of the evils and inconveniences which have been mentioned, no advantage would arise from Commutation of Tithe; for though, where Tithes have *long existed* they do not influence the price of corn, or its abundance in proportion to the number of the people, yet, as I have already said, their removal would unquestionably produce *present* relief. It would for a time occasion food to be more abundant and cheaper; and would increase the effectual demand for agricultural labour. In the present state of England this temporary relief might be turned to inestimable advantage; it might be made use of for the purpose of amending both the provisions and the administration of our poor-laws; amendments essential, not merely to the welfare, but almost to the continuance among us of civilized society.

But it is to be observed that this relief would in great measure be afforded by the adoption of the first part of my plan, the constituting the different Benefices in each District into corporations-aggregate, with powers of leasing for long periods, and of binding themselves and their successors by their contracts. It is the impossibility of doing this, that principally, if not solely, occasions Tithes to interfere with the progress of agriculture. No tax on the mere Rent of land has any such effect; nor do Tithes (as I have before observed) differ much from a tax on Rent, when they are held in fee simple. It is the interest of the tithe-owner to take, and to bind his successor to take, whatever the landholder can afford, (however less than an actual tenth,) rather than impede cultivation, and thus kill the hen that lays the golden eggs. Sufficiently long leases could be granted by an impropriator; and the same could be done by a corporation-aggregate, empowered to grant long leases; though it cannot be done by a rector or vicar under our existing institutions, or under any other safe modification of them that I can think of. It is for this reason that I do not propose legislating in respect to lay impropriators.

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Your Grace has stated, as one of the objections to Tithes being in the hands of individual incumbents, the jealousies which are created in different parishes on account of the greater or less strictness with which the tithes are collected?

Not merely between different parishes, but between different individuals in the same parish. If one man happens to have a better

crop, and another a worse, some particular year, when there is a general rate of Composition laid down, the one who has the worse crop complains of paying at the same rate with his neighbour, though it may not be in itself an exorbitant payment, but perhaps even much below the legal rate.

Do not the same causes of discontent exist, not only between the tenants of different landlords, but between the different tenants of the same landlord, with respect to the payment of their rent?

Something of the kind may take place.

Is not this therefore equally an objection to the collection of all rent by all persons?

It is an objection to bringing the clergyman and his parishioners in any way in contact in pecuniary transactions.

Is there any peculiar objection upon this ground in the case of the clergyman, *which does not apply to the case of the* landlord *and his tenant?*

Yes, certainly; because the *tenant*, if he has any cause to complain, when his lease is out, may *throw up his farm;* whereas the tithe-payer *must* pay his tithe. The tenant has accepted his lease as a benefit; and he pays a rent which he himself *voluntarily offered* to pay. The case of the tithe-payer is very different. I may complain that my landlord has not abated the rent as he should; but I have originally offered to pay it.

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Do not you think that the proposal to add to the landed possessions of the Church, by commuting the Tithe for land, would be liable to much odium and unpopularity?

I should wish to see some plan devised of putting the bishops' lands upon a different footing, so as to avoid the evil that has arisen from vesting land in a corporation-sole. The result of the system of leases of twenty-one years, renewing every year, has been, that though the land is very great, the income derived from it is comparatively small. I conceive that if the lands of the bishops were properly managed, the same amount of income which they now enjoy might be derived from a much smaller extent of land, and would not, consequently, be open to the same misrepresentation. It appears to me, that there might be an actual division of the estates of each See between the bishop and the tenants, in proportion to the

value of their respective interests; and that the bishop might re-lease to his tenants the reversion in one portion, on receiving from them a surrender of the leasehold interest in the other part. The objections raised against the great extent of lands held by the bishops might in this way be diminished.

Do not you think that making so much more land as would be taken in exchange for Tithes inalienable in the hands of perpetual corporations, would be liable to the same objections?

I am well aware that there would be many objections to the proposed scheme.

Would not that be a solid objection?

To make more land inalienable would certainly be liable to a solid objection; but the proposed Corporations might have powers of sale and exchange, on the terms of investing the purchase-money in the purchase of other lands to be held upon the same trusts. And as I formerly remarked that the effect of Tithe is the same as would have resulted from the extent of fertile territory in the Country having been originally less than it actually is, it follows that the proposed Commutation, by removing Tithe, would virtually be equivalent to the creation of so much new land. Nevertheless, I have no doubt that not only apparent but solid objections to my proposal might be found; but I conceive there are more and weightier objections, both to the existing system and to every other substitute for it that could be devised.

Have you ever considered any advantage that might arise from substituting a corn rent, charged upon the proprietor, instead of the investment in land?

I have considered that plan, and I think it would be an improvement upon the present system.

Do not you think it would be an improvement even upon the plan of investment of land?

I think it would be acceptable for a few years; and then, I have not the least doubt that the next generation, at the latest, would raise a complaint, saying, "It is very hard that the landlords are alone to pay the Clergy; they ought, if they are to bear this burden, to be allowed such and such privileges and advantages, in the shape of corn-laws or bounties; or the burden ought to be in part taken from them and laid upon other classes of society."

It would be quite forgotten, in the course of one or two generations, that they had in fact received an *equivalent;*—that their lands had been disburdened of the onus of Tithes. And it would be represented, perhaps before the middle of this century, but certainly before the end of it, that the landlords were unjustly burdened by alone paying the Clergy, who were of equal benefit to all classes. I think the church-revenues would in consequence be in great danger; but for the present I think it would be of great advantage.

How would the operation of an arrangement of this sort affect the interests, as well of the landlords as of the Clergy, if a power were given to the landlords gradually to redeem this rent, charged at a certain number of years' purchase, to be invested in detached lands as glebe land for the different incumbents?

I contemplated that as one of the modes of proceeding which might be adopted by those district corporations. I think it would be impossible, with any prospect of securing justice, that this should be done by an *individual* incumbent; but if there were a Board, such as I have spoken of, established in each district, that mode might probably be adopted with great advantage.

Does your Grace contemplate the operation of the Board you propose to be simply to invest the amount of the Tithes in land for the purpose of supplying glebes to the separate incumbents, or to retain the aggregate amount of Tithe in Ireland constantly in the hands of the Board, to distribute to the different incumbents in their proper proportions?

The latter was my intention; but I should prefer the former to the present system.

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You stated you think it would not be advisable to appropriate any part of the present Tithe to a provision for the poor; and that a provision for the poor, generally speaking, would not be a remedy for the present sufferings of the people in Ireland?

I believe it would be a great augmentation of them.

Have you turned in your mind any method of bettering their condition?

I have thought of many; to enter into which now would occupy the time of this Committee at too great length: but I am convinced that to encourage *industry*, and *frugality*, and *forethought*, among

them, by whatever means it can be effected, would be most important; and that providing them with a *certainty of relief*, on even the lowest scale, whenever they were out of work, would tend to *extinguish* what there is among them of industry and frugality; in short, that, with the prospect of such a provision, they would work as little as they could, and lay by nothing.

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Are you aware that, notwithstanding the great prevalency of mendicity in Ireland, the savings of a portion at least of the lower orders, as evidenced by the increased amount deposited in the savings' banks, has been latterly considerably increased?

I have every reason to suppose, from what I have heard from various parts of Ireland, and from comparing their present state with what I observed when I was there fourteen years ago, that the condition of the poor in Ireland has rather improved than deteriorated in that interval; though it is still so much short of what we see in all the best parts or even the tolerable parts of England, that many new comers are apt (erroneously as it appears to me) to think they are in a sinking state. I am quite convinced that a system of poor-rate would throw them back more than any thing that could be devised.

Do you allude to the poor-laws as they operate in this Country?

I mean, as poor-laws, on our principle, *must* operate in every Country, even if administered as well as that principle will admit.

Do you conceive there might not be some modified plan of poor-rate adopted in Ireland that might be productive of benefit to the country?

The name of "poor-law" of course might be extended to systems of a very different nature. A great distinction is to be drawn between legal relief of that kind which tends to *increase* the distress that it designs to relieve, and that which has no such tendency. The relief afforded to cripples, idiots, blind, or deaf-and-dumb, does not tend to increase those evils. The relief that is afforded to mere *want*, as want, tends to increase that evil. That is the sort of relief which I deprecate;—a relief to those that are in distress, but able-bodied.

And you think that any legislative enactment of relief for that purpose would be injurious to industry, forethought, and charity?

Undoubtedly. It would tend to make them leave their parents and their children to parish-support, instead of attending to them as they now do; and to prevent them from laying by any thing for a time of distress. They would work as little as possible, and get all they could from the parish. I have seen that operate a great deal in England, and I think it would operate with much more rapid and destructive effect in Ireland. But what I have said does not apply to the relief of the blind, the permanently infirm, cripples, idiots, and the like.

[D.]—See Page xi. Preface.

As the latter part of the foregoing Evidence relates to that important and difficult question of Political-Economy—Poor-Laws,—I have thought it advisable to subjoin a republication of the Substance of a Speech on the subject.

It may be necessary, for the sake of some of my readers, to premise a brief notice of some intervening occurrences.

A few years after the above Evidence was given, a Commission was appointed to inquire into the condition of the poor in Ireland. After a long and careful investigation the Commissioners gave in a Report, in which they recommended a course coinciding in the main with what I had said in the latter part of the above Evidence. So loud however was the cry in England (where great ignorance of the real state of Ireland prevails) for a system of legal relief for the able-bodied poor of Ireland, that it was thought necessary to reject the Report and to establish a system of Workhouses, in which the able-bodied as well as the impotent might be relieved. This measure was deprecated by a very large majority of the Irish, of all classes; but a few of them, and, in England, many, hoped that it would diminish distress, and suppress Mendicancy. I have been informed that in some parts of the Province of Ulster it has had this effect. In more than three-fourths of Ireland, its effects were rather the opposite. All however who advocated or who acquiesced in the measure, did so on the supposition that it would be possible to avoid proceeding to a system of *out-door relief*, which it was almost universally admitted would be even more mischievous in Ireland than it had proved in England.

I, on the contrary, always foretold that when the Poor-Law was once passed, the first season of unusual distress would be sure to produce a clamour for out-door relief, such as it would be next to

impossible to resist. Many set at nought the prediction; though they admitted that if it did come true, the consequences would be most ruinous. I have now had the double mortification, first, of seeing the prediction disregarded; and afterwards, of seeing it verified. And I am moreover well aware that even *an injury is in general more easily forgiven than the verification of a neglected warning*. But no personal considerations will ever, I trust, induce me to suppress truths that may prove instructive and beneficial to the Public.

Since the first publication of these pages, very considerable alleviation of the pressure of the Poor-Rates, in most districts, has taken place, through the agency of the two causes adverted to at the close of the Appendix to the following Speech,—enormous *mortality*, and enormous *emigration*. But in many districts the burden still presses very heavily, [1] and the temporal ruin which has been caused, already, to many, and the moral ruin of a far greater number, are evils unremedied, and, I fear, irremediable. Several of the Workhouses appear to be perfect hotbeds of depravity; of which I could give decisive and most appalling evidence. That, of the young children brought into them, the greater part escape by death (for the mortality among these is frightful) from being trained in such a school, is perhaps less to be lamented—shocking as it is—than the lot of many of the survivors. The diseased condition of a large proportion of these (of whom very many have lost their sight) is probably far from being the worst of the evils inflicted. And while extensive tracts of land, once under cultivation, are lying untilled, for want of hands, multitudes of able-bodied men remain in the (so-called) *Work*-houses, which they *refuse to quit*, though *good wages are offered;* preferring a life of almost entire idleness, with a subsistence quite equal to anything they had formerly been used to. [2] And it has not been thought advisable in such cases to attempt to compel them to accept the offers made them; because it is probable they would plead sickness; or if they did quit the Workhouse for a few days, would soon return to it as "out of employ." For, if a man

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[1] It is to be remembered that the cost of keeping up the establishment in each Workhouse, independent of the number of the Paupers, is very considerable.

[2] I am speaking not from conjecture or from vague rumour, but from instances which have come under my own knowledge; and am fully prepared to substantiate by evidence every statement made.

has the *wish* to be turned off by his employer, he may easily so conduct himself as to make it not worth while to retain him.

Thus, the deficiency of labourers consequent on extensive mortality and emigration, has been aggravated by unwise legislation.

Still, the condition of Ireland is improving, notwithstanding the heavy visitations it has undergone, and the aggravation of these by the measures designed for relief. I have no wish to dishearten our well-wishers; nor any feeling of hostility towards those who, with the best intentions, have been adding to our afflictions, and retarding our recovery. But it is of great importance with a view to the future well-being of a convalescent patient, to have it well ascertained whether he is recovering in *consequence* of the medicines administered, or in *spite* of them.

If any one really wishes for a correct picture of the working of the Poor-Law in Ireland, he may find it in a very well-written little book entitled "Paddy's Leisure Hours."[1] The names, of course, of the persons and places, and the slight outline of the Tale, are fictitious; but all the facts and representations introduced, are, to the best of my knowledge and belief, quite correct, and unexaggerated.

Most persons however in England, and — strange to say — no small number in Ireland, are so utterly unaware of the real state of things, that I should not wonder if many of my readers should be actually exulting in the supposed falsification of most of my anticipations. A person very high in office was actually congratulating me not very long ago, on the satisfactory working (contrary to my expectations) of the Poor-Law, at the very time when I was exerting myself in raising a fund, with the aid of a few benevolent persons in England and in Ireland, to relieve from utter *destitution* a portion—it could be only a portion—of the Clergy who had been reduced to absolute want, *solely* by the pressure of poor-rates, (it was to these cases, strictly, that the relief was confined,) amounting to 10 or 12, sometimes to 16 or 18 shillings in the pound! Great good was done even by the scanty and inadequate relief supplied by this fund. But much remained, unavoidably, undone. Some threw up their benefices (improperly so called), and, by the help of friends, raised sufficient funds to enable them to emigrate with their families. Some died broken-hearted, worn down with want and anxiety, leaving their widows and children destitute, having been compelled to drop their insurances. But several were enabled, by some small

[1] J. W. Parker, West Strand.

help from that fund, as long as it lasted, to struggle on, and wait for better times.

But I have no doubt that what was said to me by the individual I have alluded to was the belief which had been instilled into him; not only because I am certain he was himself incapable of making a known mis-statement to *any* one, but also because no one acquainted with the real state of facts, would have mis-stated them to *me*, whom he must have supposed to be well aware of the truth.

Several facts have since come to my knowledge confirmatory of some of my apprehensions. But one other evil only of the Workhouse-system I will here advert to, as being one not originally anticipated: the systematic and terrible *persecution* carried on in the Workhouses against Protestants, and especially against Protestant-converts. Numerous instances might be adduced of the most atrocious cruelty, on such evidence as could leave no doubt in any reasonable mind; though it has seldom been found possible to substantiate any such cases in a Court of Justice, because most of the witnesses were either parties to the outrages committed, or unwilling, or afraid, to come forward to give true evidence; or even ready to swear falsely in a case in which they knew that they would obtain not only absolution but commendation![1]

I am engaged in endeavouring to set on foot such inquiries as may ultimately lead to some mode of providing a remedy; but I have no great hope of success.

In the Preface to the first publication of the following Speech, I remarked, among other things, that "It cannot be denied—perhaps it is less to be wondered at than lamented—that in a large proportion of the English people, the feeling of compassion for the Irish poor has assumed the form of a blind and uncontrollable rage against the supposed authors of all the distress, the landlords; a rage so indiscriminate and so unreflecting, that it is with difficulty men can be brought to listen to anything relative

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[1] A person reported to enjoy a high reputation in the United States of America, and who was lately making a hasty tour through some parts of Ireland, assured me, after having spent an hour or two in each of several Workhouses, that they are admirably conducted, (though the number of able-bodied men shut up in them, when labour is so much wanted, did excite some wonder,) and that there is no *persecution* in any of them; for that the tourist *saw nothing* of the kind! Several of our tourists in Italy and in Spain, during the fiercest reign of the Inquisition, could, doubtless, have borne similar testimony.

either to the grounds of their indignation, or the probable consequences of their acts. For the sake of punishing the Irish landlords, they are ready not only to confound the innocent with the guilty,—to 'destroy the city, notwithstanding there are fifty righteous therein,'—but to bring much more severe and irremediable sufferings on the Irish poor themselves, whom it is the object to relieve, than on any other class of persons; and even ultimately to involve England itself in more than double the expense and distress from which the English are now impatient to be relieved.

"It happens most unfortunately that some of the worst feelings of our nature are occasionally disguised from us, by being associated with the best and most amiable; that *vindictive* passions will assail the heart under the veil of compassionate *benevolence;* and that resentment against wrong-doers will blind men to the suggestions, not only of sound reason, but of justice, and even of enlightened humanity."

I will mention an instance, out of many, as a specimen of the sort of excited feeling lately existing in England—and not, I fear, quite extinct even now—in reference to Irish questions. I was conversing a few years ago with a person in a considerable way of business in London, who,—after venting in stronger terms than I like to repeat, his dissatisfaction at the trouble caused by Ireland,—expressed his wish not only for a repeal of the Union, but for the entire separation of Ireland, which he wished should be declared wholly independent, that we might, as he said, "get rid of it altogether." I suggested to him, that, in that case, one at least of those two most ambitious States, France and North-America, would very soon get possession of it, and make it a stepping-stone to the conquest of Britain; so that we should be involved, if we would maintain our independence, in interminable wars. He said he would submit to that result, and would prefer being involved in a *continual bloody war with our nearest neighbours*, rather than be connected with Ireland! It may be said, and doubtless with truth, that this was an ebullition of angry feeling, and not his calm and deliberate judgment. And this would be a very consolatory consideration, IF men never *legislated*, or incited others to legislate, under the influence of passion. But unhappily it is too well known that the reverse of this is the fact, in many instances; and that there lies no "appeal to Philip sober." And such I believe was especially the case in what relates to Irish Poor-Laws. It was the opinion, at the time, of the most competent judges, that the mea-

sure against which the following Speech and Protest were directed, would not have passed the Commons, but for the impending *General Election;* and that many (I *know* it was so with some), though their own judgment disapproved it, yet dared not vote against it for fear of losing their seats. They could not withstand the "*Civium ardor prava jubentium.*"

But the time will come when men will judge more calmly, and will decide accordingly; when their understanding being no longer blinded by excited feelings, their sentiments of justice, of humanity, and of regard for their country's welfare, will have fair play. They will learn—the wisest and best, speedily, and the mass of the people not long after—how to distinguish, and to appreciate, those who have sought to enlighten them, and those who have preferred pandering to their excited passions; those who have honestly and boldly adhered to, and defended, the course which is most for their country's good, and those who, from timidity, or for the gratification of selfish ambition, have consented to swim with the stream, and to abandon the principles which their own deliberate judgment approves.

Substance of a Speech delivered in the House of Lords, on Friday, the 26th of March, 1847, on the motion for a Committee on Irish Poor-Laws.

ALTHOUGH your Lordships have been already addressed by far more practised debaters and able speakers than myself, yet I feel myself called on not to give a silent vote on this occasion, on account of the peculiar connexion I have had with the subject now under discussion; a connexion not courted by myself, but, I may say, in a manner forced upon me by the public voice. I was, as your Lordships will recollect, one of the Commissioners appointed several years ago for inquiring into the condition of the Irish Poor. I was appointed to that office not at my own desire, but purely by the spontaneous selection of the then Government of the country.

That Ministry may perhaps have considered that the experience I had had in England, as one of the Governors of a Poor-Law Union, might in some degree qualify me for inquiries of that kind. But whatever qualifications they may have expected, or may have found, in me, they certainly did me no more than justice if they believed

that I would devote myself most heartily and zealously to the business of that inquiry.

It is not for me to eulogize, or to vindicate, the members of that Commission. That is rather the part of the Ministry which appointed them. But this at least I may be permitted to say; that a Body of Commissioners could not have been selected less likely to agree in any *one* erroneous view than those who were appointed. If your Lordships look to the names signed to our Report, you will find Roman Catholics, and Protestants of various denominations; Englishmen and Irishmen; Clergy and Laymen; Lawyers, Ministers of Religion, and Country Gentlemen. They were as different from each other in the modes of their education, and in their subsequent habits of life, as any men could be. And they were likely therefore to differ in the prejudices and mistakes to which they might be liable. It was most improbable, I repeat, that we should concur in any *one* erroneous notion. Yet all of us whose names appear appended to that Report, fully agreed in deprecating such a system of Poor-Laws for Ireland as was subsequently introduced into that country.

A difference of opinion existed between Ministers and the Commissioners, as to the recommendations of our Report. This was not perhaps to be wondered at: for of all questions that ever were debated by man, those relating to a Poor-Law are precisely the very class on which we may anticipate the greatest amount of difference of opinion between one who has devoted a considerable share of attention to the subject, and one who has studied it *much more* attentively, and made much fuller inquiries. There is no subject on which first impressions are so likely to be corrected or modified by further investigations, and more mature reflection. Mr. Nicholls, who was subsequently employed by Government to make a new inquiry, and whose Report was adopted and acted on, had devoted to that inquiry some considerable time; namely, about half as many *days* as the previous Commission had *weeks*. He came to very different conclusions from theirs: but he fully concurred with them, and so did the then Ministry, in decidedly deprecating any system of *out-door relief* to the able-bodied.

As to the Poor-Law then introduced, and now existing in Ireland, there was some difference of opinion among the Irish. A few approved of it: a very large majority, of all classes and descriptions, were adverse to it. But all agreed in deprecating the introduction of a system of relief *out* of the Workhouse. Those who hoped favourably of the law, founded their hopes on the complete and permanent

exclusion of out-door relief. *That* system they all concurred in regarding as ruinous to all parties;—as a measure amounting to CONFISCATION: and the same sentiment was expressed, not long since, in the very same language (as appears by the reports of the debate), by a leading member of the present Administration.[1]

Those, on the other hand, who dreaded the effects of the Poor-Law—that large majority, of whom I was one—regarded as one of the principal objections to it, the danger of its leading to that result;—the out-door relief of the able-bodied.

The experiment of introducing a Poor-Law such as now exists, I regarded all along as a most hazardous one. I never expected that law to produce the beneficial effects anticipated by many; and subsequent experience has confirmed my opinion; but the greatest apprehension of all that I felt, was, that, its inadequacy to the desired object being proved by experience, a remedy would be sought in such an amendment of the law as is now before the other House.

The noble Lord who has lately addressed you on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, was remarking that the Workhouses have not afforded so great an amount of relief as had been expected. Till lately, a large proportion of them have been nearly empty, and many others only half filled. But in truth it was the extreme reluctance of the poor to enter the Workhouse, that has hitherto been the principal preservative of Ireland from utter ruin. For it could never be expected that there should be just such an amount of able-bodied paupers applying for relief as would *exactly* fill the Workhouses, and that the application would then stop.

What I always dreaded, from the very first, was, that when the

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[1] After all the experience I have had of the prevailing recklessness of assertion in some writers, I was yet somewhat surprised at a late article in one of the London papers, containing a bitter complaint against the existing Irish Poor-Law, which was represented as having been "*concocted*" *by me!* A bolder experiment on the credulity of the British public I never remember. For whatever may be the merits or demerits of that measure, I, at least, had no more to do with it than Mr. Wilberforce had with the establishment of the slave-trade. No fact relating to any public measure can be more notorious than my constant and earnest opposition to that Poor-Law. What a cause must that be, whose advocates are driven to put forward a mis-statement of which the detection is so easy, and which is not merely destitute of all foundation in fact, but is even the very reverse of the fact! But when persons not much troubled with scruples are determined to make an attack, and find nothing that can be alleged with *truth*, they feel themselves *compelled* to resort to *fabrication*. In short, their "NECESSITY is the mother of INVENTION."

Workhouses should be filled, there would be a clamour for out-door relief; just such as has now arisen. This was to be expected, under the pressure of a period of severe distress; such as (in a minor degree) has been again and again experienced.

And here I may be permitted to advert (though reluctant to dwell on my own proceedings) to the watchful care with which I have endeavoured, in my own neighbourhood, to make the best of the existing law. I felt myself called on to assist,—of late, almost to maintain,—a large proportion of the inhabitants of a populous village where I reside, near Dublin. I have always made it a point to encourage the people to exertion and to self-reliance, and to cherish, in all except the infirm and helpless, the aversion felt to the Workhouse. I have always endeavoured to put the able-bodied in a way to find employment, by which they might feel that they were earning their own subsistence. I left nothing undone to keep up their disinclination to enter the Workhouse; because it appeared clear to me, that if once this disinclination were generally overcome, the multitude of distressed poor, great even in ordinary times, but in seasons of scarcity most deplorable, would swamp the Workhouse system altogether, and call forth the present disastrous proposal of domiciliary relief.

Such being my views, I was accustomed to employ labourers on my own grounds beyond the number that were actually wanted, or that could bring in a profitable return; but always on the understanding that they were to do a real day's work for their wages, and that otherwise they would be discharged. I was led subsequently to employ in this manner a greater number than formerly, because some persons in the neighbourhood who had been accustomed to provide employment for a part of the able-bodied poor during the most trying seasons of the year, now, being burdened with the poor-rate, refused this aid, and referred all applicants to the Workhouse. But to me nothing appeared so dangerous as to overcome their aversion to the Workhouse. I was anxious to keep up in them the feeling of labourers earning—or at least believing that they were earning—their own bread, instead of being paupers maintained by the rates. Accordingly, I did not give large wages; both because I preferred employing a greater number at moderate wages; and still more, because I was anxious not to disgust them with the rate of wages, necessarily low, which the neighbouring farmers could afford; and thus to draw them off from profitable employment.

But the situation of men thus labouring under an employer who engages them of his own free choice, and who may discharge them

if they neglect their work,—this situation would be totally changed, if they were paupers *legally entitled* to relief, working under an overseer, who is to compel them to perform their tasks. If any one holding such an office were, in the discharge of his duty, to enforce resolutely a satisfactory amount of labour, I do not believe that his life would be safe for a day.[1] Not only would a great proportion of these pauper-labourers refuse to do any reasonable amount of work themselves, but they would not even permit others, who might be so disposed, to do a fair day's work.[2]

Some persons have spoken of the proposed measure as likely to lead to, or to be accompanied by, "a system of well-directed labour."[3] But I do not hesitate to say, that nothing more chimerical than such an expectation ever entered the mind of man. The labour exacted of the paupers will not only not be "well-

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[1] There is good reason to believe that even the best disposed of the labourers, and those grateful to him for past kindnesses, would be, though willing, *unable* to protect him from the stroke of assassins coming *from a distance.* Such appears to have been the case with a person mentioned in Lord Monteagle's speech, of whom he had, only the day before, received intelligence as having been murdered for doing his duty in preventing abuses in the conduct of the public works. He was, it seems, a man not only of highly estimable character, but remarkably *popular*, on account of his uniform kindness and charity to the poor. He is supposed to have been murdered by persons sent from a considerably distant part for the purpose. Such is unhappily the *organized* system of outrage in many parts of Ireland, that a few lawless and ferocious leaders, who have partly deluded and partly overawed a considerable number into becoming their accomplices, are enabled, by their means, to tyrannize over the rest, and inflict cruel beatings or death (generally by the hands of *strangers*, purposely selected as such) on any who dare to transgress the rules established by these self-appointed despots.

[2] An instance of this, which may serve as a sample, was related to me by a person I can rely on. A farmer in pretty good circumstances wanted the services of a cattle-doctor for one of his cows which had fallen sick: the man was employed on the public works; and to save him from being struck off the list, the farmer was obliged to take his place, while he went to attend the sick cow. He began accordingly to work heartily, as he would have done on his own farm; partly because it was a cold day, and he was glad to keep himself warm. But his fellow-*labourers* would not permit this; and absolutely compelled him to proceed at the same rate with themselves, taking up a shovelful of earth once in a minute or two, and thus lounging over the work, till the return of the man for whom he had stood substitute.

[3] In reply to what was repeatedly urged about "a law that should induce *landlords* to employ labourers," it was remarked, with unanswerable truth, that the idea is manifestly chimerical; since it is the *occupiers* of land that must employ agricultural labourers.

directed" in the sense of being *profitable* labour, but it will not even be well-directed, so far as to be an adequate *test of destitution.* An Irish labourer has been accustomed, unhappily, to work for a very small pittance, and to be content with the bare necessaries of life, and to be, as it were, always on the brink of ruin. This is a deplorable condition at the best; but if you give him a legal right to support, independently of industry and good behaviour,—if, in return for such nominal work as he will do under an overseer, you give him that bare subsistence (and *less* you cannot give) which he has been accustomed to be contented with,—you ruin his industry and independence of character for ever, and sink him, permanently, into the lowest degradation, physical and moral.

Even to the English labourer it is very injurious to be reduced to the condition of a pauper. But the case of the English labourer is far different from that of the Irish, and far more favourable. He is, for the most part, accustomed to something beyond the mere necessaries of life,—accustomed to many of its comforts, and some humble luxuries,—accustomed to see his family decently clad, and to live in such a cottage, and with such furniture, as exceeds the Irish labourer's almost as much as they fall short of the accommodations of the gentry. A man so circumstanced may be one on whom you may make with safety the experiment of affording him, during a time of severe pressure, a bare subsistence in exchange for labour little more than nominal. It may be hoped that he will not yield to the temptation of sloth, but will embrace the very earliest opportunity of returning to real vigorous labour, in order that he may return to that more comfortable style of living he has been used to.

But not so with the Irish labourer. Inured to hardship,—accustomed from his earliest days to privation, the proffer of that bare subsistence which he has been used to be content with as the reward of his *industry*, and not always to be obtained, even so,—the proffer, I say, of this, *legally secured* to him, in return for a mere pretence of work, will be so great a boon, that you must expect it to attract not only the *superabundant*, but almost the whole labouring population; and that they will be, not a temporary, but a permanent and a perpetually increasing, burden on the resources of the country.

It will be utterly vain for you to enact that the claimants of relief shall be compelled to do a full and fair day's work in return for a day's support. The rule may be laid down; but it cannot be enforced. The greater part of them will determine neither to work hard, nor to allow any of their companions to do so. And nearly

the whole of the Irish poor will rush to this, so-called, labour, and throw themselves upon the poor-rates, leaving the land untilled. At no distant period, you will have a pauper population in Ireland, amounting not to a million and a half, or two millions, but to three, four, or five millions; while farms are lying as desolate as the deserts of Arabia.[1] You will have a continually increasing demand upon supplies continually diminishing.

It is not from a special regard for Irish landlords—it is not from a wish merely to spare *them* from a confiscation of property—that I deprecate this measure. I am prompted to do so yet more by my regard for the *people*. These will be thrown into a state of far greater destitution than ever, when the entire rental of Ireland shall have been swallowed up by the poor-rates, as was the case with the parish of Cholesbury in England,[2] where no one would undertake to occupy the land, rent-free, burdened with the payment of the rates; and where, consequently, the whole was left uncultivated, and the paupers were maintained by rates-in-aid, levied in the adjoining parishes.

Of the first rate that will be levied in Ireland, under the proposed system, half, or perhaps two-thirds, will be collected. Then there will be a second and a heavier rate levied, to meet both the subsequent expenditure and also the arrears; of the second rate a smaller proportion will be collected; of the third rate, probably nothing will be collected. That such will be the course things may be expected to take, under the proposed Poor-Law, abundant evidence, I am confident, would be produced, if the motion for a Committee of Inquiry should be acceded to.

When then we shall have reached this point, there will be no resource left but to appeal to Government, in each case, for a rate-in-aid; first, from the neighbouring districts, and ultimately, when

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[1] On the Shrove-Tuesday preceding this Debate, (that is the day on which the greatest number of marriages take place among Roman Catholics,) in a parish where the average number of marriages on that day was between forty and fifty, there were only *three;* and those, of persons in good circumstances. Can any one doubt that if there had been a *legal provision* existing for all who might claim it,—if the *hope*, often a rash hope, of supporting a family, on which the Irish labourer usually marries, had been converted into a *certainty*,—can any one doubt, I say, that, in that case, the number of marriages would have equalled at least, if not *exceeded*, the average? And this case may serve as a sample for the greater part of Ireland.

[2] See a description of this case in the Report of the Irish Poor-Inquiry-Commission.

these also are exhausted, (as they soon must be,) from the funds of the United Empire. For, as in the case of a commercial bankruptcy, the failure of one house causes the failure of several others connected with it, and these again bring ruin on others connected with them; so, in this case, the insolvency of one district will lead to the insolvency of another, and another. The ruin will spread like a conflagration through the whole of Ireland; till at length the United Empire will be called on to meet the evil, after an incalculable amount of additional misery has been endured, and at a cost far greater than that which the people of England have been so impatient of bearing, and the desire of escaping which has chiefly occasioned the popular clamour for the measure now proposed.

I do not wonder that the people of England are weary of being called on to relieve Irish destitution, and of being burdened with a heavy expenditure for Ireland. I do not wonder that they should *wish* that the land of Ireland should support the Irish poor. And I do not wonder that those who are as ill-informed, as most are, of the facts of the case, and in many points misinformed also, and who have inquired little, and reflected little, on the subject, should imagine that nothing more is needed than to pass a "law which shall *make* the landlords support all the poor."

I heartily wish that this were *possible*. I should rejoice to see the land of Ireland supporting in plenty the whole population, without debasing permanently the character of the peasantry, even though this should be effected at the cost of reducing all the landowners to poverty. But this cannot be.

In the first place, it is *physically impossible*. It may seem almost ridiculous to speak of a physical impossibility as ONE among the objections to any proposal. But in truth, in the present case, it is only one out of several; others of which would operate even if that impossibility could be removed. Supposing even that no deterioration of character,—no discouragement of industry,—were to result from the proposed measure, even so, the actual amount of destitution is such, (as might be easily established by numerical demonstration, before a Committee of Inquiry,) that the whole rental of Ireland would be insufficient to relieve it; and the land would consequently be soon thrown out of cultivation for want of occupiers, even if offered rent-free.

A very large and very poor population has hitherto been scantily subsisted on the coarsest and most abundant kind of product that the earth could be brought to yield. A great failure in that kind of product has reduced a large proportion of them to destitution.

Can we, by an Act of Parliament, *make* the land support, on a *less* abundant kind of product, the same population? Can we decree that a *portion* of that product,—the portion which has hitherto formed the landlord's rent,—shall supply all deficiencies?

These considerations would alone be decisive of the physical impossibility of what is proposed to be attempted; even supposing that the now *surplus* population were *alone* to be thrown upon the poor-rate;—that no deterioration in the habits of the *rest* were to take place.

But in addition to this, we have every reason to expect that the pauperizing effect of such a law would be much more extensive; that the industry of the people would be greatly diminished by the promise of subsistence independently of industry; and that, consequently, the cultivation of the land, and its productiveness, would be greatly impaired. And thus the existing distress would not only be perpetuated, but would go on indefinitely increasing.

Far better would it be, that Government should at once avowedly confiscate—confiscate, without *first destroying*—all the land of Ireland, and take possession of it; granting the owners, for the rest of their lives, as much as might be thought a reasonable allowance for an Irish proprietor. The land would then have been forfeited before it had become desolate for want of cultivation. But if Government should thereupon undertake, as proprietor of those lands, to maintain all applicants without limit, and employ them as paupers, in compulsory labour, it would soon find the lands to be a "*damnosa possessio*,"—a property bringing with it incalculably more expense than profit.[1] Under such a system, both the debasement of the character of the people, and the burden of supporting them, have a tendency to go on continually increasing to an indefinite extent.

We have, on this point, the lessons of experience to guide us. We know to what an alarming state the English Poor-Law had brought us, when the continual and rapid increase of its evils, physical and moral, alarmed us into a vigorous measure of reform.

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[1] At the very time when so much was boastfully put forth about compelling the landlords to put into a comfortable condition the people living on their estates, a district called Ballykillcline, *belonging to Government*, was burdened with above seventy families, all in a state of destitution, and none of whom had paid rent for many years! Surely it is but fair to require that those who maintain the *possibility* of doing so and so, and pass a law to *compel* others to do it, should begin by doing it themselves.

Now, if England is "the green tree," Ireland will be "the dry." Reference has been made to the high authority of Mr. Senior, who declared, when examined, his conviction that "the mischiefs which it had taken three centuries to bring about in England, would, in Ireland, be effected in ten years." I myself believe he might safely have said, "ten months." Every disadvantage,—every conceivable circumstance that can make such an experiment doubly hazardous,—all is to be encountered, in the greatest degree, in Ireland.

To advert to only one of those circumstances,[1] the character of the persons themselves who are to be the recipients of relief; it is admitted by all,—even those who estimate the most highly the good qualities which certainly are possessed by the Irish people,—that they are improvident to a greater degree than most others, and remarkably prone to throw aside self-dependence when they have a promise, or a *hope*, of support from without;—from a liberal patron,—from government,—from a parochial, or any other institution.

I will mention one instance which came under my own knowledge, as illustrating in a remarkable manner this readiness to throw themselves entirely on any resource that may be provided for them, and to lay aside, in their dependence on this, all forethought and all exertion. A number of fishermen, resident near the Cove of Cork, were accustomed, till of late, to take large quantities of fish, on certain banks ten or twenty miles out at sea. These men have latterly been living at home idle, or nearly so, (taking only occasionally a few fish close to the shore,) and with their families in great destitution. Their case was brought under my notice by a clergyman in the neighbourood, with whom, as well as with one of the principal

[1] How great capabilities, both intellectual and moral, the Irish people possess, I have had ample opportunity of knowing. Having been so much concerned, for twenty-one years, in the education which above a million of them have received, and which near half a million more are now receiving, I can bear witness that they possess, generally speaking, such abilities, and such dispositions, as require only to be rightly trained, and developed, and directed, to make the Irish stand high among the nations of Europe.

The improvement which has taken place during those years, has far surpassed anything that could have been anticipated. But this improvement has been, of course, chiefly confined to the rising generation; and has not extended to the whole, even of them. The *next ensuing* period of the same duration is what I should expect, if adverse causes were excluded, to prove the chief harvest-time. I should expect it to exhibit a sum-total of national improvement, unexampled, within the same space of time, in the history of any people. But the proposed Poor-Law would, I fear, throw the nation back more than a century, both in prosperity and in civilization.

landed proprietors, I am well acquainted. It appeared that these poor men were unable to *victual* their boats for the voyage, as was requisite when they went so far from land. It occurred to me that an effectual and permanent relief might be afforded them, by fitting them out, once, for the fishery they had been accustomed to; giving them to understand that they must not look for further assistance, but, by the sale of the fish they should take, must provide for each future trip, as they had been used to do. I proposed therefore to provide food; and also fishing-tackle, for such as were insufficiently supplied with it. And I trusted that in this way they would be enabled not only to maintain their families in comfort, but also to be the means of bringing a considerable supply of food into the country. But the friends above alluded to, after the most careful inquiry, were compelled to come to the mortifying conclusion that no permanent relief could in this way be afforded. The fishermen would, they were convinced, consume at home the provisions that might be supplied to them, instead of going out to the fishing-banks; and then trust for the future support of their families to the soup-kitchens, and other such establishments, which had hitherto supplied them with a scanty pittance. Even if induced actually to embark with the food on board, they would, my informants fully believe, re-land it in the night, and consume it in idleness at home.[1] In short, having been once used to depend on anything besides their own exertions, they could not be trusted even with a loaf of bread, but abandoned exertion altogether.

Many other instances might be given to shew how much even charitable relief tends, unless distributed with the most vigilant care and discretion, to paralyse industry, and destroy habits of forethought and self-reliance. But make relief compulsory,—give men a legal right to out-door relief,—and they will, to a man, be thrown into a state of destitution. Give them relief in return for compulsory work when they are out of employment, and men will be out of employment to the amount of the entire labouring population. Millions of them will be thrown on the resources of this country; and, in one year, the entire rental of Ireland will be swallowed up, and the pressure upon the people of England will be more severely felt than ever.

The present time is one of severe distress, and one in which

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[1] One of these fishermen, who, though apparently in a state of destitution, could not be induced to go out to fish, died, subsequently to my making the above statement; and in his cabin was found a hoard of 20 sovereigns!

sacrifices must be made, as well as distress endured; but for this very reason, I maintain, that a worse time for making such an experiment could not possibly be selected. When the workhouses were some of them nearly empty, and some of them only partially filled, if this Bill for the extension of out-door relief had been *then* passed, on the understanding that it was to come into operation when the workhouses should be filled, there would, perhaps, have been something in it to recommend it, or, at least, to mitigate its evils; though, for my own part, I confess I should greatly deprecate it under any circumstances. There would have been, however, some protection. The ditch would have to be filled before the fortress could be assailed; that is, a great many persons would have to submit to enter the workhouse before any out-door relief could be obtained. But when the measure is introduced at such a moment as the present, when the workhouses are already crowded, *there is no ditch to fill;* and we are left completely at the mercy of a law which will at once subvert the whole social arrangements of the country. The out-door system, as contemplated by her Majesty's Government, must come *at once* into operation.

But SOMETHING, after all, it is urged, must be done for Ireland; and the question is, what can you recommend? I will tell you what I recommend—I simply recommend *inquiry*. I recommend you not to take a leap in the dark. I would implore your Lordships to accede to this application for a Committee of Inquiry, and not to shut your eyes to the real circumstances of your situation; unless, indeed, it be that you are conscious that the matter is one which *will not stand inquiry*. Those who think that the measure can be supported upon good grounds, should *court* inquiry; and those who hold a different opinion, should be permitted the privilege, that they may have an opportunity of proving that their views are just and reasonable.

I recommend inquiry, therefore; and that we should have an opportunity of considering whether any measure may be devised for the Irish people less liable to objection than this. For my own part, I hesitate not to express it as my conviction that the experiment will prove the most fatal ever tried. It is not an experiment which you can try, and then give over, if you do not find the results satisfactory. It is a step from which there is no retreating; and is therefore a step which should not be taken except under the pressure of extreme necessity, and with the most cautious deliberation. Even if more beneficial results were to be expected from it for the mitigation of present distress, than can be fairly anticipated, the

experiment is one of the most tremendous importance: and you should not commit yourselves to it unless after the most careful and deliberate consideration.

For these reasons I would implore your Lordships to pause before you fling yourselves into this *facilis descensus,* from which there is no retreating. Give a right of out-door relief to every destitute able-bodied man out of employment, and every poor man will throw himself out of employment, and thus acquire a legal qualification to relief—a relief which before long it will be found *impossible* to afford, and yet most *unsafe* to refuse. For the disastrous consequences of the measure will not stop after all the rental of Ireland has been swallowed up. You will have a *Jacquerie* insurrection; you will have outrages and turbulent risings of the Irish people; and with shame and sorrow you will have to retrace your steps at the expense of more misery and cost than you are seeking, by the enactment of this perilous measure, to avoid.

But, at any rate, do not shrink from inquiry; do not refuse to listen to evidence, if it be but to guard against the reproach of proceeding inconsiderately; of adopting a measure which is by most persons regarded as at least hazardous, and which none can deny to be unprecedented, and highly important, without the utmost precaution and the most dispassionate investigation.

APPENDIX.

THE motion having been lost on a division, the following protest against that decision was entered on the books of the House.

Dissentient,

1. Because, when it is proposed to legislate in opposition to the principles which, during the last half century, have been uniformly admitted by all writers of eminence, as well as by all parliamentary authorities, the refusal of inquiry implies a most culpable rashness.

2. Because the proposed measure is confessedly one of vast importance to the permanent welfare and safety of a large portion of the empire. It is a measure which even its advocates admit to be a great and hazardous experiment, and which is regarded by many as involving nothing less than a general confiscation; and the adoption of such a measure appears to us to call for the most accurate previous examination of all such reports and public documents as may throw light on the subject, in order that the Legislature may stand clear of the charge of a reckless and wanton disregard of the rights and happiness of our fellow-subjects.

3. Because we feel convinced that the proposed inquiry would have elicited, easily, in a short time, and conclusively, solutions to the following three most important questions—solutions which ought to be brought fully before the minds of those who shall have to decide finally on the proposed alteration of the Irish Poor-Law: 1. Whether it be, or be not, physically impossible (even with the best dispositions in all the parties concerned) that it can at all effect the proposed relief: 2. Whether the attempt will, or will not, have the effect of ruining both the owners and occupiers of land, and putting an entire stop to cultivation; and, 3. Whether it will not, by demoralizing the mass of the people, and permanently destroying the habits of industry and self-dependence, increase to a frightful extent the amount of pauperism and crime in Ireland, and ultimately exhaust the resources and endanger the safety of the United Kingdom.

4. Because, when it is proposed, on a sudden, temporary, unusual, and alarming emergency, to introduce not a merely temporary, but a permanent legislative measure, and that too a measure which it will be peculiarly difficult and dangerous to repeal hereafter, it behoves the Legislature to examine with a doubly scrupulous and anxious care the grounds on which such a measure is recommended, and the consequences to which it may lead; lest Parliament should incur merited reprobation as having augmented by such procedure the calamity which it is sought to remedy, and perpetuated and rendered incurable, evils which would otherwise have been only temporary.

(Signed) R. Dublin.
Monteagle.
Radnor.
Mount-Cashell.

I may be permitted to subjoin to this Protest the recorded opinions of some persons who are likely to have, on this particular point, greater weight than most others; especially as no attempt has been made, as far as I know, to shew, either that their judgment was erroneous, or that it is not applicable at the present time.

Lord John Russell, in proposing, in 1837, a Poor-Law for Ireland, said (as appears by the Reports), "A question arises whether you are to give relief in any other manner than it is now given in some of the improved districts in England; that is, by in-door relief to the paupers. The Poor-Law Commissioners have expressed a very strong opinion on this subject; and they give reasons *which*

I think are conclusive. They are of opinion, and I think with them, that the administration of *out-door relief would lead to a most pernicious system,* mixing up mendicancy and charity with labour. . . . and if we were to adopt this system, I certainly do think that not only would those evils take place in Ireland, that existed in England, but that those evils would be *very much greater,* and that out-door relief would absorb a much greater part of the profits of the land."

Lord Morpeth said, in the same debate, "I must give my most direct opposition to this proposal, thinking as I do that *the worst clauses in the English Poor-Law Act,* and those which tend most to mar its beneficial progress, are those which extend the right of *out-door relief.* If Parliament once consents to open the door to out-door relief in Ireland, *there would hardly be a family which would not take advantage of it, and throw themselves on the fund.*"

And the Marquis of Lansdowne, in August 1846, said that "it was a *system of a vicious character,* and one which, if adopted, must *lead to the complete confiscation* of the property of Ireland."

In reference to the debate in which I took part, it is important to notice two remarks made by speakers on the opposite side; as being, when *taken in conjunction,* decisive, as it appears to me, of the whole question. And it is the more needful to advert to these remarks, because, in the Reports, the one of them is but slightly and briefly recorded, and the other, wholly omitted.

One speaker dwelt on the necessity of a cordial co-operation of all parties throughout Ireland for carrying into effect the proposed measure, with diligence, firmness, vigilance, uprightness, and enlightened public spirit. Unless these qualities were exhibited by all classes, the measure, he admitted, could not but prove a most disastrous failure.

The other speaker, after adverting to the benevolence, sound discretion, vigilance, and devotion to the public service, which had been manifested in a few localities, remarked, that if in every part of Ireland, influential persons could be found thus qualified, and thus active in promoting the best interests of the people, then indeed, the proposed measure would be unnecessary; but that it would be utterly chimerical to calculate on meeting with such persons universally, or even generally: and on that ground he advocated the measure.

It is admitted then, be it remembered, by the advocates of the proposed law: 1st, that *it must prove a ruinous failure* unless *all parties and classes in every place combine* to carry it into effect, with

pure and enlightened public spirit—with a *wise, benevolent, and vigilant devotion* to their duties: and, 2dly, that *to expect to meet with* such qualifications, and such conduct generally, would be *a most extravagant miscalculation.*

Now when these two premisses are brought together, the conclusion is inevitable. The measure must be altogether mischievous and ruinous, *unless* it be administered in a manner in which we are morally certain it will *not* be administered.

I am the last person that would take advantage of expressions inadvertently dropped in the heat of debate, to represent as true, or as the real deliberate opinion of the speaker, what I did not believe to be so. But both of the above propositions, are, I am convinced, perfectly true, and also perfectly well known and sincerely believed, by every member of either House who is well acquainted with the working of Poor-Laws, generally, and well acquainted likewise with the circumstances of Ireland. One of these propositions may, and often, doubtless, does, chance to be out of the recollection of one who is uttering the other: but neither of them I conceive would be deliberately disbelieved by any one well qualified to form a judgment on the subject.

Now it is manifestly quite idle to advocate a certain law on the ground that it *would* work well under such an administration as we are sure will *not* take place. It was indeed urged by those who opposed the reform of the English Poor-Law, that the abuses, which had risen to such an alarming height, *might* be guarded against, and that it was *possible* to make the existing law work tolerably well; which was proved by what had taken place in five or six parishes; particularly that of Cookham, in which, under the superintendence of the Rev. Thomas Whately, the rates had been brought down to a mere trifle compared with their former amount; while the people at the same time were greatly improved in their condition, both physical and moral. But the reply to this was, that it is absurd to calculate on a union of rare qualifications, in each of a great number of persons, (about 14,000 would have been needed)—and that too, in perpetual succession—throughout all England.

But that Ireland is far inferior to England in respect of all the circumstances on which the good working of a Poor-Law must depend, no one, I conceive, can now have any doubt. Among other things, the party-animosities which have long been one of the greatest curses of Ireland, have been—as was foretold at the time by the opponents of the Poor-Law—exasperated and extended by its operation. The union-workhouses are for the most part productive of

anything but *union*, in the sense of concord. And every deficiency and difficulty that has ever been felt in England, in reference to a Poor-Law, has been found, and must be expected, to a much greater degree, in at least three-fourths of Ireland.

It is even conceivable that some who are now deprecating the proposed measure, chiefly from their fear that it may lead to indiscriminate relief and reckless expenditure, may consider it a point of consistency—if the Bill does pass—to adopt that very course, and to welcome with open arms the very danger they had shrunk from in prospect; that the law, when it does become law, may be carried out thoroughly. Such, at least, is the reasoning of some, who earnestly opposed the introduction of the existing Poor-Law on the very ground that it would be likely to lead to a system of out-door relief; and who now, since it did pass, advocate the adoption of that system, as being a legitimate consequence.

To me, such a procedure does not seem reasonable. It reminds me of the conduct of several of the persons who were induced to take what is called the "temperance pledge," from their strong conviction of the evil of drunkenness, and their dread that the bare taste of spirituous liquors would seduce them into it. It is remarked that most of those who have been in any way induced to "break the pledge," make a point of getting as drunk as possible, by way of verifying their former apprehension.

> "————— *Quæ res*
> Nec modum habet *neque consilium, ratione modoque*
> *Tractari non vult*. . . . . .
> . . . . . *Nihilo plus explicet ac si*
> Insanire *paret certâ* ratione *modoque*." [1]

In reference to what has passed in the other House, I will take leave to remark, that though the modification lately introduced, which requires applicants for relief to surrender any land they may occupy, (I presume, into the hands of the Lessor; else there will be collusive surrenders, to friends,) is, in the abstract, most judicious and fair, I am not without fears as to the feelings with which it will be received by the Irish poor: clinging, as is well known, to the holding of land as the sole stay for their families, in a country where there is very little prospect of any one's being able to support himself as an agricultural labourer, or—still less—as a manufacturing.

Another modification, which was very nearly carried in the other

[1] Horat. Sat. iii. p. 2.

House,—the imposing of the rates altogether on the occupiers, and not on the owners, would certainly have the very great advantage of giving to a great number of persons, a strong interest in keeping down the rates. But, on the other hand, it would greatly increase the difficulty and cost of collecting.[1]

The proposal to make portions of entailed estates, under certain circumstances, saleable, has much to recommend it, provided *it be not accompanied by a measure* which will be likely to render the land, before long, nearly, if not entirely, *valueless*, by imposing on it such a burden as may be expected soon to swallow up the entire rental. It will be vain to offer for sale lands which will find no purchasers, except a few rash speculators misinformed as to the real state of Ireland.

As for the hopes of security entertained by some intelligent persons from the enlargement of districts, I must say I cannot see any ground for them. If ten acres (or any other given quantity) of land, be inadequate to the support of ten families, ten thousand acres of the same land must be equally insufficient to support ten thousand families; though the larger the district, the less likely is the insufficiency to be *foreseen* and calculated on *beforehand*. A "rate-in-aid,"—as in the case of Cholesbury above referred to—would be prevented only by being *forestalled*. The ruin would come in a different form; but not less certainly, or less speedily. There would only be the difference of binding, like Mezentius, a living and healthy man to the corpse of one already dead, and binding him beforehand to one just about to die.

It has also been suggested that the workhouses might be made to relieve a greater number of the able-bodied destitute, if the *impotent* poor were sent to their homes, and allowed to receive relief out of the workhouse.

This plan I am disposed to think might prove, in some localities at least, very beneficial; *provided* there be *no* able-bodied relieved *except* in the workhouse. But if once a legal right to relief out of the workhouse be conceded, all expedients, I fear, that may be devised for guarding against the consequent evils, will be like attempts to stop a torrent with a bulrush.

A well organized and vigorous system of emigration, and of colonization combined with it, (a subject which I will not here enter on,)

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[1] It was ultimately abandoned; chiefly I believe through the fear—I believe well-founded—that it would be found impossible to guard against the misapprehensions of the measure, which, in such a country as Ireland, would not fail to arise.

will be, I am convinced, the only mode of relieving Ireland—unless we wait for the operation of famine and pestilence—from that now superabundant population which presents an insuperable obstacle to its ultimate improvement.

Even taking a purely economical view of the matter, I would entreat any one to compute carefully the annual cost of maintaining, for ever, a given number of persons—to say nothing of their probable increase—for whom no profitable employment can be found; then let him estimate the outlay necessary, once for all, to settle as colonists the same number of persons, in such a way as to enable them thenceforward to support themselves in plenty; and let the annual *permanent* burden of the former procedure be compared with the *interest* of the sum required for the other.

Respecting emigration, had the recommendations of the Poor-Inquiry-Commission of 1836 been attended to at the time, the difficulties to be encountered would have been far less, and less pressing, than now. But sooner or later, the measure must, I am convinced, be resorted to; and the longer we delay it through fear of the difficulties to be encountered, the greater these difficulties will be, and the less the relief afforded. We may now purchase two of the Sybilline books at the price originally demanded for three; some time hence, we may be compelled to pay the same price, for one.

Since the above was written, the Committee on Emigration moved for by Lord Monteagle, and of which he was Chairman, has sat, and has sent in a highly valuable Report.

ON PENAL COLONIES.

"It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant."—LORD BACON.

SINCE the first publication of the following pages, the principles advocated in them have been in some degree admitted, and the evils complained of have been partially mitigated. But if even an entire change of system were to take place, the evils resulting from long perseverance in a wrong course are not to be very speedily or easily remedied. Let any one but compute the amount of mischief that has been done even during the QUARTER OF A CENTURY that has elapsed since I first called attention to the subject (to say nothing of what had been going on long before), and he will be sensible that the most energetic and judicious measures would be needed to undo that mischief, even in thrice as long a period.

I have thought it right, therefore, to reprint a considerable portion of the Tracts I had published on the subject, as they have been for some time out of print; and thus to leave my readers to judge how far subsequent experience, and, in part, even the testimony of opponents, has confirmed what I advanced.

[E.]

ARTICLE ON TRANSPORTATION,

FROM THE LONDON REVIEW, 1829.

1. *Report from the Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions.* 1828.
2. *New South Wales. Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated* 1 *May,* 1828, *for a Copy of a Report by the late Major-General Macquarie, &c., and an Extract of a Letter from Major-General Macquarie to Earl Bathurst, in October,* 1823, *in answer to a certain part of the Report of Mr. Commissioner Bigge, on the State of the said Colony, &c.*
3. *Two Years in New South Wales; comprising Sketches of the actual State of Society in that Colony; of its peculiar Advantages to Emigrants; of its Topography, Natural History, &c. &c.* By P. Cunningham, Surgeon, R.N. 2 vols. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. 1827.

We remember to have heard an anecdote of a gentleman who, in riding through the deep and shady Devonshire lanes, became entangled in the intricacies of their numberless windings; and not being able to obtain a sufficiently wide view of the country to know whereabouts he was, trotted briskly on, in the confident hope that he should at length come to some house whose inhabitants would direct him, or to some more open spot from which he could take a survey of the different roads, and observe whither they led. After proceeding a long time in this manner, he was surprised to find a perfect uniformity in the country through which he passed, and to meet with no human Being, or come in sight of any habitation. He was however encouraged by observing, as he advanced, the prints of horses' feet, which indicated that he was in no unfrequented track: these became continually more and more numerous the further he went, so as to afford him a still increasing assurance of his being in the immediate neighbourhood of some great road or populous village; and he accordingly paid the less anxious attention to the bearings of the country, from being confident that he was in the right way.

But still he saw neither house nor human creature; and, at length, the recurrence of the same objects by the roadside opened his eyes to the fact, that all this time, misled by the multitude of the turnings, he had been riding in a circle; and that the footmarks, the sight of which had so cheered him, were *those of his own horse;* their number, of course, increasing with every circuit he took. Had he not fortunately made this discovery, perhaps he might have been riding there now.

The truth of the tale (and we can assure our readers that *we* at least did not invent it) does not make it the less useful by way of apologue: and the moral we would deduce from it is, that in many parts of the conduct of life, and not least in government and legislation, men are liable to *follow the track of their own footsteps,*—to set themselves an example,—and to flatter themselves that they are going right, from their conformity to their own precedent.

It is commonly and truly said, when any *new and untried* measure is proposed, that we cannot fully estimate the inconveniences it may lead to in practice; but we are convinced this is even still more the case with any system which has *long been in operation.* The evils to which it may contribute, and the obstacles it may present to the attainment of any good, are partly overlooked or lightly regarded, on account of their familiarity, partly attributed to such other causes as perhaps really do co-operate in producing the same effects, and ranked along with the unavoidable alloys of human happiness,—the inconveniences from which no human policy can entirely exempt us. In some remote and unimproved districts, if you complain of the streets of a town being dirty and dark, as those of London were for many ages, the inhabitants tell you that the nights are cloudy and the weather rainy: as for their streets, they are just *such as they have long been;* and the expedient of paving and lighting has occurred to nobody. The ancient Romans had, probably, no idea that a civilized community could exist without slaves. That the same work can be done much better and cheaper by freemen, and that their odious system contained the seeds of the destruction of their empire, were truths which, familiarized as they were to the then existing state of society, they were not likely to suspect. "If you allow of no plundering," said an astonished Mahratta chief to some English officers, "how is it possible for you to maintain such fine armies as you bring into the field?" He and his ancestors, time out of mind, had doubtless been *following their own footsteps* in the established routine; and had accordingly never dreamed that pillage is inexpedient as a source of revenue, or even

one that can possibly be dispensed with.[1] *Recent* experiment, indeed, may bring to light and often exaggerate the defects of a new system; but *long familiarity* blinds us to those very defects.

What we would infer from these general remarks, is the importance of reviewing, from time to time, those parts of our legislative system which are supposed to have the sanction of experience, but to whose real consequences our eyes are likely to have been blinded by custom. Custom may bring men to consider many evils unavoidable, merely because they have never hitherto been avoided; and to reason like those Arabs of whom the story is related, who concluded that a country must be miserable which had no date-trees, merely because dates had always been, *to them*, the staff of life. Nothing, indeed, should be hastily altered on the ground merely that it is not, in practice, perfect; since this is not to be expected of any system. And we should remember also that custom will often blind men to the good, as well as to the evil effects, of any long-established system. The agues engendered by a marsh, (like that ancient one which bore the name, and surrounded the city, of Camarina,) and which have so long been common as to be little regarded, may not be its only effects: it may be also a defence against an enemy. The Camarinæans having drained the swamp,[2] their city became healthy, but was soon after besieged and taken. The *preventive* effects, indeed, whether good or evil, of any long-established system, are hardly ever duly appreciated. But though no law or system, whether actually existing or proposed, can be expected to be unexceptionable, or should have its defects pointed out without any notice of corresponding advantages, it is most important to *examine* every measure, whether new or old, and to try it on its intrinsic merits; always guarding against the tendency to acquiesce without inquiry into the necessity of any existing practice. In short, we should, on the one hand, not venture rashly on untrodden paths without a careful survey of the country; and, on the other hand, be ever on our guard against following, in confident security, the *track of our own footsteps.*

We have no intention of entering, at present, on so wide a field as the examination of the subject of crimes and punishments generally; but we wish to call the attention of our readers to the

[1] "That is the way it is always, done, Sir;" or "We always do so and so;" are the answers generally returned by the Vulgar to an inquiry as to the reason of any practice.

[2] In opposition to the oracle,

Μὴ κίνει Καμάριναν, ἀκίνητος γὰρ ἀμείνων.

consideration of one particular class of them with reference to the existing state of the law among ourselves. The subject is not an agreeable one; but as long as crimes exist, and punishments are, in consequence, necessary to check them, there can hardly be one of much greater importance. The theory of punishment is usually regarded as too elementary to require or admit of a detailed discussion; but it often happens that principles are, in practice, overlooked, from the very circumstance of their being so obvious as to be never disputed, and, consequently, seldom adverted to. And it will be found accordingly in this, oftener perhaps than in any other subject, that the same truths which, when stated generally, are regarded as truisms not worth insisting on, will, in their practical application, be dreaded as the most startling paradoxes. We are convinced, therefore, that those who are best acquainted with the subject, will be the least disposed to complain of our laying down distinctly in the outset, the principles from which our deductions are made.

We may be allowed then to premise the remark, that there are three, and only three objects, with a view to which punishments can be inflicted or threatened: 1st. *Retribution*, or vengeance;—a desire to allot a proportionate suffering to each degree of moral guilt, independent of any ulterior consideration, and solely with a view to the *past* ill-desert of the offender: 2ndly. What may be called *correction*;—the prevention of a *repetition* of offence by the *same* individual; whether by his reformation, or removal: 3rdly. The *prevention* of the offence, generally, by the terror of a punishment denounced; whether that object be attained by the *example* of a culprit suffering the penalty, or, simply, by the mere threat and *apprehension* of it. To these appropriate objects may be added another, *incidental* advantage, not belonging to *punishments, as such*, but common to them with other legislative enactments;—the public benefit, in an economical point of view, which may be, conceivably, derived directly from a punishment; as when criminals are usefully employed on any public work, so as to make in that way some compensation to society for the injury done to it. Such a compensation, however, we should remember, must necessarily be so very inadequate, that this object should always be made completely subordinate to the main end or ends proposed in the denunciation of punishment.

And what *is* to be regarded as the great object? All probably would admit, in the abstract, whatever they may do in practice, that it is the *prevention* of crime. As for the first of the purposes just enumerated, the infliction of just vengeance on the guilty, it is

clearly out of *man's* province. Setting aside the consideration that the circumstances on which moral guilt depends, the inward motives of the offender, his temptations, and the opportunities he may have had of learning his duty, can never be perfectly known but to the Searcher of hearts,—setting aside this, it does not appear that Man, even if the degrees of moral turpitude could be ascertained by him, would have a right to inflict on his fellow-man any punishment whatever, whether heavy or light, of which the ultimate object should be, the suffering of the offender. Such a procedure, in individuals, is distinctly forbidden by the Founder of our religion, as a sinful revenge: and it does not appear how individuals combined into a community can impart to that community any right which none of them individually possessed;—can bestow, in short, *on themselves* what is not theirs to bestow. Our Saviour and his apostles did not mean to deprive even an individual of the right of defending (when there is no other defence to be had) his own person and property; and this right he is competent to transfer, and is considered as having transferred, to the community; but they meant to forbid the "rendering of evil for evil," for its *own sake:* and as no man is authorized to do this, or can authorize others to exercise such a right, even over himself, so neither can ten men or ten millions possess any such right to inflict vengeance; for "vengeance is mine, saith the Lord."

Of the other two, which are legitimate objects of punishment, the prevention of a repetition of the offence by the same individual, whether by his reform or removal, is clearly of incalculably less importance (desirable as it is in itself) than the other, the prevention of crime generally, by the terror of example or of threat. If we could ever so completely attain the other objects, by some expedient which would yet fail of, or very inadequately accomplish, this last, such a system must be at once pronounced inefficacious. Could we be sure of accomplishing the reformation of every convicted criminal, at the same time making his services available to the public, yet if the method employed should be such as to deter no one from committing the offence, society could not exist under such a system. On the other hand, if the punishment denounced had no other tendency whatever but to deter, and could be *completely* effectual in that, it is plain that it would entirely supersede all other expedients, since *it would never even be inflicted.* This truth, though self-evident, is frequently overlooked in practice, from the necessary *imperfection* of all our expedients. Hardly any *denunciation* of punishment ever was thus completely effectual; and thence men are often led to look

to the actual *infliction* as the object contemplated. Whereas it is evident, that every instance of the infliction of a punishment is an instance, as far as it goes, of the *failure* of the legislator's design. No axiom in Euclid can be more evident than that the object of the legislator in enacting that murderers shall be hanged and pilferers imprisoned or transported, is, not to load the gallows, fill the jail, and people New Holland, but to prevent the commission of murder and theft; and that consequently every man who is hanged, or transported, or confined, is an instance, *pro tanto*, of the inefficacy, *i. e.* want of *complete* efficacy, of the law. The imprisonment may reform the offender; death removes him from the possibility of again troubling society; and the example may in either case operate to deter others in *future;* but the very necessity of inflicting the punishment proves that the dread of that punishment has, so far at least, failed of producing the desired effect. This absolute perfection indeed—the entire prevention of crime—is a point unattainable; but it is a point to which we may approach indefinitely;—it is the point towards which our measures must be always tending, and we must estimate their wisdom by the degrees of their approach to it.

We have dwelt, at the risk of being thought tedious, on these first principles, because many of the maxims inevitably resulting from them are so perpetually violated in practice, that some persons would even be startled at the inculcation of them:—because, in short, the present case is one where the premisses pass for truisms, and the conclusions, frequently, for extravagant paradoxes. Even those who are too intelligent and too well taught not to be fully aware of the true end of human punishments, are perpetually liable to be led into a forgetfulness of it by the circumstance that the same action may be at once a *sin* and a *crime*—an act of moral turpitude, and also one calling for legal punishment on grounds of political expediency;—yet may be of incalculably different magnitude according as it is viewed in this light or in that; and may be even aggravated in the one point of view by the very circumstances which extenuate it in the other. So that if we lose sight for a moment of the precise object with which we are considering any offence, we are liable to draw a conclusion not only wide of the truth, but exactly opposite to it. *E. g.* it is plain that the strength of the temptations to any offence is an extenuation of the moral guilt of the offender; and it is no less plain, and is a rule on which legislators act—as in the case of stealing sheep and other necessarily exposed property—that this very circumstance calls for the heavier punishment to counterbalance it, in order to prevent the

offence. Yet we have known an intelligent writer, doubtless well aware of this principle, but losing sight of it through the inadvertency just alluded to, contend for the justice of a more severe punishment in the case of offenders whose temptations are less, in consideration of the increased moral guilt of the offence. After remarking that confinement to hard labour, &c. is a far severer infliction on persons of the higher ranks, he adds, that rank and education ought not to lighten punishment, because if they make the feelings more susceptible to an equal infliction, it must be remembered also that the moral restraint and social obligation were the stronger, and that the violation of them *merits* a severer suffering. And so it does, in a *moral* point of view; which is evidently that which the author was inadvertently taking; forgetting, for the moment, the proper end of legislative enactments. Into the very same error no less a writer than Adam Smith has been betrayed, in condemning the punishments denounced against smuggling, for being more severe in proportion to the strength of the temptation; which, he says, is contrary to the principles of just legislation. (Wealth of Nations, p. v. c. 2.)

But to proceed to our inquiry: there is no question perhaps more perplexing to the legislator than the treatment of that class of offenders whose crimes fall short of capital, and yet are such as cannot be adequately repressed by pecuniary mulct, or such corporal chastisements as are now in use among us. The majority of offences of this description are at present visited by sentence of transportation. We say "*sentence* of transportation," because in a large proportion of cases, including a great majority of those in which the sentence is for seven years only, actual transportation is not the punishment inflicted; but confinement with hard labour, either on board the hulks or in the Penitentiary, is substituted, either for the whole term, or for some part of it.

> "Dic, ... quo discrimine, ripas
> Hæ linquunt, illæ remis vada livida verrunt."

There may be reasons to justify such a system of uncertainty; but they ought to be very strong ones; for it seems on the face of it open to many objections. It is universally admitted that the certainty of punishment, *i. e.* of receiving *some* punishment, is far more effectual in deterring from crime, than severity; because the same kind of disposition which leads men to venture in a lottery, viz. the tendency to calculate on their own good luck, makes them more willing to run some small risk of a very heavy penalty, than to

encounter a certainty, or nearly a certainty, of the lightest. In fact, if every man could be quite sure of being speedily visited, though with a moderate punishment, for every transgression, hardly any would ever incur it. And this is the point to which, though not perfectly attainable, we should always endeavour to approach as nearly as possible. Now it seems to be consonant to this principle, that we should remove, as far as can be done, every kind of uncertainty in reference to punishments. And though it is out of man's power to insure the *detection and conviction* of every offender, it evidently *is* possible to let every one know beforehand the precise meed of punishment which will await him *in case of* his being convicted. This, we say, is possible to be done to the fullest extent; but should that be, for any reason, judged inconvenient, at least there should be *as little* uncertainty as possible. For otherwise, may it not be inferred from the natural character of Man, that each malefactor, in addition to the chances of escaping conviction, will, and does, console himself with the hope of undergoing that species of punishment, which, to him, is the lightest? Like a party of gamblers at *rouge et noir*, all buoyed up with hope, some in the confidence that success will attend the red, others the black, convicts who have taken tickets in our penal lottery, flatter themselves with opposite hopes; he who dreads nothing so much as a penitentiary, that he shall *only* be transported; and he who is most afraid (if there be any such) of expatriation, that he shall *not* be transported, but left in the penitentiary or the hulks.

We are aware that no penalty can be devised which shall be of precisely equal severity to every one who undergoes it. A punishment which is the most dreaded by one man, on account of his peculiar feelings and habits, is to another, of opposite habits, comparatively light. Nor, again, can any system be framed which will allot, with perfect regularity, to each class of characters, the punishment most dreaded by each. But one of the inconveniences, and perhaps one of the greatest, of the system of complete uncertainty to which we have been objecting, is that it precludes the legislature from profiting by *experience:* indeed, from acquiring any, concerning the respective efficacy of different kinds of punishment. For it should be remembered that, with a view to the main object, prevention, it is, in all cases, the *expectation*, not the *infliction* of the punishment, that does good; the only benefit that can arise from the example of the infliction being, the excitement in others of this expectation;—the wholesome terror of suffering the like. Now this benefit can only exist as far as men are led to anticipate for them-

selves, in case of a similar offence, a similar suffering. The infliction of a whipping is no *example* to thieves, on the mere ground that the person so chastised is a thief and is whipped for it, but on the ground that *other* thieves may *expect* hereafter to be whipped. Yet this maxim, truism as it is, is practically violated in every instance in which it is left to chance to decide which, out of several different punishments, a certain convict shall receive. There are *then* no means of judging which of these are more, and which are less, efficacious in deterring offenders. A certain kind of punishment, we will suppose, may be inflicted on a considerable number of convicts, without any diminution of that class of offences; and yet, for aught we know, this very punishment may be an object of dread to those very men, and might have deterred most of them, if they had been assured *what* punishment awaited them. The labourer at the hulks, if we could dive into his thoughts, might perhaps be found to have offended, not in defiance of the hulks, but of transportation: and he who groans under solitary confinement, might prove to be one who thought little of imprisonment among good company on board the hulks. As long as this uncertainty remains, all our judgments respecting the comparative efficacy of punishments must remain involved in equal uncertainty. No legislator can decide what penalty malefactors most *dread*, unless he knows what they *expect*. On the other hand, any penalty which should be invariably inflicted on a certain class of offenders, even should it prove wholly ineffectual, would at least have served the purpose of an *experiment;* we should have *ascertained* its inefficacy, and might proceed to change it for another. But on the opposite plan, our practice neither springs from experience, nor tends to produce experience; we cannot refer effects to their causes; but are left to proceed by guess and at random from beginning to end.

Now if it be the fact, (and we shall presently proceed to shew that it is at least highly probable,) that actual transportation is, to most offenders, either a very slight punishment, or a *reward*, it will be evident from what has been just said that this circumstance will not only nullify the effect of transportation itself as a preventive of crime, but will also impair the efficacy of such *other* penalties as are liable to be commuted for it. It is opening a door to hope. And in legal enactments the same rule holds good, as in mechanics: nothing is stronger than its weakest part. If a poor man is convinced (we wish the supposition were impossible and inconceivable) that a trip to Botany Bay would be the best thing that could befall him, he may be even tempted by such a belief to steal a sheep in the hope

of a free passage, and to run the risk of being sent to the hulks instead; trusting that he shall have better luck than that: especially if there be some *aggravation* in his offence, which will procure him a sentence of fourteen instead of seven years; in which case actual transportation is much the more likely to be the consequence.

But can there be any, some of our readers will perhaps say, to whom transportation really is no punishment? Doubtless to a person in a tolerably comfortable situation in his own country, and whose habits are quiet and regular, a four months' voyage, and a settlement, either permanent or temporary, at the antipodes, is likely to be felt as a grievous exile; to say nothing of the abridgement of liberty and compulsory labour. But the higher classes, or indeed those in any class, will fall into great errors if they judge too hastily of the feelings of others by their own, and conclude that every thing must be felt by all as a punishment, which would be such to themselves. If a fine lady or gentleman were promised a sight of a criminal sentenced to hard labour, and were to be shown a man occupied all day in raking mud out of a ditch, and dining on hard dumpling with dripping poured over it, (the Suffolk dainty,) they might perhaps think his punishment too severe, and might be surprised to be told that he was, after all, no criminal, but an honest labourer, who was very well satisfied to get such good employment; and that, though probably he would be glad of better diet, more beer, and less work, he would find himself as uncomfortable if confined to the mode of life and occupations of those who pitied him, as *they* would be in the scene of his highest enjoyment, the chimney-corner of a dirty alehouse. In fact, the great mass of mankind are sentenced to hard labour by the decree of Providence. And though a tolerably steady character, in tolerable circumstances, will usually prefer undergoing this lot in "his own, his native land," to the chance of even bettering his condition in another, it is well known that all men are not steady characters, nor all in even tolerable circumstances: multitudes are every way exposed to the trials of "*malesuada* fames, ac turpis egestas."

The man who is able and willing to work hard, yet is unable with his utmost exertions to provide bare necessaries for his wife and family without resorting to parish relief,—the man who, without being incorrigibly idle, has a distaste for steady hard work, rewarded with a bare subsistence, and a taste for the luxuries of the lower orders, yet cannot acquire them by honest means,—the man who by his irregularities has so far hurt his character that he cannot obtain employment except when hands are scarce,—these, and many other

very common descriptions of persons, are so situated that transportation can hardly be expected to be viewed by them as any punishment. As a punishment, we mean, when viewed in comparison with the *alternative* of living by honest industry: for it would be absurd to say that, to lazy vagabonds, the necessity of labour is itself a punishment: they *dislike* it indeed, but they cannot *avoid it by abstaining from crime.* Labour they must at any rate, or else steal, or starve; and *that* only can operate as a preventive punishment which it is in one's power to avoid by good conduct. It would be ridiculous to exhort a poor man not to subsist by stealing but by hard labour, lest he should be condemned to hard labour! If every thing that a man *dislikes* is to be regarded as therefore a *punishment* to him, we might hope to deter people from stealing by the threat of merely compelling them to restore what they steal; for they all probably would agree with Falstaff in "hating restitution, as double trouble." Yet a man would be reckoned an idiot, who should say, "brave the cold contentedly in your own clothes, and do not steal my cloak; for if you do, I will—if I *can catch you*—make you pull it off again."

We should apologize for noticing a truth so obvious were we not convinced that it is often overlooked, in consequence of the difference, in effect, of the same sentence, on different persons. To one brought up in refinement, a sentence to wield the spade or axe, and live on plentiful though coarse food for seven years, would be felt as a very heavy punishment for flagrant misconduct, and might induce him to abstain from such misconduct; to the majority of mankind, it is the very bonus held out for good conduct.

To the great bulk of those, therefore, who are sentenced to transportation, the *punishment* amounts to this, that they are carried to a Country whose climate is delightful, producing in profusion all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of life;—that they have a certainty of maintenance, instead of an uncertainty; are better fed, clothed, and lodged, than (by *honest means*) they ever were before; have an opportunity of regaling themselves at a cheap rate with all the luxuries they are most addicted to;—and if their conduct is not intolerably bad, are permitted, even before the expiration of their term, to become settlers on a fertile farm, which with very moderate industry they may transmit as a sure and plentiful provision to their children. Whatever other advantages this system may possess, it certainly does not look like a very terrific punishment. Æsop, we are told, remonstrated with a man who, when bitten by a dog, attempted the superstitious cure for the wound by giving the beast

bread dipped in the blood: if the dogs, said he, find this out, they will all fall upon us in hopes of these sops. We fear the shrewd old fabulist would entertain similar apprehensions from what is called our humane system of laws.

Perhaps therefore, all things considered, it is as well that the execution of *such* a sentence should take place in the other hemisphere, that the lower orders in England may have the less opportunity of comparing their own condition with that of the convicts. If the punishment really *were* a punishment likely to strike terror, there would be a very serious objection to its being removed so far from the knowledge or notice of those whom it is designed to deter. But let any man of common sense judge how far those under a temptation to any crime are likely to be deterred, by a knowledge of such facts as Mr. Cunningham, among others, lays before us:—

"I question much, however, whether many *English* labourers live better than our convict-servant here, whose weekly ration consists of a sufficiency of flour to make four quartern loaves at least; of seven pounds of beef; two ounces of tea, one pound of sugar, and two ounces of tobacco, with the occasional substitution of two or three quarts of milk daily for the tea and sugar allowance. Numbers of the English working poor would doubtless be happy to bargain for such a diet; and thus their situation might in these points be bettered, by their being placed upon an equality with *convicts!*"

The natives of the sister-island, it seems, have their eyes more speedily opened to the advantages of their lot than ourselves:—

"The Irish convicts are more happy and contented with their situation on board, than the English, although more loth to leave their country, even improved as the situation of the great body of them is by being thus removed,—numbers telling me they had never been half so well off in their lives before. It was most amusing to read the letters they sent to their friends on being fairly settled on board, (all such going through the surgeon's hands,) none ever failing to give a most circumstantial account of what the breakfast, dinner, and supper, consisted of; a minute list of the clothes supplied, and generally laying particular emphasis on the important fact of having a blanket and bed to 'my own self *entirely*,' which seemed to be somewhat of a novelty by their many circumlocutions about it. One observed, in speaking of the ship, that 'Mr. Reedy's parlour was never half so *clane*,' while the burden of another was, 'Many a *Mac* in your town, if he only knew what the situation of a convict was, would not be long in following my example! Thank God for the same! I never was better off in my life!' "

This dangerous knowledge however does, not unfrequently, reach this country also; and may be expected to be more and more generally diffused, and to lead to its natural results. Sundry instances have come under our own observation, (and many of our readers probably could multiply them to a great extent, if each would note down such as he hears of on good authority,) of convicts writing home to their friends in England in the same style of self-congratulation, and exhorting such of them as are in a distressed situation to *use their best endeavours* to obtain a passage to a land where such cheering prospects await them.[1] Two instances we

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[1] The Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1831, to inquire into the best mode of giving efficiency to secondary punishments, examined Potter Macqueen, Esq. He possessed some property in New South Wales, although he had never been in that country. In the course of his examination (see 1st Report, p. 92) he was asked:—"Are you able to state, from the communications you have had with persons in that country, what is the general condition of convicts who are in the employment of settlers?" ——"I have had regular agents of my own, and have received their accounts at stated periods. From being a Member of Parliament, for a considerable space of time, I have had communication made to me from many of the most opulent settlers. I have had statements of their supposed grievances made to me, for the purpose of procuring an amendment to those grievances. I have had, in my own employment, from sixty to ninety convicts yearly. I have considered, from the average expense, as forwarded to me by my agent there, that these convicts have been placed in the possession of relative comforts which, had I to provide the same comforts for my own labourers in Bedfordshire, would cost me £56. 10*s.* a man per annum; and, at the same time, labourers in my own district have averaged for their support £8 per annum."

"That is taking a single man?"—— "I am taking the average of a family; a man and his wife and three children costing a parish £40."

"What are the average wages of an unmarried man in Bedfordshire?"—— "The average of an unmarried man, taken from the returns made to Parliament, is 4*s.* per week."

"About £10 a-year?"——"Yes; I have instances, in my own knowledge, of lads who get up in the morning, walk three miles to their master's residence, and walk back to their miserable cottage at night, and get 4*s.* at this moment."

"Of what age?"——"Sixteen, seventeen and eighteen. I believe I have evidence of overseers to bring forward if the Committee wish for it."

"In point of fact, you consider the condition of the convict labourer in New South Wales, as infinitely superior to that of the agricultural labourer of this country?"——"Infinitely so; and I have found from my own experience, as a magistrate, that many persons have asked what extent of crime would insure their transportation?"

"You think, in short, comparative comforts are enjoyed by the convicts in New South Wales which are unknown to the agricultural population in Bed-

know, of a master, and a mistress, who had each been robbed by a servant subsequently transported, receiving a friendly greeting, in one of the instances personally, in the other, by a letter, accompanied by a present, with acknowledgments of former kindness, from these very servants, who had realized large property, one of them in New Holland, the other in Van Dieman's Land. The latter seriously urged her mistress to come out and join her, promising herself to patronize and assist her, and holding out the certainty of making a fortune! It is most consolatory, no doubt, to reflect how thrifty and well-conducted these individuals must, in all likelihood, have become, and to observe their dutiful gratitude. But gold may be bought too dear. Is it worth while to hold out a temptation which will be the means of spoiling one thousand servants, for the sake of trying how effectually we can reform half a dozen of them—

"Only to shew with how small pain,
A wound like this is heal'd again?"

Shall we, in short, to cure one bite, throw a sop to the dog which will bring a whole pack upon us?

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fordshire?"——"Certainly; and I have a letter in Bedfordshire which I could send for in a few days. I have an extract from it, which may set the question at rest. Five years ago a young man, a wheelwright, of the name of Northwood, was brought before me for poaching in the Duke of Bedford's wood. He was a tall handsome young man, nineteen years of age; he had been three years indented to a wheelwright; I did not like to send him to prison as a poacher. I have always found commitment to prison is the first step to make a confirmed vagabond. I recommended him to enter the King's service: he accordingly entered a regiment which happened to be under orders for New South Wales, I believe the 39th. On his arrival at Sidney, he writes to his father a letter, in which he says, 'The pay of wheelwrights here is 15*s*. per day; and there is a gentleman who will agree to pay for my discharge, and I will work for him so long for a less rate of wages, as we can agree upon.' He begs I will send him out his indenture, to prove he has been three years at work in Bedfordshire, which I have done. I believe he is going on exceedingly well. He then proceeds to give his family some information of the Bedfordshire transports, whom he has already recognized in the colony. He says, 'Norman Hughes (a convict transported for stealing wheat, a most notorious character in Bedfordshire) has taken a large farm in M'Quarrie's Harbour, and is doing extremely well. Philip Hibbs (a boy about 18, transported for picking pockets) receives £50 a year wages, as tapster of the Commercial Tavern.' This letter was read over among the agricultural labourers of Bedfordshire; the effect of it was only this,—they were anxious to know what they would commit to entitle them to be transported."

As to the effect of the punishment on convicts, *See* the evidence of Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield, quoted in the second Appendix.

It may perhaps be said, that such instances of rapid accumulation of wealth must be very rare; and that many of the accounts transmitted are probably much overcharged. We should answer, so much the worse. The mischief is done, not by the *attainment* of these advantages in New South Wales, but by the *expectation* of them excited at home. A very few prizes of twenty or thirty thousand pounds will induce multitudes to take tickets. False descriptions may excite real hopes; and if the credulous are allured by these hopes, it is no comfort to think that they are ultimately disappointed; on the contrary, it is an aggravation of the evil; since our object is, not the *infliction* of suffering, but the excitement of a salutary *dread* of it, at the least expense of actual pain that is compatible with that object. If it were possible that we could carry offenders to an Elysium, and at the same time succeed in keeping up the *belief* that they were carried to a Tartarus, this would be of all things the most desirable; but if they *expect*, whether truly or not, a passage to Elysium, our object is completely defeated. As long as such hopes, however visionary, are kept up, we must expect to find the distressed or discontented part of the community resembling (according to the felicitous allusion to the Æneid by one of our contemporaries) the disconsolate ghosts on the banks of Styx:—

> "Stubant orantes primi transmittere cursum
> Tendebantque manus, ripæ ulterioris amore."

We find Mr. Cunningham, whose testimony is the more important, on account of his being *a decided advocate for the system of colonizing with convicts*, distinctly admitting that hitherto, *i. e.* for about forty years during which this system has been in operation, it has totally failed of the main object, the deterring of offenders by the fear of punishment; but he consoles himself with the hope that hereafter a better method will be pursued, and so that transportation may begin to be really penal.

"A penal colony, however, to prove fully beneficial to the mother country, must be regulated so as efficiently to *punish* the crime committed, before the *reform* of the criminal is thought of; and in this particular has hitherto consisted the great defect of our New South Wales system; for transportation here could scarcely be called a punishment, and indeed, in half of the cases at least, proved a *reward*. The judicious measures, however, commenced by our present Governor, promise a speedy reform in these matters, and will, I hope, convert the colony from a *Paradise*, into a *purgatory*, for criminals."

We do not dispute that improvements may be introduced into the system; but the only effectual one, we are convinced, will be to abandon it altogether. Means doubtless may be used to make transportation no longer altogether a reward; but it does not follow that even then it will operate as a punishment; and we must be ever on our guard against concluding at once (according to the fallacy above noticed) that it does so, on the ground of criminals beginning to *dread* and *dislike* it; they must dread and dislike it *more*, much more, than a life of honest industry, before it can operate as a check to those whose only alternative is such a life, or one of dishonesty; and who are disposed to prefer the latter. We have said that this penal labour ought to be *much* more dreaded than honest industry, for two reasons; first, on account of the uncertainty of the criminal's detection: he who had rather steal than submit to ordinary hard work, will *take his chance* of being sent to Botany Bay, unless his punishment there is apprehended to be something far beyond ordinary hard work: secondly, on account of the hope held out, (and which it is a principal design of the system to hold out,) that at the expiration of his term, if not sooner, he shall be located on a farm, and placed in a situation exceeding the brightest dreams of an English cottager. This hope will need much to counterbalance it, if transportation is to become a dreaded punishment. Mr. C. trusts it will become a purgatory; but he must remember it is one which, like the Popish purgatory, leads to a Paradise.

Supposing this point, however, to be fully attained,—and to suppose it, is what Johnson would call "the triumph of hope over experience,"—still it would be a long time after the completion of this change, before the character of it would be so fully *understood* in England as to do away the impression produced by forty previous years of impunity and reward. And till then—till the reformation of the discipline in New South Wales were fully appreciated in England, no good whatever would be effected by the change; for, as we must once more repeat, it is not suffering, but the *expectation* of suffering, that does good. Generation after generation of criminals would be shipped off before the truth was completely learned, that the same sentence which formerly implied nothing terrific, was at length become a serious penalty. And lastly, the effect must even, after all, be comparatively trifling, of a punishment undergone at the distance of a four months' voyage.

That a system, on the face of it so little calculated to secure the great end of punishment, the prevention of crime, should have been

so long persevered in,—indeed, should have ever been resorted to,—is to be attributed, we conceive, chiefly to the hope of attaining those other objects which we have already noticed as of a subordinate character: viz. first, reform, or at least, removal, of the individual culprits; and, secondly, the benefit to the colony resulting from their labour. It may, perhaps, be thought scarcely necessary even to notice these supposed advantages, because, as we have above remarked, could these be attained in the utmost perfection, yet if the great object, prevention, were not accomplished, the whole scheme must be regarded as a failure. We shall, however, venture on a few remarks relative to these subordinate objects, because, we conceive, that the expediency of the present system, even with a view to them alone, is greatly over-rated.

With respect to the reformation of offenders, that it has been, in some instances, more or less perfectly attained, there can be no doubt: but that, in the generality of cases, the discipline undergone in the colony should be sufficient even to *undo the evil of the passage*—to remove but the additional contamination contracted during the voyage out—is more than either reasonable conjecture, or experience, would allow us to hope. For let any one but consider the probable effects of a close intercourse for four months, of a number of criminals of various ages, and degrees of guilt, with *nothing whatever to do* in all that time but to talk over their exploits of roguery! They must be like grass heaped together in a green state, and suffered to become *mow-burnt* before it is spread out and turned. That would deserve to be called a mighty reformation, which should even bring them back to their former state, and leave them merely no worse than they were before the voyage. Of the sort of life led by the convicts during the passage, Mr. C. gives nearly such an account as might have been anticipated.

"A man being estimated in this kind of society according to the amount and adroitness of his villanies, it is no wonder that the yet 'mute inglorious' Barringtons of the day should crown themselves occasionally with the bays appertaining to other brows, or boast of robberies committed only in their imagination, in order to elevate themselves to something like a par with more dignified culprits. Almost all their conversation is of the larcenous kind,—consisting of details of their various robberies, and the singular adventures they have passed through; but generally one-half of these are either sheer invention, or dressed up in such a way as to show off in the most flattering point of view before the eyes of their associates.

"The adventures of some of these men are certainly both extra-

ordinary and amusing; and the tact with which they will humbug the very individuals whom they are plundering, might serve to entertain even the plundered party. It is the rogue's interest, of course, to make the adventure tell well to his own *credit*, and therefore considerable deduction must generally be made for the embellishments wherewith he garnishes his tale. I once listened, unobserved, to the relation of an adroit and facetiously-managed robbery, which the hero was detailing with great glee; and the admirable manner in which the whole was wound up, called forth such a spontaneous burst of laughter and applause from the throng around, that he rapturously exclaimed, while striking the bench with his firmly-clenched first, (his whole countenance beaming delighted,) 'By G—, I could steal a shirt off a fellow's back without his knowing it.'

"It is, in sober sadness, time fruitlessly expended, to attempt the reformation of these people when crowded thus 'knave upon knave:' those who may be seriously inclined are jeered out of it by the rest, and the *reformation* you bring about is mere bam meant to be turned to gainful account by making a dupe of you. All you ought to attempt, under such circumstances, is to bring about regularity and decency of conduct. If you aim at more, you only make *hypocrites*, which is ten times worse than permitting them to remain (as you found them) open downright knaves."

Accordingly, those convicts who return after the expiration of their sentence, or who escape before, are generally found to be the most perfect and accomplished villains.

Many, however, remain and settle in the colony; but the majority of them appear to turn out just such settlers, as from their previous habits of life, might be anticipated.

"The thriving and fertile districts of Airds and Appin are situated in the county of Cumberland, immediately beyond the Cow-pasture, looking from Camden. They are chiefly occupied by small settlers, who having been originally convicts, out of many of whose hands the grants are slowly passing, through the thoughtless, spendthrift conduct of the occupants."

Their posterity, however, appear to be considerably improved. Of the *currency*-population (as the natives of the settlement are called), Mr. C. seems to think very favourably; and indeed no class of mortals are more likely to meet with an indulgent judgment, since even tolerable conduct presents a striking contrast to that of their progenitors. They are described as remarkable for honesty: query, in what degree may this be attributed to the total absence of all hope

of being rewarded for dishonesty, by being sent to New South Wales? *Honesty*, however, in another sense, is represented as far less common than black swans. The females, it seems, are cleanly and active, but "do not reckon chastity as the first of virtues." But though they cannot boast that "the women are all virtuous," "the men are all brave." By Mr. C.'s account, they excel as pugilists; practising that noble art with great valour and skill from their childhood, and generally proving victorious in a boxing-match, "between sterling and currency!" Who knows but that in addition to her exports of merino-wool, Australia may one day furnish "a champion of England?"

It is, however, considered by some as a matter of great self-congratulation, that these persons are so much superior to what any children of such profligate parents *would* have proved if they had remained in England. But this proceeds on the manifestly false assumption that, in that case, the same numerous progeny would have *arisen;* whereas reason and experience show that (to say nothing of the boasted fecundity of the worst description of females in New Holland) whenever settlers are placed in an unoccupied territory, where consequently the supply of subsistence is practically unlimited, population increases with vast rapidity; as in the North American States, where the numbers advance as much in five-and-twenty years, as in Europe in five centuries. The immediate progeny of one thousand reprobates of both sexes, reared in England in one generation, would hardly much exceed, probably would fall short of, the number of their parents: in a new colony, they are likely to be four or five times as numerous. Whether, therefore, these are better than their parents, is not the question; but whether they are the best population with which we could stock the country—whether it be wise to *save for seed* the worst plants—whether they are better than none at all—and whether, if they are, the advantage is worth purchasing at such a cost as that of holding out a bonus to criminals, and consequently shaking the very foundations of social order.

But to return to the consideration of the actual convicts: we are inclined to think that transportation is looked to not so much with a sanguine hope of their reform, as with a view to the *getting rid* of them. Now supposing we could (which is not possible) clear the kingdom at once of *all* criminals, by shipping them off to New South Wales, and that every sentence of transportation were for life (which should clearly be the case if *riddance* be our object), still the Country would be no gainer unless we got rid of the *crimes* as well

as the *individual criminals;* and this could never be done unless the transportation were a dreaded punishment. For it is not to be imagined that thieves are a distinct species, like wolves, so that if we could but exterminate them all (as the Saxon king did our four-footed sheep-stealers), the breed would be extinct. "*Man*" (says the legal maxim) "is a wolf to man." While human nature remains, property, as far as it is not protected by fear of punishment, will ever offer a temptation to depredation. Fresh offenders would immediately arise; not indeed (any longer) corrupted by the example and instruction of those sent out of the Country, but encouraged by their impunity; and thus we might go on till we had peopled New Holland with rogues, without the least diminishing the number at home. "*Uno avulso, non deficit alter.*" To think of diminishing crime by simply *removing* the criminals, without holding out an effectual terror to future offenders, is like undertaking to empty a lake by baling out the water, without stopping the river which flows into it. Now the existing system exactly corresponds with the above supposition, except in two points: first, that as we *cannot* transport all, or nearly all offenders, there are always enough left at home to train successive generations of tiros in villany; and, secondly, that as most sentences of transportation are only for a *term of years,* we do not effectually get rid even of those who *are* sent out. We do indeed get rid for ever of such of them as *are disposed* to lead a reformed life; *they* seldom fail to become settlers; but the most incorrigible are sure to return. So that this system of "riddance" not only fails of its object, but, by a kind of whimsical perversity, fails precisely in the instances in which its success is most desired.

Some writers express wonder and alarm at the increase of crime. We wish they were more alarmed, and less astonished. To us, the wonder is, that crimes do not increase much faster; and we look forward with great alarm to the continuance of the present system, as one likely to bear its poisonous fruits in continually greater abundance and perfection as it advances toward maturity of growth.

Having now arrived at our conclusions, by an analytical examination of the subject, it is time that we should compare them with those of the Select Committee, whose Report we have mentioned at the head of this article. In this comparison we regret to find a most essential difference, between the Report and our own views. In regard to transportation for fourteen, and for seven years, the views of the Committee may be said to coincide with ours; but the coincidence is more of detail than of principle. Their objection to the former

term of years is, that "for those who dread the loss of their native country, it gives a hope of return, which greatly diminishes the value of the punishment." With this they couple the consideration that "the returned transport is generally a very abandoned character, and he usually returns to his old criminal society, thus forming a link, as it were, between the thieves at large, and the thieves under punishment." (P. 14.) In regard to the shorter term of transportation, "the Committee would be inclined to recommend that the punishment should be abolished;" but as some convicts had lately been sent to Bermuda, and the result of the experiment was as yet unknown, they thought proper to suspend their judgment. Of transportation commuted into labour on board the hulks, the Committee expressed their disapprobation, at least in its present state, on account of the lightness of the labour enforced, and the want of separation between the different sorts of criminals.

But the approbation which the Committee give to transportation for life, is most positive and unqualified.

"Transportation for life is an excellent punishment in certain cases. Where a man has made crime his habit and profession, where he has become the chief, or a member of a band of thieves, and has no resource on his return from imprisonment but to herd with the same gang, and pursue the same practices, it is both mercy and justice to spare his life, and remove him to a distant colony, where he may first afford an example of punishment by hard labour, and by degrees lose his vicious propensities in a new state of society. Much has been said of the advantages enjoyed by the convicts in New South Wales, and the little effect which the punishment inspires. Still there are numbers to whom the notion of being banished for life, with several years of convict-labour in addition, is very formidable, nor would it be wise to abandon such a punishment."—P. 14.

No power of argument, or even demonstration, can avail against such decisions. The Committee's conclusion amounts to this: much has been said against transportation for life, but still "it is an excellent punishment." Experience seems to prove that the threat of such a punishment inspires no fear; but "still there are numbers to whom it is formidable." To what class the individuals belong who form these *numbers*, the Committee do not stop to inquire. The notion of banishment for life, and convict-labour, is far from being agreeable to themselves; and on the strength of this feeling they assert the existence of *numbers* to whom this notion is formidable. How the Committee are prepared to prove that it has that effect on that *sort* of men, in relation to whom

they ought to have settled the question;—how, either from reasoning or experience, they can show *that a man who has made crime his habit and profession, who has become the chief or a member of a band of thieves,* which, in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases, is the effect of his being either unable or unwilling to subsist by labour, as hard and much more hopeless than that with which he is threatened;—how they are to persuade the world that such men are so attached to their native soil as to dread the exchange of it for one more fertile, mild, and cheerful—one, besides, of the same language as their own—one, in fine, where, as far as *country* means anything connected with the intellectual and moral part of man, an Englishman will find himself more at home than if he was sent to many parts of Ireland, or the Hebrides;—we are at a loss to guess.

But we cannot take leave of the Committee without adverting to the unsteadiness of their views in regard to any standard by which to ascertain the usefulness of the punishment which they were considering, and which they so strongly recommended.—The *excellence* of transportation for life, to judge by their statement, consists,—1st, In the example of punishment afforded by the temporary hard labour of the convict; 2ndly, In the probability that by degrees he will "lose his vicious propensities in a new state of society." This is a striking example of unphilosophical investigation. The question is, whether transportation for life is good as a punishment? Good in respect to what end of punishment? ought to have been the first question. A glimpse of the true end — prevention of crime — seems to have crossed the minds of the Committee; and accordingly they endeavour to make out transportation useful as an example. On finding this impracticable, they seize on an incidental circumstance of transportation, *i. e.* hard labour, and on this they fasten their conclusion. But it happens, unfortunately for the argument, that the *hard labour,* which, as we have observed, is a mere incident in the case, wants every one of the circumstances which are essential to useful example: it is not seen by those who should be deterred; it is an evil with which they are familiar; it cannot be much worse than the hard labour to which they must submit if they abstain from crime; and being to their minds at an indefinite distance of time and space, it loses in the gay hues of hope every harsh feature of punishment. So much for example. The weakness of this argument being probably felt by the Committee, they turned to the usual resource in such cases—accumulation of reasons. If removal for life to Botany Bay (they seem to say)

should not be found to act powerfully as an example, it is, at all events, conducive to the reform of the convict. But what is the ground of their hopes on this score? The influence of a new state of society. Now if a *new state* of society can have any chance in correcting vicious habits, its *novelty* must consist in the removal of every thing that cherished the evil propensities, and smothered the good ones, of the individual to be reformed. One half, and perhaps more, of our worst characters would be reformed, could they be placed among a set of virtuous and industrious people, who, from their ignorance of the previous misconduct of the strangers, should be ready to treat them with kindness, and able to give them a share in their industry and profits. But what is the *new state* of society to which the convicts are removed? What is there *new* to them in their place of exile, but what, if transportation is not to be a reward instead of punishment, must necessarily increase their viciousness? Are they not introduced into a society in which depravity is the general rule, and honesty the exception? Are they not to be reduced to a kind of *slavery*, the greatest corrupter of the human heart? Are they not to be branded with a mark of infamy, which even a thorough reformation, supported by all the influence of the first authority of the Country, can never remove? Let any one who doubts it, read the parliamentary report on the state of New South Wales, and he will find that the main source of all the disturbances occasioned by the government of General Macquarie, was his leniency towards reformed convicts—his (as we think) mistaken though benevolent view of the penal end of transportation. It is curious indeed to observe how two men, in bitter opposition to each other, agree, though unawares, in furnishing proofs of our position, that if convicts are treated in New South Wales, as they must if transportation is to be a punishment to them, it is morally impossible that they should be reformed.

Commissioner Bigge observes, very justly, that "A propensity to violence of language and abuse, insensibly becomes a habit in those to whom the irksome task is committed of enforcing compulsory labour, or wholesome restraint, against refractory and vicious men; such conduct indeed certainly has no tendency to the improvement of a depraved character, and as certainly debases and hardens the heart of others."—P. 30.

It is most true, and it has long been known both from theory and experience, that *slavery* corrupts both the slave and the master. Now take the picture drawn by General Macquarie.

"I have no doubt that many convicts who might have been rendered useful and good men, had they been treated with humane and reasonable control, have sunk into despondence by the unfeeling treatment of such masters; and that many of those wretched men, driven to acts of violence by harsh usage, and who by a contrary treatment might have been reformed, have betaken themselves to the woods, where they can only subsist by plunder, and have terminated their lives on the gallows; but, with every indulgence that can reasonably be extended to convicts, transportation is far from being a light sentence; it is at best a state of slavery; and the fate of the convict, as to misery or comparative comfort, depending on the will of his master, the constant sense of degradation and loss of liberty is a severe punishment, which has no remission while he is in a state of bondage."—Ib. p. 31.

The natural, inevitable inference from these statements is, that the improvement of such convicts as are generally transported, is incompatible with an adequate punishment of their crimes: so that the additional reason adduced by the Committee to prop up their lame defence of transportation as *punishment*, namely, the probability of reform, excludes, and is mutually excluded by that argument which it was meant to support. It is like the advice of a physician who prescribed *ice* to his patient; and then, fearing that might be too cold a remedy, suggested, as an improvement, that it should be warmed.

But what is to become of the colony, on which we have already expended so much, if we cease thus to supply it with labourers at the public expense? It would be a pity to check its rising prosperity, to which convict-labour so much contributes.

"Nothing, in fact, (says Mr. Cunningham,) ever created greater dismay among us, than the announcement, some two years ago, of a project for the future disposal of convict-labour in the furtherance of government works at home, and in other colonies in preference to this; while our colonial wags still occasionally delight to work upon our fears, by propagating *alarming* reports of the *increasing morality* of the people of Great Britain, or of the lightness of the last jail-deliveries there — reports which the visiter to England will soon find *quite* destitute of foundation."—Vol. i. p. 12.

Aristotle long since remarked this principle—the high value set on anything that has cost much; which is recognized in the proverbial expression of "throwing good money after bad." And so powerful is this principle, that if we were not prepared to point out a mode of much more effectually benefiting the colony by a different

procedure, we should almost despair of obtaining a fair hearing for the reasons against the present system. And yet the object of affording aid to the settlers is clearly and confessedly subordinate to the main one—the prevention of crime. Indeed, the colony was first settled with a view to that very object; so that it would evidently be an absurd inconsistency, when that object is found not to be promoted, to continue sacrificing the end to the means; first to found a colony for the sake of transporting convicts, and then (*following our own footsteps*) to transport convicts for the sake of the colony. We remember an old country 'squire, who kept a number of horses, and, of course, a great many servants to look after them. For the last forty years of his life he never rode; but he still kept the horses, to find employment for his servants in exercising and grooming them!

To adhere to a system which cherishes, or at least does not keep down, violations of the laws here, in order that we may be enabled to keep up a supply of useful labourers for New South Wales, is the same sort of economy which Swift recommends in his "directions to the groom," for the benefit of his master's service, viz. to "fill the horses' rack with hay to the top, though perhaps they may not have the stomach to eat; *if the hay be thrown down, there is no loss, for it will make litter, and save straw.*"

In the present instance, however, the spoiled hay does not appear even to make *good* litter. The emancipists, as they are called—those who have come out as convicts, are described, in an extract already given, as for the most part idle, unthrifty settlers; and the *currency*, those born in the colony, are represented as *generally preferring a seafaring life; having the odious associations of crime and slavery connected with agricultural pursuits;* a feeling perfectly natural under such circumstances, but the very last one we would wish to find in a colony. This particular disadvantage was not especially pointed out, among the rest, by Lord Bacon; but the system has, on other accounts, his decided disapprobation. "It is," says he, "a *shameful and unblessed thing* to take the scum of people, and *wicked condemned men,* to be the people with whom you plant." One of the results, not, we apprehend, originally contemplated, is that these "wicked condemned men," have planted for themselves several volunteer colonies; escaping in small craft, either to the South Sea Islands, (in many of which, for a good while past, each native chief has for a prime minister some choice graduate of the university of Newgate,) or more frequently, to some part of the coast of New Holland, or some of the small islands at a little distance from the main, particularly one called Kangaroo Island; where they

settle, and subsist chiefly on wild animals; especially seals, whose skins and oil form a profitable article of traffic with the small traders from the mother-colony. Several more of these lawless settlements are supposed to exist besides those generally *known;* as it is clearly the interest of the above-mentioned traders, when they discover such a one, to keep the knowledge to themselves, for the sake of monopolizing the commerce. A most profitable trade they of course find it; as their customers are not only willing to pay an enormous price in oil for the luxuries of rum and tobacco, but, when once intoxicated, are easily stripped of all. Another article, it seems, has been found more profitable in this trade than even rum, viz. *women;* who, if kidnapped at Botany Bay, and carried off to one of these settlements, will sell for a whole ocean of seal oil! This infernal traffic was betrayed by the wreck of a vessel, from which, in consequence, two women, who had been thus carried off from Sydney, made their escape, and it is to be hoped put others on their guard against the detestable fate designed for them. These volunteer settlers, however, it seems, resort to another expedient to supply themselves with wives; viz. seizing on the native black women, after, we presume, knocking on the head the males of the tribe.

"At Kangaroo Island, on our southern coast, about four hundred miles to the west of Bass Straits, a settlement of this kind has long existed, as I have before mentioned; (by the latest accounts, this settlement contains a population of forty individuals,—men, women, and children;) the men having reached that point by coasting along in boats, and having seized and carried off native women. During the seal season they live upon the coast, feasting upon the seal-flesh which their *wives* procure for them; and, on the season being over, retire to their village, built in a valley, in the interior, and subsist upon the produce of their gardens and what game they can destroy. They lead a most slothful, idle life, obliging their women to perform all the drudgery, but occasionally assisting vessels calling there to load with salt, which is found covering the bed of a lagoon six inches deep; and bartering their seal-skins for rum, tea, sugar, and so forth, with the crews. The senior individual upon the settlement is named Abyssinia, and has lived there fourteen years and upwards. Various islands in Bass Straits are also peopled in like manner; Flinder's Island, according to the latest accounts, containing twenty, including women and children."—Two Years in New South Wales, vol. ii. p. 203.

So that we may hope, in time, to have the coast of New South Wales surrounded by a *fringe,* as it were, of colonies of half-castes,

consisting of a mixture of the blood of the most debased of savages, with that of the more refined and intelligent scoundrels of civilized society; and exhibiting, we may anticipate, a curious specimen of the worst possible form of human nature. And thus it is that we are proceeding to people Australia! The land is certainly planted, but it is planted with the worst of weeds, according to the ingenious experiment suggested, in the 'Tempest,' for Prospero's Island—

> "*Gonzalo.* Had I plantation of this isle, my lord.....
> "*Antonio.* He'd sow it with nettle seed."

"But all these," we have heard it replied, "are merely *incidental* evils; they are no part of the design." If this means merely that no system should be at once condemned, solely because some incidental evils are connected with it, as some must be, with *every* system, in this we heartily concur. Navigation is a good thing, although ships are occasionally wrecked, and men drowned. But if it be meant that incidental evils are, on that ground, to be *totally disregarded,* and left out of calculation, the best mode we can think of for disabusing one who holds such an opinion, is, that he should take up his abode next door to a soap-boiler, with a brazier on the other side of his house, a slaughter-house over the way, and a store of gunpowder in the vaults beneath him; being admonished at the same time to remember that if his eyes, nose, and ears, are incessantly annoyed, and he is ultimately blown up, these are only *incidental* evils.

But we must hasten to redeem our pledge of pointing out (which our limits warn us must be done in a very few and brief hints) a mode even of improving the situation of the colony without this every-way-objectionable supply of convicts. The persons we would have sent out (we would not have called it *transportation*) are able-bodied paupers; those who are capable and desirous of labour, but cannot get employment, or not sufficient to maintain a family without parish aid. These are precisely the description of persons to whom a colony, with a practically-boundless extent of territory, is best suited; because there, a moderate degree of industry will furnish a more abundant subsistence, and a better security against future want, than the most severe and unremitting toil in a full-peopled state; and because a large family is there an aid instead of a burden, and a source, not of gloomy anxiety, but of cheering anticipations. Many a man so circumstanced, and provided for in the way here suggested, would probably be one, who, under the present

system, would ultimately have found his way, in another character, to Botany Bay; but not till after having yielded to the temptations arising from distress, he had been led on, step by step, to the commission of crimes which would have gone far to disqualify him for becoming a useful settler. Had the system recommended been pursued from the beginning, many of the same colonists would have now been there who are there now; with the difference of an unstained character and undepraved disposition; with those evils, in short, *prevented*, which we are now, too often in vain, labouring to cure. And no one who was reduced to apply to the public for relief, could *complain* of its being bestowed in the mode most convenient to the public. The community would say to these persons, "we do not force, or even ask you to leave your country; stay and welcome, if you can maintain yourself by your labour at home; but if you cannot, it is both allowable and kind to send you to a place where you can." And, as there would be no compulsion to go, so there would be no prohibition of return; if, as would probably sometimes happen, a man should, in the course of years, have realized enough to place him above want in his own country, and he had a desire to end his days in it. Only, every such emigrant should be made, in the eye of the law, a *native* of that country (whether New Holland, Canada, or the Cape—for we would not confine the system to any one colony) to which he had been conveyed at the public expense. He should, if he chose to return, have no claim to parochial relief, except as a casual pauper.

One objection has been suggested to us, which, though at first sight formidable, will admit, in theory at least, of a ready answer: it is, that such a measure as we are recommending should be preceded by a repeal of the corn-laws; on the ground that it is unreasonable to send a man to earn his bread in a foreign land, who *could* earn it at home, if you would let him buy it as cheaply as others would be willing to supply it. This is not the place for discussing the question of the corn-laws; but it is sufficient for the present purpose that it should be admitted, which is surely undeniable, that they either are, or are not, necessary for the *public* welfare; that if they are *not*, then, however profitable they may be to any individuals, they ought, at any rate, to be altered; and that if they *are* a public benefit, no one has a right to complain of being obliged to submit to the consequences of them.

But what shall we do with the convicts? This is a question truly important; but of which the full discussion does not seem necessary, if the foregoing conclusions be admitted as established. If

what we now hold out as a punishment be proved to be in some cases a very inadequate punishment, in more, a reward, *that* is surely a sufficient reason for beginning to turn our thoughts towards the adoption of *some* system of punishment, and of effectual punishment; though we may not be able at once to point out which is the *most* effectual.

The traveller, whose case we adverted to in the opening of this article, when he discovered that he was riding in a circle, was not probably able to decide at once which was his best road; but he did not, we imagine, for that reason continue contentedly to follow his own track, round and round. It was plain he was going *wrong*, whichever way might be right.

But, in fact, it cannot be said that we should be even for a moment utterly at a loss how to dispose of criminals, should actual transportation be discontinued; since, as it is, a majority of those sentenced to it do not actually undergo it. And of all the substitutes that have been resorted to, unequal as their recommendations may be, we will venture to say the very worst is far less objectionable, in many respects, than actual transportation.

With respect to every sentence of confinement to hard labour, whether at the tread-wheel, or of any other kind, we would venture to suggest what we cannot but consider as a most important improvement, viz. that instead of a certain period of *time*, a convict should be sentenced to go through a certain quantity of *work*. We mean that a computation should be made of the average number of miles for instance which a man sentenced to the tread-wheel would be expected to walk in a week; and that then, a sentence of so many *weeks*' labour should be interpreted to mean, so many *miles;* the convict to be released when, and not before, he had "dreed his weird;" whether he chose to protract or to shorten the time of his penance. In the same manner he might be sentenced to beat so many hundred weight of hemp; dig a ditch of such and such dimensions, &c.; always exacting *some* labour of all prisoners, and fixing a *minimum* sufficiently high to keep up the notion of hard labour, but leaving them at liberty as to the amount of it above the fixed daily task. The great advantage resulting would be, that criminals, whose habits probably had previously been idle, would thus be habituated not only to labour, but to form some *agreeable association* with the idea of labour. Every step a man took in the tread-wheel, he would be walking out of prison; every stroke of the spade would be cutting a passage for restoration to society.

Among other kinds of penal labour, we would hint at one not

much different from the best kind of employment of the transported convicts, viz. the draining, paring and burning, and otherwise fitting for cultivation, of the Irish peat-bogs; not with a view, however, to their being afterwards *settled* by the convicts; as it would be easy to people the territory thus reclaimed with far better colonists, and with such as would ultimately prove of eminent service to that country.[1] We are aware that, in most instances, the land thus reclaimed would not be worth the cost of the labour bestowed on it, were that labour to be hired; but that is not the question: if worth *anything*, that worth would be all clear gain. The convicts *must* be maintained at the public expense, even though kept in idleness. Though their work, therefore, should amount to less than their maintenance, it is yet desirable that it should *diminish* that public expense, which it is insufficient to cover. The first object is *penal labour;* the next point is, that that labour should be at least of *some* use. And if the expense of a four months' voyage to New South Wales be taken into the calculation, it will probably be found that every acre cleared by convict-labour there, costs the public many times more than an acre reclaimed from an Irish peat-bog, which is thenceforward of many times greater value to the Country. And it is to be observed, that all the principal bogs in Ireland (amounting, it is supposed, to between one and two millions of acres) are capable of being, some at a greater and some at a less expense, not only drained, but brought into a state of great productiveness. Peat contains abundance of vegetable matter, the main material of fertility; but is barren through its constant wetness, its spongy texture, want of decomposition, absence of a sufficient mixture of earthy matter, and the occasional presence of sulphate of iron. This last, which is poisonous to vegetation, is decomposed, and rendered salutary, by the addition of lime, which also is a powerful decomposer of vegetable fibre. Gravel, sand, or clay, in fact any earthy substance, forms a most effectual and permanent manure for peaty land; at once decomposing its parts, and giving firmness to the soil. And, in most cases, such a manure is at hand; most peat-bogs resting on a clayey substratum. We are ourselves acquainted with a peat-bog in Yorkshire, which, after draining, was converted into good corn-land, at the expense of seven pounds per acre, by overspreading the surface with clay, which was found at the depth of six feet.

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[1] On this subject, see some remarks (with most of which we fully coincide, though not with all) in a "Letter to Mr. Malthus," in No. 17 of the "Pamphleteer."

But whether this, or any other scheme of penal labour, be thought worth trying, or whether in any, or in all instances, corporal chastisement should be considered preferable, there are two important conclusions which we think both reason and experience will fully warrant, and which we hope to see practically admitted: 1st, That the *particular kind* of punishment allotted to each offence should be as far as possible fixed, and known with certainty beforehand, in order that the execution of the sentence may at least furnish an *experiment*, and may serve to guide our judgment as to its efficacy:—2ndly, That we should not be too anxious to accomplish *several objects at once;* but keep steadily in view the *main* purpose of penal legislation, lest we sacrifice that, in the pursuit of subordinate objects, and lose sight of the prevention of crime, in the midst of our schemes for reclaiming hardened villains and Australian forests.

[F.]

REMARKS ON TRANSPORTATION,

IN A LETTER TO THE LATE EARL GREY.

My Lord,

Having lately received from Van Dieman's Land some pamphlets published there, (by Col. Arthur, and others) containing strictures on my Letter on Secondary Punishments,[1] I am induced to take the liberty of again addressing your Lordship on the same subject.

If indeed the measures recommended by Col. Arthur had been altogether and avowedly unthought of and untried, I should not have deemed any reply from me necessary: since, without any disparagement of that gentleman's character or talents, it may safely be said that there is not the smallest probability of any totally *new* scheme being undertaken by Government (at the present day) on the strength of such arguments as he adduces. If therefore I had been, in the present instance, the defender and not the assailant, of

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[1] Letter to Earl Grey, on Secondary Punishments. 1832.

an existing system, I should have considered that enough had been already said to make good my position.

But I have undertaken the unpleasant office of pointing out—what no one willingly believes of himself,—that we have been for many years proceeding on an erroneous system;—that we have been throwing away much time, toil, and capital, in pursuit of an object which we shall be still the further from obtaining the longer we persevere, and that it is only by retracing our steps, that we can hope even to cease producing positive evil.

Now men are in general so easily satisfied where they earnestly wish to be satisfied, that I cannot but fear a great portion of the public who have not even read, or at least read with close attention, my former Letter to your Lordship, may be inclined to set their minds at rest, on the mere *report*, that, that Letter has been answered by a person on the spot, supposing no reply should appear. They may perhaps be disposed to take for granted, that an attempt at least has been made (though none in fact *has* been made) to disprove my statements, and to refute my reasonings; and that a person in the Colony must have a better knowledge of all matters connected with it, than any one in this country, whatever he may adduce in the way of arguments, can pretend to. That the pamphlets in question rest their conclusions almost entirely on conjectures respecting the *future*, (which is the province not of *knowledge* but of reasoning) is indeed apparent on the slightest glance; but even this slight glance is probably more than will be bestowed on them by many, who may yet be disposed to admit those conclusions without inquiry.

Col. Arthur (whose courtesy of language I am bound to acknowledge) transmitted to me, along with the pamphlets, a MS. letter, in which he gives me to understand, not, that the system hitherto pursued has led to beneficial effects, but that he hopes more favourable results *may, hereafter*, ensue from a material *change* of measures.

My errors therefore, as he is pleased to designate them, appear to consist chiefly in speaking of things as they have been, and as they are, instead of substituting sanguine anticipations for actual existences.[1]

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[1] Concerning Col. Arthur's procedure as Governor of Tasmania, when applied to for protection against the murders and other outrages committed by the savages, the following,—almost incredible—statement is extracted, verbatim, from a recent work, Mrs. Meredith's "Home in Tasmania." I do not pledge myself for its correctness.

"The outrages committed by the natives continued without any attempt on the part of the Government to suppress them, beyond the formal publication *in the Government Gazette of a*

A pamphlet by Archdeacon Broughton, appended to that by Col. Arthur, coincides with it so far, that both relate principally to expectations of the future, and indulge largely in what Dr. Johnson denominates, "the triumph of hope over experience." But here the coincidence ceases; for unfortunately the measures these two gentlemen recommend with a view to the realizing of their bright anticipations, are in the most important points completely opposed to each other. They agree in both expecting to reach the desired port, though they are for steering in contrary directions. I myself agree with each of them only in condemning the course recommended by the other: but at all events it is impossible to pursue both.

This discrepancy, which I shall presently proceed to point out to your Lordship, is the more remarkable from its occurring in two pamphlets, one of which the *author of the other* appends to his *own:* "I shall annex," says Col. Arthur (p. 80), "a Letter addressed to me, at my request, by the Archdeacon of New South Wales, containing the substance of his remarks during his present visitation, upon the Convict discipline of this Colony. *His opinions and statements do not entirely coincide with those I have advanced;* your Lordship," he proceeded to say, (his pamphlet being in the form of a letter addressed to myself) "will therefore be enabled to compare the results arrived at by individuals, viewing the same object through different media."

I made accordingly, with the utmost care, the comparison to which I am thus frankly invited; and the result of it was to remind me forcibly of the story told of the Irish culprit, who was so excessive in his anxiety to clear himself of the charge by establishing an *alibi,* that he brought forward witnesses to prove *two* alibis. For (to omit minor differences) one of these writers builds his hopes on the system of precluding Convicts from the power of acquiring property; and the other, on that of conceding to them this power.

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proclamation commanding the natives not to pass from the west to the east of a certain imaginary line, drawn through the island in the north and south direction! The use of such a medium as a printed proclamation in a Gazette, to address a horde of savages, who could not speak the English language, far less read it, would not have occurred to any Governor less gifted with sagacity than Col. Arthur; and with that notable experiment he contented himself until the year 1829, when the whole male population of the colony, capable of bearing arms, was called out for the purpose of driving the natives on to Tasman's Peninsula." — Statement of Mr. Meredith, in Mrs. Meredith's "Home in Tasmania."—Vol. i. p. 216.

The fact is, that the objects which the two writers respectively had in view, are, as I shall presently show, not the same, but two, distinct, advantages; the benefit of the *Mother-Country*, and that of the *Colony;* both of which, conjointly, we are taught to expect, on the system of transportation, which is defended on that ground; but which are, in fact, by the reluctant confessions of its advocates, totally *imcompatible* with each other.

But though it does (not very unfrequently) happen that opinions and statements which are at variance and mutually destructive, are put forward, separately, by different advocates of the same cause, it did strike me as something novel, to find them thus avowedly and *designedly* brought into juxtaposition. I feel certain that the Colonel would not, in his own profession, have been guilty of so great a military blunder, as that of calling in the support of a body of auxiliaries, who should, in the hope of annoying the enemy, keep up a cross fire on his own troops.

It may perhaps be thought by some of my readers that I might safely have left the different advocates of transportation to refute each other. And I should probably have done so, if I could have been assured that the pamphlets in question would be read and carefully compared with each other, and with my former publication, by a large portion of those persons in this country who are anxious for repression of crime, and the welfare of the British Empire. Any one who, on such a perusal and comparison, should conclude that my first Letter to your Lordship is in any degree refuted, must be beyond the reach of any arguments that I can devise or conceive. But, as I have already observed, the mere rumour of anything that professes to be an answer to a book containing *unwelcome* positions, will often be sufficient, unless met by an immediate reply, to satisfy the minds of many, that all is well. Indeed so easy is it to convince those are who prepared and desirous to be convinced, that I remember seeing in an Article on the present subject, in some Review, a cursory remark that "We suspect Dr. Whately's representation to be exaggerated;" and the writer then proceeds, without even pretending to adduce any argument or evidence whatever, to assume that by the expression of this *suspicion*, the whole of what I had brought forward was at once and for ever overthrown.

To meet a multitude of plain arguments—if not unanswerable, at least hitherto unanswered,—and these, based on a mass of the most unimpeachable testimony, some drawn from official documents, and the rest from the statements of men whose opportunities of knowing are indisputable, and whose bias, if they had any, was in an oppo-

site direction—to meet all this by the bare assertion of "We"—(*i.e.* some *unknown individual*) not that he *knows*, or is convinced, but that he *suspects* exaggeration—would have been on most subjects regarded as perfectly ridiculous. But the writer probably in this case calculated rightly enough as to the disposition of many of his readers; with whom the mere hint of a *suspicion* entertained by *somebody* might outweigh any amount of evidence in support of what they were unwilling to believe. And considering how strong a bias is thus produced in the mind, it is possible that some may be found who may even rise from the perusal of the pamphlets now before me, satisfied that at least something may be said on both sides; and that therefore it is keeping on the safe side to leave things *as they are;* i. e. to persevere in a system which, if it cannot be satisfactorily vindicated, must be not only not removing, but yearly and almost daily augmenting, evils of the most frightful magnitude.

I would not however be understood as disparaging the merit of Col. Arthur's pamphlet, considered as the composition of an advocate; especially when I consider that (as he informs me in his MS. letter) he was officially *called on* to reply to my statements and arguments, in consequence of the impression made by them on the public mind. I can estimate the difficulty of "giving a reason on compulsion." And I am far from charging him with incompetency to the task thus imposed. On the contrary, I think that he, and Archdeacon Broughton, and Dr. Ross, the author of another publication on the same subject, have done full justice (taking each of the works *separately*, and not as one whole) to the cause they have undertaken. They have omitted no topic that is likely to have the smallest degree of influence; and if their attempt to vindicate the system of transportation be, as it appears to me to be, a total failure, I would attribute this to the totally untenable character of their position, rather than to any fault of its defenders.

Col. Arthur indeed apologizes for inaccuracies, on the score of haste: but in point of language I do not observe in his Letter any such incorrectness as to call for censure even from the most fastidious critic. In point of matter and arrangement indeed, it might at first sight be complained that his assumptions are hasty, and his arguments still more so; and that various different topics are confusedly thrown together in bewildering disorder; but I am inclined to think that in reality (whatever may have been the author's design) to have avoided this perplexing confusion and apparently hurried inaccuracy, would have deprived the whole work of every approach

towards plausibility that it may possess. "Then are *we* in order," says Cade to his men, "when we are most out of order." It will be found, on examining the several statements, and rejecting all that are either unsupported or irrelevant,—erasing the arguments that are fallacious, and arranging the remainder distinctly and perspicuously under their separate heads, that all three of the publications in question (either considered separately, or, still more, taken conjointly) will afford, as far as they have any force at all, the most decisive confirmations of all I had advanced.

In confirmation of the remark I have been compelled to make, I would invite particular attention to one circumstance, which is also of great intrinsic importance, from its general bearing on the present question. It will be found that, not only in the publications I have now been alluding to, but in all vindications of the system of Transportation that have appeared, there is a perpetual confused intermingling of two different questions, and (whether from confusion of thought, or from sophistical artifice) a perplexing transition backwards and forwards from the one to the other: I mean, the question as to the benefit of Transportation as a mode of *punishment*, and as a mode of *Colonization*. Each ground of defence is occupied alternately, as soon as the advocate is driven from the other; and this continual shifting to and fro, from the one topic to the other, like the tricks of a juggler with cups and balls, distracts the attention, and sometimes wearies the mind into acquiescence.

At one time the advantages of Transportation as a punishment are set forth: then, when the objections to it in this point of view begin strongly to present themselves,—its defectiveness as a discipline for the reformation of criminals, and its still greater inadequacy for the more important object of deterring from crime, the advocate shifts his ground, and pleads the benefit to the *Colony* from this compulsory emigration. When the unfitness of such a mode of colonization,—the absurd, as well as "shameful and unblessed" character (as Bacon designates it) of crowding an infant community with fresh and fresh relays of the scum of mankind, begins to strike the reader, immediately his attention is recalled to the compensating consideration of the mode of punishment thus afforded; and from this topic again, he is called back to the other; and so on, without end; till there is a chance that, if not convinced, he will at least be bewildered, and his attention exhausted.

To exemplify adequately what I have been saying, would be to transcribe the greater part of each of the works in question. The

error, or artifice (whichever it may be) which I have described, will be found to pervade almost the whole of every one of them. Indeed the perusal of them strongly recalled to my mind a well-known story which, though probably a fiction invented and related merely for the joke's sake, yet conceals, like many of the fables with which childhood is diverted, an instructive moral, from the close resemblance of many of the fallacies which mislead men in the serious affairs of life, to those which are repeated as jests.

An Oxford scholar, as the tale goes, in taking a country walk, stepped into a rustic ale-house for some refreshment, and, judging from the physiognomy of the landlord that he was somewhat dull in intellect, resolved to make trial of his own logical acumen. He called for a pot of beer, which was brought; and, on asking the price of it, which he was told was two-pence, he said to the landlord, "Well, I have changed my mind: you shall take back the beer, and bring me instead of it, a penny roll, and a pennyworth of cheese." "Very well, sir." The bread and cheese was brought; which the scholar ate; and was departing. "Stop, sir, stop! you have forgotten to pay."—"Pay!" said the scholar, with affected surprise; "why, what should I pay for?"—"Why, for the bread and cheese you have had, to be sure, sir."—"My good friend, you forget yourself; you know I gave you a pot of beer for it."—"True, sir, but you never paid for the beer."—"Why, my good man, you must be out of your wits: pay for the beer, indeed! you know as well as I do, I did not drink it."

"Quid rides?" (one might say to one of the New Holland advocates)

> "mutato nomine, de te
> Fabula narratur:"

What compensation do you offer for the evil produced by maintaining a system of punishment so inadequate, inefficient, and pernicious, as Transportation? Oh, the advantage of founding and maintaining a Colony! But the Colony is by this means settled and stocked in the worst possible way. Aye, but then you should consider the advantage of having a place of punishment for Convicts!

I suspect however that the notion which is lurking in the minds of those persons, is, that these two parts of the system, which are thus brought in to support each other, though separately indefensible, yet conjointly may afford sufficient advantages to justify it:—that though neither the Penitentiary part *alone*, nor the Colonial part

alone, is worth the expense and trouble and the numerous incidental evils, which they cost, yet possibly the *combination of the two* may produce a sum of benefit that may compensate for the evils.

It happens unfortunately in the present case, that the measures thus combined for the purpose of supplying each other's deficiencies, and affording mutual compensation for their respective inconvenience, are of such a character as most decidedly to interfere with each other. Of the two objects proposed, almost every step that can be taken with a view to either, tends in an equal or greater degree to defeat the other; so as to render the combined result of the whole even a still more signal failure than each part of the scheme separate. A Colony stocked with worthless vagabonds, is in itself *bad, as a Colony:* a Penitentiary again, in a young settlement at the Antipodes, is, for many reasons, likely to be, *in itself, a bad Penitentiary;* but each of them becomes incomparably worse, when they are combined; because in the most important points, two not only different, but even opposite, systems of management will be dictated, by a regard for the promotion of this object or of that. And thus, besides the other evils inevitably consequent on the pursuit of incompatible advantages, we might also have anticipated (and experience shows with how much reason) the evil of a course of perpetual vacillation, and reiterated change of measures, under different Governors, according as each may be inclined to look more to the welfare of the Colony, or to the efficiency of Transportation. Each accordingly has, to a certain extent, good grounds for censuring and reversing the measures of his predecessor, as at variance with a part of what are, in truth, the *contradictory* orders given to all.

Of the justness of what I have been now saying, any man of candour and common sense may convince himself, not from my reasonings and reflections, or from his own, but from a reference to the very advocates of the system themselves. *By their own showing* it aims at objects which are mutually inconsistent, and each of which can be promoted only at the expense of the other. I will extract, as one specimen out of several, the following passage from Archdeacon Broughton's Letter:—

"There is one consideration which appears to me not to have attracted due attention, although by legislating without reference to it, we are exposed to all the inconsistencies which arise from acting without settled principles. It is most evident, that upon all propositions which may affect the condition of prisoners after their arrival in the colonies, the mother-country and the colonies have separate interests. The interest of the former is, that transportation should

operate as a punishment, principally that it may act as a warning and a restraint. This is to render it 'formidable,' not desirable, in the eyes of the nation at large. To effect this, it is evidently the policy of the mother-country not only to provide that the prisoners, while under sentence, should be under a course of punishment; but also, that after their sentence has expired, they should at least not find readier means of rising in credit, wealth, and station, than under any circumstances they could have aspired to, if they had remained at home. Every instance to this effect does prove that whatever suffering transportation may cause, it affords to the individual an advantage which, but for transportation, he could not have enjoyed; and it thus far undoes the designed effect of that punishment, and operates accordingly against the interest of the country which is seeking thereby to deter from and diminish crime. On the other hand, when we look at the interest of the community to which offenders are transported, we find that, for its advancement we ought to hold out to prisoners an encouragement exactly the reverse of that which the State from which they are banished would approve. To call forth the resources of a new country like this, it is plain that every man should be encouraged to exert his utmost skill and industry; which he will never do but in the hope of acquiring property. And if a prisoner is in a capacity to acquire property, he must from the force of circumstances be able, in proportion to his endowments of mind and body, to acquire it more easily than he could in England. In the recent Act which incapacitates the holders of tickets-of-leave from acquiring or holding property, the legislature has acted very advisedly, no doubt, in furtherance of English objects; but the operation of that Act will be to take away a great stimulus to industry and enterprise, and thereby to retard colonial improvement. So again, if we look exclusively to the interest of the colonies, it is plain that the prisoner whose sentence has expired, should be encouraged to apply his utmost energies to the acquisition of property, by the prospect of sharing those civil and political distinctions which, unless a prohibitory law intervene, it is the natural effect of property to confer. But on the other hand, if the road to honour as well as wealth be laid open to those who have been prisoners, it is evident that such exaltation will appear very enviable in the eyes of those honest people at home, who find that they cannot rise to the like; and thus again, what is good for the colony will be detrimental to the parent state. Their interests in this respect must ever remain opposed; and therefore it is incumbent on those who legislate for both countries, to decide at once which of these interests shall be

preferred, and in all their measures to act upon the principle of making the other give way." [1]

I fully concur with what the Archdeacon has here said; and have only to add the expression of my unfeigned wonder, that he should not have drawn the obvious conclusion from his own pre-

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[1] Dr. Ross (p. 58) concurs with Archdeacon Broughton in reprobating the recent alterations in the law by which it is attempted to render transportation efficient as a punishment: "The second section of the Act of Parliament recently passed for abolishing the punishment of death for certain offences, and substituting transportation instead, by depriving prisoners, if we understand it right, of all power to hold property of any kind, and thus removing the main spur to reform, has already paved the way to obtain this most wretched end. To connect the sentence in England in a more intimate way than has hitherto been done with the punishments to be undergone in Van Dieman's land, is both proper and commendable, but it must be done with discretion, not by legislating in the dark, and subverting, as if by accident, the whole machinery of prison discipline formerly established. If the section of the Act alluded to had been framed to prevent persons who had been convicted of obtaining money by theft, forgery, fraud, swindling, or other false pretences, from possessing or enjoying it when transported to this colony, though that by the existing laws and regulations was already prevented, it could at least have done no harm. But when it goes on prospectively to deprive the convict of all future incentive to honest industry, or good conduct, by stripping him wholly of its fruits, the most superficial observer will discern how positively injurious it must be. Be this, however, as it may, it points out the method by which the home authorities can, if they see fit, carry the rigour of punishment with regard to transported convicts to any length." And again, (p. 61,) "What productive labour could prisoners in such a situation perform, that would in any way meet the expense of provision, clothing, superintendents and guards? Besides, the circuitous or indirect advantages which Britain now derives in return for what the Government expends on the colony, would, by the removal and dispersion of the settlers, be gradually sapped away. By the Custom-house return for the quarter ending the 10th of October, it appears that British manufactured goods were imported to Hobart Town from the ports of Great Britain alone, to the amount of £34,415 sterling. If to this be added the imports at our other port of Launceston, with the amount of goods, the produce of other British colonies, on which duty is paid, we have an aggregate of imports for the whole year, of about £320,000. Exports in colonial produce to the amount of about two-thirds of this value are sent to England. It would be needless for us to stop here, in order to point out to the intelligent reader the fiscal and commercial advantages which this reciprocal intercourse must confer, and which would be speedily swept away by the desperate and uncompromising species of prison discipline which we have imagined."

According to these gentlemen, the interests of the colony and of the mother-country, are *antipodes* to each other.

misses; viz. that the only thing to be done is immediately to abandon a system which professes to aim at the mutual benefit of the mother-country and the colonies, on a plan which sets the two in direct opposition. Instead of this, however, he concludes his Letter by expressing sanguine hopes founded on the adoption of measures just opposite to what he himself recommends!

"The course to be pursued therefore is to render transportation something far beyond ordinary hard work; and to cut off the hope of those advantages which have been indiscreetly suffered in some instances to result from it: detracting from its proper terror, and leading many to covet it as a boon, rather than dread it as a punishment. When this is done, transportation will operate as effectually as any instrument of mere punishment can do, in discouraging crime and reforming criminals."

"*When this is done,*" which I expect will only be "*ad Græcas Calendas,*" the author will have the satisfaction of contemplating the beneficial effect of setting at defiance all his own principles.

The astonishment with which I first read the above extracts, became greater and greater every time I recurred to them. Is it then possible,—I have several times asked myself—almost distrusting the evidence of my own senses,—that these passages should occur in a pamphlet sent me, professedly, for the purpose of "disabusing me of my errors" in respect of Transportation and of vindicating the system? Or can it be that the whole is a piece of ingenious irony, sent to me by way of sport, to try whether I can detect its true character, and written by persons who, in the assumed character of advocates, intend to hold up the system to scorn and derision? I have several times been half-inclined to take this view of the matter; recollecting the ridicule which Bishop Warburton incurred by setting about seriously the work of refuting the "Vindication of Natural Society," by Burke, under the character of Bolingbroke. I have resolved however, at the hazard of being laughed at for credulity, to treat the pamphlets as serious compositions; though I could almost pardon such of my readers as may not have these publications before them, should they entertain a momentary doubt whether I can have made a faithful extract. Perhaps too, they may think it an affront to their understanding, that I should deem it necessary to proceed any further, in exposing the absurdity of a system which is thus condemned by its own advocates. But besides that to a great part of the public, these pamphlets (as I have already observed) are likely to be known only by vague hearsay, I should add, that, with the exception of that frank avowal which I have cited from page 99

of Archdeacon Broughton's Letter, both he and the other defenders of the system, generally keep out of sight the inconsistency I have alluded to, and present to the reader separately and alternately the supposed advantage of "getting rid" (as it is called) of criminals, and that of encouraging a growing Colony; so as to withdraw the attention from the real incompatibility of the two.

In other subjects as well as in this, I have observed that two distinct objects may, by being dexterously presented, again and again in quick succession, to the mind of a cursory reader, be so associated together *in his thoughts*, as to be conceived capable, when in fact they are not, of being *actually* combined in practice. The fallacious belief thus induced bears a striking resemblance to the optical illusion effected by that ingenious and philosophical toy called the "thaumotrope;" in which two objects painted on opposite sides of a card,—for instance a man, and a horse,—a bird, and a cage,—are by a quick rotatory motion, made to impress the eye in combination, so as to form one picture, of the man on the horse's back,—the bird in the cage, &c. As soon as the card is allowed to remain at rest, the figures, of course, appear as they really are, separate and on opposite sides. A mental illusion closely analogous to this, is produced, when by a rapid and repeated transition from one subject to another alternately, the mind is deluded into an idea of the actual combination of things that are really incompatible. The chief part of the defence which various writers have advanced in favour of the system of Penal Colonies consists, in truth, of a sort of intellectual Thaumotrope. The prosperity of the Colony and the repression of Crime, are, by a sort of rapid whirl, presented to the mind as combined in one picture. A very moderate degree of calm and fixed attention soon shows that the two objects are painted on *opposite sides* of the card.

In aid of this and the other modes of defence resorted to, a topic is introduced from time to time in various forms, which is equally calculated to meet all objections whatever on all subjects:—that no human system can be expected to be perfect;—that some partial inconvenience in one part or in another must be looked for; and that no plan can be so well devised as not to require vigilant and judicious superintendence, to keep it in effectual operation, and to guard against the abuses to which it is liable, &c. &c.

All this is very true, but does not in reality at all meet the present objections. Though we cannot build a house which shall never need repair, we may avoid such a misconstruction as shall cause it to fall down by its own weight. Though it be impossible to con-

struct a time-piece which shall need no winding up, and which shall go with perfect exactitude, we may guard against the error of making the wheels necessarily obstruct each other's motions. And though a plan of penal legislation, which shall unite all conceivable advantages and be liable to no abuses, be unattainable, it is at least something gained if we do but keep clear of a system which by its very constitution shall have a *constant and radically inherent tendency to defeat our principal object.*

Now such is the case (as I have endeavoured to shew, in my former Letter, and in this) with,—what may be called our great Penitentiaries,—those on which we chiefly rely,—the Convict-Settlements. The very system of a Penal Colony contains in itself, considered as a mode of *punishment*, a principle of self-destruction: because it not only aims (as I have already pointed out, and as one of its present advocates acknowledges) at *two objects essentially at variance* with each other, but also has a constant tendency, in practice, to sacrifice the more important of these two objects, to the incidental and subordinate one: I mean the efficiency of the *Penalty*, to the prosperity of the Colony.

That this is and must be the case, is a matter of complete moral demonstration. It is not only what we might have had every reason to expect, from the nature of the case alone, without having tried the experiment; but it is also evinced by experience alone, independent of all calculations of probability; and lastly, it is over and over again confirmed by the admissions of those who wish to defend the system.

I am the more anxious to press this consideration on the minds of my readers, because I cannot but think that any man of candour and sound judgment, who will but sufficiently attend to this one point, need hardly trouble himself to examine any of the other numberless arguments against Transportation. Let every thing else that has been said on that question, in my former publication, or in the present, be supposed to be waived, and to go for nothing; and the single circumstance I am here adverting to, would, alone, be perfectly decisive.

For, let any one but calmly reflect for a few moments on the position of a Governor of one of our Penal Colonies, who has the problem proposed to him of accomplishing two distinct and in reality inconsistent objects;—to legislate and govern in the best manner with a view to—1st, the *prosperity of the Colony*, and also, 2dly, the *suitable punishment of the Convicts.* It is well known that *slave labour* is the least profitable; and can seldom be made profitable at

all, but by the most careful, difficult, troublesome, and odious superintendence. The most obvious way therefore of making the labour of the Convicts as advantageous as possible to the Colony is to make them as unlike slaves as possible; to place them under such regulations and with such masters, as to ensure their obtaining not only ample supplies both of necessaries and comforts, but in all respects favourable and even indulgent treatment; in short, to put them as much as possible in the *comfortable situation which free labourers enjoy*, where labour is so valuable, as from the abundance of land, and the scarcity of hands, it must be in a *new* settlement.

And the masters themselves may be expected, for the most part, to perceive that their own interest (which is the *only* consideration *they* are *expected* to attend to) lies in the same direction. They will derive most profit from their servants, by keeping them as much as possible in a cheerful and contented state, even at the expense of connivance at many vices, and of so much indulgence as it would not, in this country, be worth any master's while to grant, when he might turn away an indifferent servant and hire another. The master of the Convict-servants would indeed be glad, for his own profit, to exact from them the utmost reasonable amount of labour, and to maintain them in a style of frugality equal to, or even beyond that of a labourer in England: but he will be sure to find that the attempt to accomplish this, would defeat his own object; and he will be satisfied to realize such profit as is within reach. He will find that a labourer who does much less work than would be requisite, here, to earn the scantiest subsistence, and who yet is incomparably better fed than the best English labourer, does yet (on account of the great value of labour) bring a considerable profit to his master; though to employ such a labourer on such terms, would, in England, be a loss instead of a profit. It answers to him therefore to acquiesce in anything short of the most gross idleness and extravagance, for the sake of keeping his *slave* (for after all it is best to call things by their true names) in tolerably good humour, rather than resort to the troublesome expedient of coercion,[1] which might be attended with risk to his person or property from an ill-disposed character,

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[1] "To give some idea of the serious loss of time, as well as of the great trouble caused by being far removed from a magistrate alone, I need only state, that when a convict-servant misconducts himself, the settler must either send the vagabond to the nearest magistrate, not improbably some *thirty* or *forty* miles distant, or he must overlook the offence."—*Excursions in New South Wales, by Lieutenant Breton.*

and at any rate would be likely to make such a servant sulky, perverse, and wilfully neglectful.

It may easily be conceived therefore what indulgent treatment most of the Convicts are likely to receive, even from the more respectable class of settlers. As for the large proportion who are themselves very little different in character, tastes, and habits, from their Convict-servants, *they* may be expected usually to live (as the travellers who have described the Colony assure us they do) on terms of almost perfect equality with them, associating with them as boon-companions. But to say nothing of these, the more respectable settlers will be led, by a regard for their own interest, to what is called the humane treatment of their servants; that is, to endeavour to place all those in their employ who are *not much worse* than such as, in this country, few would think it worth while to employ at all, in a better situation than the most industrious labourers in England.

Now it is evident that the very reverse of this procedure is suitable for a *House of Correction,—a place of punishment.* And it is no less evident that a Governor must be led both by his feelings,—by his regard for his own ease,—and by his wish for popularity with all descriptions of persons around him, as well as by his regard for the prosperity of the Colony, to sacrifice to *that* object, the primary and most important one, of making Transportation, properly, a penalty. We can seldom expect to find a Governor (much less a *succession* of Governors) willing, when the choice is proposed of two objects at variance with each other, to prefer the situation of Keeper of a House of Correction, to that of a Governor of a flourishing Colony. The utmost we can expect is to find now and then one, crippling the measures of his predecessors and of his successors, by such efforts to secure both objects as will be most likely to defeat both. But the individual settlers, to whom is entrusted the chief part of the detail of the system, are not (like the Governor) even called on by any requisition of duty, to pay any attention to the most important part of that system. They are not even required to think of anything but their own interest. The punishment and the reformation of Convicts are only incidental results. It is trusted that the settler's regard for his own interest will make him exact hard labour and good conduct from the servants assigned to him. But if indulgence is (as we have seen) likely to answer his purpose better than rigid discipline, he cannot even be upbraided with any breach of duty in resorting to it.

Of the many extraordinary features in this most marvellous specimen of legislation, it is one of the most paradoxical, that it entrusts

a most important public service, in reference to the British nation, to men who are neither selected out of this nation on account of any supposed fitness to discharge it, nor even taught to consider that they have any public duty to perform. Even in the most negligently-governed communities, the keeper of a house of correction is always, professedly at least, selected with some view to his integrity, discretion, firmness, and other qualifications; and however ill the selection may be conducted, he is at least taught to consider himself entrusted, for the public benefit, with an office which it his duty to discharge on public grounds.

However imperfectly all this may be accomplished, few persons would deny that it is, and ought to be, at least, aimed at. But this is not the case in the land of *ornithorhynchus paradoxus* and of other paradoxes. There, each settler is, as far as his own household is concerned, the keeper of *a house of correction*. To him, so far, is entrusted the punishment and the reformation of criminals. But he is not even called upon to look to these objects, except as they may incidentally further his own interest. He is neither expected nor exhorted to regulate his treatment of convicts with a view to the diminution of crime in the British Isles, but to the profits of his farm in Australia.

It is true, the settler may sometimes be, like other men, actuated by other feelings besides a regard to profit: but these feelings are not likely to be those of public spirit. When the convict does suffer hard usage, it is not much to be expected that this will be inflicted with a view to strike terror into offenders in Great Britain, or to effect any other salutary end of punishment. His treatment is likely to depend not so much on the character of the crime for which he was condemned, as on the character of his master. Accordingly Colonel Arthur (p. 3), in enlarging on the miseries to which a convict is subjected, makes prominent mention of this, that "he is conveyed to a distant country, in the condition of a *slave*, and assigned to an unknown master, *whose disposition, temper, and even caprice*, he must consult at every turn, and submit to every moment."

It is observed by Homer, in the person of one of his characters in the Odyssey, that "a man loses half his virtue the day that he becomes a slave:" he might have added with truth, that he is likely to lose more than half when he becomes *a slave-master*. And if the convict-servants and their masters have any virtue to lose, no system could have been devised more effectual for divesting them of it. Even the regular official jailers, and governors of

penitentiaries, are in danger of becoming brutalized, unless originally men of firm good principle. And great wisdom in the contrivance of a penitentiary-system, and care in the conduct of it, are requisite to prevent the hardening and debasing of the prisoners. But when both the superintendent and the convicts feel that they are held in bondage, and kept to work by him, not from any views of *public duty*, but avowedly for his *individual advantage*,[1] nothing can be imagined more demoralizing to both parties.

Among all the extravagancies that are recorded of capricious and half-insane despots in times of ancient barbarism, I do not remember any instance mentioned, of any one of these having thought of so mischievously absurd a project as that of forming a new nation, consisting of Criminals and Executioners.

But had such a tyrant existed, as should not only have devised such a plan, but should have insisted on his subjects believing, that a good moral effect would result, from the intimate association together, in idleness, of several hundreds of reprobates, of various degrees of guilt, during a voyage of four or five months, and their subsequent assignment as slaves to various masters, under such a system as that just alluded to, it would have been doubted whether the mischievous insanity of wanton despotism could go a step beyond this. Another step however there is; and this is, the pretence of thus benefiting and civilizing the Aborigines! Surely those who expect the men of our hemisphere to believe all this, must suppose us to entertain the ancient notion of the vulgar, that the *Antipodes* are people among whom every thing is *reversed*. The mode of civilization practised, is of a piece with the rest.

"They have been *wantonly* butchered; and some of the Christian (?) whites consider it a pastime to go out and shoot them. I questioned a person from Port Stephens concerning the disputes

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[1] Colonel Arthur (p. 23) falls into an inaccuracy of language which tends to keep out of sight a most important practical distinction. He says: "With regard to the fact that convicts are treated as *slaves*, any difficulty that can be raised upon it must hold good whenever penitentiary or prison discipline is inflicted." If by a "slave" be meant *any one who is subjected to the control of another*, this is true. But the word is not in general thus applied. It is not usual to speak of children as *slaves* to their schoolmasters, or to their parents; or of prisoners being slaves of the jailer; or soldiers, of their officers. —— By slaves we generally understand persons whom their master compels to work *for his own benefit*. And in this sense Colonel Arthur himself (page 2) applies the term (I think very properly) to the assigned convict-servants.

with the aborigines of that part of the colony, and asked him, if he, or any of his companions, had ever come into collision with them, as I had heard there prevailed much enmity between the latter and the people belonging to the establishment? His answer was, 'Oh we used to shoot them like fun!' It would have been a satisfaction to have seen such a heartless ruffian in an archery ground, with about a score of expert archers at a fair distance from him, if only to witness how well he would personify the representations of St. Sebastian. This man was a shrewd mechanic, and had been some years at Port Stephens: if such people consider the life of a black of so little value, how is it to be wondered at, if the convicts entertain the same opinion? It is to be hoped that the practice of shooting them is at an end, but they are still subjected to annoyance from the stock-keepers, who take their women, and do them various injuries besides."—*Breton*, p. 200.

But to waive for the present all discussion of the moral effects on the settlers, likely to result from the system, let it be supposed that the labour of convicts may be so employed as to advance the prosperity of the Colony, and let it only be remembered that this object is likely to be pursued both by governors and settlers, at the expense of the other far more important one, which is inconsistent with it, the welfare of the mother-country, in respect of the repression of crime. This one consideration, apart from all others, would alone be decisive against transportation as a mode of *punishment;* since even if the system *could* be made efficient for that object, *supposing it to be well administered with a view to that,* there is a moral certainty that it never *will* be so administered.

If there be, as some have suggested, a certain description of offenders, to whom sentence of perpetual exile from their native country is especially formidable, this object might easily be attained, by erecting a penitentiary on some one of the many small, nearly unproductive, and unoccupied islands in the British seas; the conveyance to which would not occupy so many hours, as that to Australia does weeks.

But as for the attempt to combine salutary punishment with successful colonization, it only leads, in practice, to the failure of both objects, and, in the mind, it can only be effected by keeping up a fallacious confusion of ideas.

It is not, however, merely in respect of these two points, the interest of the Colony and that of the Mother-Country, that this *thaumotropic* blending of distinct pictures is needed and is resorted to, in order to withdraw the attention from the incompatibility of the

several objects proposed. The penal portion of the system, considered alone, proposes to combine irreconcileable advantages, each of which is, by *turns*, represented as aimed at, and as attained. Each objection, as soon as brought forward, is eagerly met by such statements and representations as the case may seem to call for, supported as strongly as bold and vehement assertions can support anything; and then the advocates seem to calculate on the reader's not only being perfectly satisfied with what is said, but immediately afterwards forgetting the whole of it; so as to be prepared to receive from the same pen representations the most opposite to the foregoing, calculated to meet some different objection.

At one time we find the situation of the convict painted in the most favourable colours, as one of considerable present comfort, and full of cheering confidence of speedy and complete restoration (on the supposition of tolerably good conduct) to a respectable place in society, with such advantages, in respect of worldly prosperity, as the individual could not elsewhere have hoped. This is to shew the utility of the system as a mode of *reformation*. Then, to shew its utility as a mode of *deterring* from crime by terror, the picture is reversed, and the same convict is represented as undergoing the most galling and degrading slavery—as suffering the most unmitigated misery, and branded with the most indelible disgrace.[1] This latter

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[1] "I think you will be constrained to admit *that* a punishment by which the offender is stripped of all his property—deprived of his liberty—shut out from intercourse with his family, totally separated from them,—denied every comfort, according to the idea entertained of that word by the lowest class—placed on board a transport—subjected there to the most summary discipline—exposed to ill usage from criminals still worse than himself—conveyed to a distant country in the condition of a slave—then assigned to an unknown master, whose disposition, temper, and even caprice he must consult at every turn and submit to every moment, or incur the risk of being charged with insubordination, which if proved before the magistrate, will be followed by corporal punishment, or removal to the service of the Crown, where his lot will be still more severe according to the degree and nature of his offences. He has indeed, by the regulations of the government, sufficient food and clothing, but the dread of his master's frown is to him what the drawn sword was, over the head of Dionysius's courtier!"—*Arthur's Secondary Punishments*, p. 3.

Dr. Ross (p. 56) adverts, apparently (for I do not very clearly understand him) to some supposed objections to the system such as I should never have suspected any one of urging, and then proceeds to describe the *vindictive severity* of the punishment. "Is it objected then to the system of Transportation that it produces in nineteen cases out of twenty the reform of the convict?—that it opens the door for the recovery of character?—that it converts a body of men into useful and industrious members of the community,

representation, conveyed in the strongest and most pathetic language, I found in a Hobart-Town newspaper, which was lately transmitted to me. The editor, however, had incautiously admitted into the *same* newspaper an extract from an English one, containing (what is not unfrequently met with) an account of some persons who had committed offences purposely for the sake of being transported, because they understood that they were likely to be better off in New South Wales than they could hope to be in England. I would by no means be understood to say that this amounts to a *contradiction* of the preceding statement. It is certainly *conceivable* (and such is Col. Arthur's distinct and repeated declaration) that in England comfort and enjoyment are *anticipated*, and in New South Wales real *misery is endured*. If such be indeed the case, our system of punishment is, so far, the very consummation of absurdity, as well as inhumanity. The ground on which, principally, if not exclusively, the infliction of pain is resorted to, or can be justified, being the prevention of crimes, through the *terror* of punishment, our system, *if its advocates are to be believed*, inflicts pain which is even worse than gratuitous; by subjecting convicts to a treatment which, though it is real suffering to *them*, yet is so much misapprehended

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honestly obtaining their own support, and contributing their share to the general stock, whose crimes and propensities were otherwise a disgrace to their nature and a burden to the state? Are we not to urge them to reform, because reform benefits their condition, and therefore Transportation will have no terrors to the ill-disposed in England? Forbid it reason—forbid it state policy—forbid it common sense—forbid it humanity! Virtue when embraced will benefit the condition of any man — much more that of the wretched convict whose misery is engendered and aggravated by vice. And yet we see punishment exists even upon the reclaimed convict. The weight of condemnation never till the hour of his death leaves the unhappy man. When the judge passes the sentence of Transportation he opens an ulcer in the heart that neither time nor penitence itself can wholly heal. Nay, the unfortunate being who has been *innocently* convicted (and we have reason to believe there are *many such*) still bears the shame upon his head, though a free pardon should reach him. The royal clemency may mitigate or wholly emancipate the bondage of the body, but the liberation of the mind that is once enthralled by crime and its consequences, is beyond the reach of mortal means to accomplish. In a word, we candidly assure those in England who are ignorant of the real condition of the convict in these colonies, that his punishment is as complete as the most severe or even the vindictive and unfeeling could desire." That there are persons who will be gratified (as Dr. Ross seems to suppose) at hearing of the severe sufferings of *many innocent* men, is a truly antipodean thought!

at home, as to invite, instead of deterring, those who are at all disposed to follow the same courses. Nay more, the greater the misery actually endured in the colony, the *more* alluring, it seems, is the picture held out in England. If such be the humane system of punishment which these gentlemen so earnestly recommend, surely the less we have of such humanity the better. I subjoin some extracts, lest it should be thought absolutely incredible that such statements should have been made by any *advocate* of Transportation.

"Convicts, there can be no doubt, occasionally send home flattering accounts of their situation; but, in almost every instance within the last seven years, these have been *prompted more by the misery* of the writers, than from any undue alleviation of punishment, or other circumstance affecting them favourably."

And again:—

"Many [favourable accounts] have been transmitted by convicts in a very miserable condition, with a view to induce their families to join them, in the hope that having decoyed them into a state of much wretchedness, they might thus excite the compassion of the Government, and, as they selfishly expected, be assigned to their wives. Some very remarkable instances of this description have lately come under my notice."

And yet according to this very same author, the *remoteness* from the mother country of these penal settlements, of which such fallacious and favourable accounts are sent home,—this very remoteness is "a great advantage," and tends to increase the terrors of transportation. I should have thought the nearer home the place of punishment was situated, the more difficult it would be to gain credit for these false accounts, and the easier to disprove them.

"With regard also to the distance of Van Diemen's Land from England, which you suppose renders transportation to it an ineffectual punishment, I regret that I am obliged to differ with your Grace, and to assert that it is, on the contrary, a very great advantage. Familiarity is the parent of contempt, and if secondary punishments be inflicted *within view* of the community, that part of the population, on account of which such examples are alone necessary, will soon learn to disregard them, however severe they may be. But if, as is complained by every one, severity is not attributable to them; and if in many instances convicts would be better off in the penitentiaries than in their own homes, and if many persons would in consequence be glad to change place with criminals undergoing their sentences, the more secondary punishments are withdrawn from the

public gaze, and the less intimate the knowledge of them possessed by the community, the greater will be the chance of a beneficial result."

I must confess I am myself not disposed to give full credence to these assurances of the miseries endured by the convicts, and of the falsity of their own accounts of their condition. If however such *be* the fact—if Col. Arthur's representation is to be fully relied on,—it is hard to imagine any more decisive condemnation of the whole system. If Capt. B. Hall, or any other traveller disposed to take an unfavourable view of the *American* penitentiaries, could have reported of *them* that the prisoners *suffered such extreme misery as induced them to* transmit to their friends (like the fox in the fable) flattering pictures of their comfort and happiness, so as to induce others to *endeavour to partake of the same lot*, this would have been, I imagine, triumphantly brought forward as a proof that the system was altogether a failure.

One portion of the misery inflicted on a convict (according to Col. Arthur's description in a passage I have already extracted) is his being, on board a transport, "exposed to ill-usage from criminals still worse than himself." If a native of *this* island had ventured to give such a description, he would probably have been asked, whether he intended it to apply to *every* convict; and if so, how it could happen that *each one* of them should meet with "criminals *worse than himself*." Perhaps however it might be answered (and not altogether unreasonably), that each of two convicts might be, in *some particular point*, worse than the other; each of them learning of the other, and, in turn, teaching some new vice. And this is probably a common case.

But though (even when writing in *Ireland*) I did not go such a length as to suppose that *every* convict could find a *worse*, yet I was fully aware that some of them are better than the generality; and that these would suffer severely and in more ways than one, by their intermixture with "criminals worse than themselves." If Col. Arthur will look to my first Letter to your Lordship, (pp. 15, 16,) he will find that I have by no means overlooked this circumstance, though the inferences I have been led to draw from it are, on the whole, far from being favourable to the system.

Not however that I would reckon this particular portion of suffering, among those that have *no* tendency, in any case, towards the great object, of *prevention*. On the contrary, I have no doubt that there are persons, not altogether proof against temptation, but of

tolerably decent habits, who may be occasionally deterred from crime, by a dread of the disgrace, disgust, and discomfort of being for four or five months in a transport with the most abandoned society. And persons of such a description, who do endure this, suffer no doubt very great misery; so great that some might be disposed to say, it would be, every way, a mercy to hang them instead. The *moral* death which in all probability must result, is a heavier punishment than physical. And (which is a strong objection to such a kind of punishment) the *mischief* done far exceeds the *pain* suffered. The crimes therefore which are in this way prevented (as I have no doubt some few crimes are) will have been prevented at an enormous cost. For it is *implied in the very character of the penalty* denounced, that the *majority* of the convicts who crowd the transports shall be abandoned ruffians; and that the miseries of this society shall be such as each will feel the *less* in proportion as his own character is the more depraved, and consequently the more needing the restraint of fear to deter him from crime.

One might indeed almost imagine that a kind of perverse ingenuity had been exercised to devise a system of (so-called) penal law, which should combine almost every possible disadvantage. Nothing certainly could have been more skilfully contrived to prevent a penalty, in most instances, from either deterring from crime, through the dread of disgrace, or again, reforming offenders through the influence of good example. Suppose, on the one hand, that a criminal were placed in some situation in which he should be constantly surrounded by such as naturally regard him with scorn and abhorrence; there would then be this disadvantage indeed, in regard to the *individual*, that he would be likely to become permanently hardened, from having been so openly disgraced as to have irretrievably lost his character; but then, the dread of such disgrace would operate favourably in regard to the *prevention* of crime. If again, instead of this, he were placed in the society of respectable persons who did *not* know of his delinquency, then, there would indeed be this disadvantage, that the absence of disgrace, and the comfort of sympathy and of social intercourse on equal terms, would tend to render such a situation no very formidable punishment: but the reformation of the individual, who would thus have an opportunity of establishing and maintaining a good character among his new associates, might be hoped from this plan, if from any. The one, in short, of these methods tends to prevention without reformation; the other to reformation without prevention.

Now if the problem were proposed, how to combine in the

greatest degree, the disadvantages, and exclude the advantages, of *both* these plans, the solution I think would be found in our system of Transportation.

The convict is shielded as much as possible from the chance of reformation, by unrestricted intercourse with multitudes who are setting him in every possible way, the worst possible examples: who do know his delinquency, but whose sympathy he must earn,—nay, whose ridicule he must escape—by a display of expert roguery and of hardened profligacy; and again, the terror of disgrace is as much as possible done away, by the offender's removal from the presence of any reputable persons for whom he may feel respect, and placed in a society in which there are abundantly enough to keep him in countenance; in which not only vice, but convicted criminality, is the rule, and innocence the exception.

No way could I think have been devised more effectual for divesting the penalty, both in *prospect*, of the terror of disgrace, and, in *infliction*, of all tendency towards reformation. When Shakspeare made the soldier (in 'All's Well that Ends Well,') say to Parolles, "If you could find a country where but women were that had received so much shame, you might *begin an impudent nation*," he little thought probably that in the nineteenth century the experiment would be actually going on. The impudent nation has been begun some time, and there are abundantly enough in it of "women who have received so much shame" as to stamp and perpetuate its character: though, for fear it should not increase fast enough, we send out occasionally a few ship-loads of young girls not yet corrupted, to supply the deficiency, and to become mothers to the offspring of thieves! By Lieutenant Breton's account, who (like almost all the authorities I have appealed to) is one of those rather disposed to favour the present system, this *last-mentioned* object seems to be the only benefit, such as it is, likely to be attained by our recent exportations:—

"Good servants, (says he,) especially those of the gentler sex, are in great request; those free women sent out not long since by the Government, have proved no great acquisition, except by increasing the population. This is, perhaps, a bold assertion; but my information proceeds from highly reputable sources.

"Of the children who were also sent out, some have conducted themselves well, but most of them indifferently.

"It is really inconceivable how difficult it is to procure steady servants, or work-people; as they all seem to be of opinion that the great charm of life consists in getting drunk as often as possible;

and unfortunately spirits are so cheap that they can constantly indulge themselves in their inclination. There are servants, who, though in every other respect most commendable in their conduct, were yet entirely untrustworthy through this abominable propensity. Such too is the case with a large proportion of the mechanics, men who have it in their power to lay by considerable sums from the profits of their labours, and to make no contemptible provision for their families; but who prefer instead, to waste their substance in inebriation at the public-houses: they seem determined to take no heed of the morrow, eating and drinking as much as possible on the one day, for fear, I presume, of dying on the following!"

It is perhaps fortunate, if we will but use the lesson before us, that the errors of the present system are so very gross and palpable as they are:—that the rocks on which we have hitherto struck, are above water. We have hence some reason for hoping that we may obtain some different results from steering a different course hereafter. And we have also, to a certain degree, a direction pointed out for that course. A chart of shoals and quicksands is not without its use in navigation; and the plan we have hitherto been pursuing, may, by the rule of contraries, be made to furnish a profitable example. For there is scarcely a feature in the whole system,—scarcely a part, portion, or circumstance, in the convict's life, which it would not be requisite entirely to reverse, in a well-regulated penitentiary.

And in no particular does this hold good more strongly than (as I formerly observed) in all that relates to the intercourse of convicts with each other; which, if left unrestricted during their hours of relaxation, cannot fail to lead to a variety of ill consequences.[1]

Under the present system these "hours of relaxation" comprehend, in the first instance, the four or five months of the voyage; in which multitudes are crowded together without employment. Col. Arthur indeed seems to suppose that I attribute some specific effect to the influence of the *sea*. He observes (in p. 21,) "Why, it may be inquired, should association in a *ship* be more injurious than association on *shore?*" Now as I never gave the least hint that I supposed this to be the case, I am not at all ashamed to confess that I know no reason why it should be so. But I will take leave to ask a converse question, which I apprehend is rather more to the purpose: Why should association in a ship be *less* injurious than on shore? No one in his senses, I conceive, would doubt that

[1] See Appendix II. p. 304.

the association of several hundreds of depraved characters, but of various kinds and degrees of depravity, closely crowded together in a small space, in a building on *shore*, without any employment whatever, for four or five months, but to talk over together their past feats of villany, must be the most corrupting process, to all of them who were not past corruption, that could possibly be devised. It is therefore for the advocates of the present system to shew why the evil should be *less* on board a ship; not for me to prove it greater. I adverted to the evil tendency of the *voyage*, merely because this involves the necessity of encountering this evil, which is what no one I suppose would be so insane as to propose introducing gratuitously.

But this, it seems, is a case in which we are to trust neither reason nor testimony. The statements to which I have referred for the existence of a state of things, such as might have been fully expected from the nature of the case, even independent of any testimony at all, are, we are told, unworthy of credit. Mr. Cunningham's work in particular, from which copious extracts are given (though far short of what I might have extracted to the same purpose), in the Appendix to my former Letter, is characterized (pp. 22, 23,) in terms which sound indeed exceedingly mild, but which involve a charge of the most wanton, deliberate, and mischievous calumny.

"Not having had an opportunity of witnessing the condition and conduct of convicts previous to their embarkation for this colony, I am of course unable to institute any comparison betwixt their state before their voyage and after its conclusion, but I have always been strongly impressed with the conviction that very considerable improvements generally take place. The Surgeons Superintendent are usually intelligent and experienced officers, who observe the men under their charge assiduously, keeping them under the strictest surveillance; and Mr. Cunningham's observations which your Grace has honoured with your notice, appear to have been dictated by a desire rather to produce effect and enliven his work, than to convey correct information. His inclination to listen to and relate the marvellous stories to which he refers, and his fear lest by coercion he should make the convicts 'hypocrites,' and his opinion that it was better to allow them to remain 'open downright rogues,' seem to indicate that the discipline which he exercised was not calculated to produce the very best results, and that the men under his charge were not likely to afford an average example of convicts when under more serious and more prudent management."

So Mr. Cunningham, it seems, wrote falsehoods for the sake of *producing an effect!* Most people I conceive write whatever they do write, with a view to some *effect*. But let us be permitted to inquire in the present instance, *what* effect? To raise a prejudice against the system of Transportation for which he is a decided advocate? Or was it to gratify and entertain his readers? He must have calculated on readers of a strangely depraved taste, who could take so little interest in being told of the success of measures designed for the most important and best purposes, and of "very considerable improvements" taking place in a class of men most needing improvement, that it was necessary to fabricate, for the amusement of the Public, details of the most abandoned and revolting villany.

I have used the word "fabricate," because in the present case the plea of mere *exaggeration* is of no avail. Let it be supposed that Mr. Cunningham's representation is exaggerated;—though every conceivable motive would have led him, if not perfectly correct and impartial, to extenuate rather than exaggerate, the evils of the system he advocates:—but let it be supposed, in defiance of all probability, and on the strength of Col. Arthur's unsupported accusation, that the picture is overcharged: and then let any one read, both what is extracted in my former Letter from the work in question and from others, and also, the other portions of these works that are there referred to; and let him ask himself whether my conclusions are not fully borne out, if even the *half* of these statements be credited.

There may be found persons indeed (though not so many I conceive now, as a few years back) who suspect that in all points the unfavourable representations of the penalty of Transportation have been overcharged;—that its effect in deterring offenders has been extenuated, and the temptations it holds out, and the corruption it produces, exaggerated. To such persons it might indeed fairly be replied, that I have every reason to believe I have *not* misrepresented its advantages and disadvantages; having not only made careful inquiries, but abstained from giving as shocking a picture of the operation of the present system as I believe might be given consistently with truth; chusing to confine myself chiefly to the testimony of those who not only have had the best opportunities of observation, but also are avowedly favourable to that system. This, I say, might fairly be urged in reply to the objection; but I am content to waive that plea. The case is so strong that it can well afford it. We need not join issue on the question, whether the picture presented be minutely accurate or not. Let any one be left to allow for all the

exaggeration that can be thought conceivable, and to suppose the evils of the system to be considerably less than they are represented, and the advantages greater. The conclusion, I think, would still be, to any candid and considerate mind, the very same. There are extreme cases, and this I think is one of them, in which no allowance that can reasonably be made for want of strict accuracy, will perceptibly affect the result. It would not be the "easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle" if the camel were half the usual size, and the needle's eye double. And in this case the evils which I have pointed out (though I have passed over no small part) are so multifarious and monstrous, and the advantages so extremely minute, that if the one were only half what they are, and the other double, I could not hesitate about coming to the same conclusion.

Indeed I have sometimes been disposed to doubt whether the number and variety of the arguments on this question which are comprised in the former Letter and in this, may not prevent their being by some minds, duly appreciated. For there are persons who when an accumulation of reasons is presented to them, are apt to take for granted that *all*, or nearly all of them together, are necessary to establish the conclusion; and consequently if one or two of these shall have been apparently refuted, they regard this as a sufficient answer: though perhaps (as in the present case) there may be several other reasons, each of which would, alone, establish the conclusion.

Sometimes also even the very *weight* of the reasons urged, will, with some minds, diminish their effect. If a system, for instance, which has been adopted and persevered in (as that of Transportation) shall be proved not merely to be objectionable, but to involve the most extravagant absurdity, many are apt to infer that there must be some (they know not what) strong recommendations to counterbalance these; or some lurking fallacy, though they cannot perceive any, in the arguments against the system; since a mere tissue of palpable errors could never, they think, have obtained any countenance: forgetting that the errors *become* palpable, only when clearly pointed out; and that there is no absurdity so gross which even intelligent men have not readily acquiesced in, when their attention has not been directed to the question.

But so sensible are the defenders of the system of the overwhelming mass of evidence against them, that they feel it necessary, instead of descending to particulars, and attempting disproof, boldly to deny the whole, by sweeping, unsupported assertions. The sixth, out of no less than eleven statements drawn up in formidable array

(in pp. 3, 4, 5, of Col. Arthur's Letter,) is that "the atrocities to which you have referred do not exist." For a *proof* of this and of several other no less bold assertions, I have turned over every page, again and again, in vain. And this being the case, I should perhaps have thought it unnecessary to notice it, could I have been sure that no one would glance at that page on opening the pamphlet, or perhaps meet with it along with some other such extracts in a newspaper, and then inquire no further, but take for granted that the evidence for so bold a statement at the opening of the work, must be supplied in the subsequent pages.

Had I given an *ideal* picture of atrocities such as I conceived likely to exist, without any evidence beyond antecedent conjecture, a simple denial might have been admitted as an answer. But besides Mr. Cunningham's testimony (and that of several others) I adduced that of Mr. Rutherford, who had sailed *seven* times in convict-ships in the same capacity as the former,—that of Superintendent Surgeon. "These are" (says Col. A. himself,) "usually intelligent experienced officers, who observe the men under their charge assiduously," &c.—P. 22. Was it wonderful then that I should give some credit to the statements of such men, when every probability was in favour of its correctness? I will take leave to add, that I still give credit to their evidence, because it was *uncontradicted till there was a particular purpose to be served* by the denial.

Col. Arthur's Letter was written about four years after the Article had appeared in the London Review, on the *second* edition of Mr. Cunningham's book. Other evidence to the same effect had been still longer before the Public. Why then did no one, long ago, step forth to denounce these witnesses as pernicious slanderers; which they must be, if their statements are untrue? Why did those who had the best opportunities of knowing the truth, suffer such malicious misrepresentations to circulate, all that time, uncontradicted? The answer is obvious: because the *inferences* from these had not from the first been insisted on, and pressed on the public attention. As soon as the *conclusions* are drawn, *then* it is that it is found out, for the first time, that the premisses are false. The evidence, it seems, might have remained for ever uncontradicted had not I and others pointed out the obvious deductions from it.

And, why again, is there, even now, no *disproof* offered of this evidence?—no attempt to impugn it except by bare unsupported denial? The obvious answer is, because it is *true;* too true to be disproved; and yet too conclusive to be admitted.

Some of these denials do in themselves sound rather strangely: —"That little additional contamination is contracted by any at that time, is almost proved by the circumstance that the farm-labourers sometimes sent out for rioting and machine breaking retain for the most part on their arrival their original simplicity, and a disposition to conduct themselves honestly."—P. 22. That the "original simplicity" which consists in a disposition to riot and outrage, is retained, I have little doubt: of the general *honesty* of the convict-servants Capt. Breton and others give a different and I should fear a more correct account.

My exposure however of the demoralizing effects of our present system, both on the Colony and on the Mother Country, Archdeacon Broughton meets (p. 85) by an answer which greatly surprised me:—an insinuation that I depreciate or overlook the moral effect of religious principle, in diminishing crime; and that I am proposing a system of punishments to supersede the fear of God! At least if such be not his meaning (though the general courteous and candid tone of his Letter is greatly at variance with it) I cannot conceive what it is he does mean.

After premising (p. 84) his view of "the substance of my argument, that crimes have increased *because* Transportation has lost its terrors" (which by the way is totally unlike anything I ever did say; for I have never implied that it ever *had* any terrors to lose) he proceeds:—"At the risk of being thought to make the observation out of place, I will, nevertheless, state my opinion, that the very prevalent decay of faith in the truths of religion, and a proportionate abatement of its influence, are the chief causes of that rapid increase of crime which we witness and deplore.

"I do not introduce this as a mere customary common-place remark, which it might be unbecoming my situation to omit: but because I sincerely feel the subject in this point of view has not been duly pressed upon the attention of those whose office it is to consult for the public security; and that the theory of the Archbishop of Dublin has a tendency to sanction and confirm the prevailing error. His Grace appears to maintain, that all our distress arises from our having chosen the wrong preventive; but that, by trying various experiments in secondary punishments, 'there can be little doubt that in the course of a very few years we should be enabled, by attentive observation, to ascertain what system worked best:' assuming that there is a system of mere legal coercion discoverable, which may greatly abate if not wholly eradicate the dis-

ease. Now, whatever may be the deserved character of transportation, and admitting it for argument's sake to be as exceptionable as it is represented, I have the strongest conviction on my mind that no substitution of another mode of punishment will operate perceptibly in lessening the amount of crime; but that the same result will continue if that substitution be the *only* change. In common with the Archbishop of Dublin, I have been in charge of parishes in England, and my experience has taught me that the relaxation of morality prevailing there has arisen, not from the inefficiency of any particular mode of punishment, but from a diminished prevalence of the fear of God. So long as that fear governed the general mind of the nation, the dread of legal inflictions, coming in as a secondary restraint in aid of that which was more prevalent and formidable, was quite sufficient to curb violence and dishonesty, and to enforce a tolerable regard for life and property. But so soon as the barriers of the law are exposed, as is the case at present, to the whole rush and pressure of men's unruly appetites, those barriers will inevitably bend and give way; and the wave, if excluded at one point, will come pouring through with greater impetuosity at another. I candidly confess, that the absence of all regard or reference to this cause of the prevalence of crime, appears to me the leading defect of Archbishop Whately's publication. It is an omission which could not have been looked for in the work of a Divine; and unless it be taken into consideration, he will greatly mislead those who follow him as a jurist and a politician."—P. 85—87.[1]

This most extraordinary passage contains some positions and insinuations which to say the least are extremely rash. To the British Public, and I may add, the American, (though probably not the Australian) I have been for a good many years, not unknown as a writer; chiefly on religious subjects; and those treated practically and popularly. I have been occupied chiefly, not in abstruse dissertations on points interesting only to deep theologians, but on the *application* of religion to *moral* conduct. And especially I have laboured to counteract the bad impression that such weak and absurd views of religion as are often to be met with, may make on the minds of ordinary readers; not only of those who reject but of those also who admit such views. For I have long been convinced that nothing tends so much to bring Christianity into contempt, as

[1] And yet while passing this heavy censure on me, he says himself, in addressing the Colonists, "How can you be surprised at our having a corrupt population, when you consider the torrents of vice that *have been poured* upon us?"

the representations which some of its professors give both of its doctrines and of its application. Sceptics are apt to forget, that where the *generality* of men are Christians, it must be expected that a considerable portion of Christians (and not a few even of Christian *writers*) should be weak men; whose religious views will naturally partake of their own confusion of thought. To judge therefore of the character of the Religion itself, from the representations given of it, by such feeble advocates, is no less unreasonable than to estimate the brightness of the sun by viewing it through a smoked glass.

Although, however, I could hardly expect to be much known as an author, in a colony so distant, (and, I may add, so constituted,) it ought to have been supposed, in charity, that I should not have omitted any religious topic that might appear relevant to the question I was treating of. But what would be thought of a physician, who, in treating of some disease,—suppose cholera,—and defending the practice of a particular hospital against objections, should reply,—"At the risk of being thought to make the observation out of place, I will nevertheless state my opinion, that a very prevalent *decay of health*, and the proportionate abatement of the *influence of the vital principle*, are the chief causes of that rapid increase of disease which we witness and deplore?" He would be answered (if at all) by saying, that his observation was indeed quite "out of place:" the question being, by what *mode of treatment* we were to increase or restore the influence of the vital principle,—prevent or remedy the decay of health,—and stop the progress of infection.

If I had introduced some observations analogous to the above, either "as a mere customary common-place remark, which it might be unbecoming my situation to omit," or as solemnly announcing the discovery, that the relaxation of morality arises from a diminution of the fear of God, I might have been answered, "How are we the wiser for your telling us of the disease, without suggesting a remedy? That men who fear God as they ought will not commit crimes, we knew before; but are you proposing an Act of Parliament to compel men to fear God? Or have you any plan for so promoting religious faith as to do away all need for punishment? Or do you hold that all kinds of punishment are equally efficacious, or equally inefficacious, in promoting or in discouraging such conduct as religion forbids? If all punishments are useless, let all be abolished: if all are equally proper, let things remain as they are: or if it is possible the system may be improved, let inquiries and suggestions be made with a view to improvement: but do not pretend to have set at rest a practical question of legislation, by solemnly pronouncing a truism

on which you do not yourself propose to found any legislative measure."

Your Lordship may remember that I began my former Letter by complaining, *in the capacity of a religious and moral teacher*, of the injury done to morality, by a system which tends rather to encourage than to deter criminals, by holding out no penalty calculated to counterbalance the force of temptation. And I subsequently dwelt on the several parts of that system, showing, both from reason and from experience, its tendency to corrupt rather than reform convicts, and to demoralize both the Colony and the Parent-state. I was well aware, indeed, that there are persons whose religious principle will preserve them from being led into crime by external circumstances; and others, whom no external circumstances will deter from it when opportunity offers. But surely it will not be maintained that all mankind belong to one or other of these two classes. It is with a view, almost entirely, to those of an *intermediate* character, and consequently *capable* of being deterred from crime, and *needing* to be deterred, that every community has had recourse to the denunciation of penalties.

But though the demoralizing effects of our system are what I have been so far from overlooking, that I have chiefly dwelt on them, it may be expected that a defender of that system, who charges me with looking solely to the "dread of legal inflictions," and disregarding the influence of religion,—that such a defender should see in the system, (however defective in other points) at least an efficient provision for producing and keeping up the fear of God. Let us hear what he himself says on this point.

"Upon the whole, I must say, that if there be no more serious objection to transportation than the moral injury which the voyage occasions to the prisoners, very little stress can be laid upon this. Under the care of a *vigilant and judicious* surgeon, or of a clergyman, if *there be one* on board, they may not only be restrained from going deeper into vice, but some of the number may be even instructed and improved."—P. 103.

It seems, then, that if there be a clergyman on board the transport, or *if* the surgeon be vigilant and judicious, some of the convicts may possibly improve. "Your IF is a great peace-maker."[1]

[1] To any one who wishes to know, without "ifs" or "mays," something of the *actual* condition of convicts on board a transport, I would recommend, if he be not resolved to set testimony at defiance, to peruse an account, subjoined in a note appended, of the wretched beings wrecked in the 'Amphitrite.' But the Archdeacon himself gives the sum of what is there more

But let us follow the convicts to the settlement. There at least, we may expect to find ample means provided for the religious mprovement of all classes.

"You will remember the occasion, not long passed, of our visiting a very numerous road party, before whom I performed divine service, and you will testify, I think, that there could not possibly be a congregation displaying more fixed attention than these men, who continued standing during the prayers and sermon. I have not myself any such suspicion, but it might enter the minds of others, that the knowledge of your being present produced all this seriousness. But the many scores, perhaps hundreds, of occasions in which, in travelling through the country, I have officiated with exactly the same result, to prisoners belonging to private establishments, or to public road parties, and when there could be no such cause assigned for their attentive demeanour, forbid my thinking it other than sincere and unaffected.

"The general lament among road parties in the interior of New South Wales, I have found to be the infrequency with which they are visited by a clergyman. In every such assemblage I have observed many who evidently prayed with inward fervency; and my persuasion is, that some good is effected, and some comfort administered, on every such occasion; nor can I despair of the condition of men among whom I find so much thankfulness to the preacher for his services, and so much respect shown to him in consequence. It is not possible that visits so rare and casual should generally produce any other than a transient impression. Indeed the best impressions, in every case, are produced, not by a clergyman preaching once and then going on his way, but by his living and abiding among the people, and affording them opportunity of seeing his life, and knowing how far he practises what he preaches. I feel assured, that *if it were possible* to have among the prisoners a number of clergymen stationed, so that every large assemblage of

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fully detailed, in a brief statement of his own. "I have conversed very extensively with the more respectable among the prisoners, and from a comparison between their statements, I am led to believe, that even while the outward conduct is brought to a forced regularity, great depravity does prevail in that class of prisoners: such as to render the association to which they are condemned exceedingly painful to men who have any sentiment of religion, or any remaining decency of character."—P. 108. In fact there is hardly a statement I have made or a conclusion I have drawn in my former Letter that is not, after having been vehemently denied by one or more of these authors, fully and distinctly confirmed by their own testimony.

them might know their own minister, and see him day by day labouring for their improvement, the effect would be truly beneficial. It would be difficult, but surely not impossible, to find men duly qualified, both by piety and discretion, who would devote themselves to this work. And indeed, when I reflect that the nation which discharges annually so many thousands of offenders from its shores, makes not the slightest direct effort for their religious instruction in the colonies, I can find no argument which satisfies me, that such omission does not amount to even a national sin."—Pages 109, 110.

The Archdeacon then is aware, it seems, how little opportunity is offered, even to those who may be the most ready to receive religious instruction; and how "transient must be the impression" produced by any means now in operation: but, then, he thinks that "*if it were possible*" completely to *change* the existing state of things, good would result.

Just so, *I* think.

But is this, then, let us ask,—is *this* the best conclusion we can arrive at, by "duly pressing on the attention," as the chief cause of crime, the decay of religious faith and fear? If I, it seems, had sufficiently attended to this point, I should have kept clear of the danger of "misleading those who follow" me, and should have advocated a system, which does indeed leave the religious condition of the convicts, and of the colony generally, in the most deplorable state; but which *might*, if it were quite different from what it is, or has any prospect of becoming, be made "truly beneficial."

As I feel persuaded of the sincere good intentions of the Archdeacon, I trust he will pardon my regretting that he did not read over the earlier part of his letter, (which, in that case, I feel assured he would have erased,) before he permitted the latter part to go to press.

Enough, your Lordship will perhaps think, if not more than enough, has been already said, in this and in the former Letter, to convince all who are not resolved never to be convinced, of the mischievous tendency, in all points of view, of our present system. But I cannot refrain from appealing to one authority on my side, which is entitled to more weight in the present question than that of Bacon, or of any of the most illustrious of sages besides;—that of Colonel Arthur himself: who has pronounced the most decided condemnation of the whole of our scheme of colonizing with convicts.

This assertion may startle many of my readers, and perhaps none more than the Colonel himself, who is evidently quite uncon-

scious of the tendency of his own admissions. But I will proceed to make good my words :—

"Lord Bacon's declaration, to which I have already referred, has much force in it, as applicable to the period in which he wrote. It is, as your Grace quotes him, 'a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be those with whom you plant.' There was in his time an abundant field for labour in England, and the inducements to commit crime were not powerful. The citizen and the husbandman could by industry bring up their families in independence and afford them an honest example. If they were compelled to obtain their bread by the sweat of their brows, they were also happily enabled to mingle with every drop of that sweat, blessed ideas of virtue and independence. The population had not then outgrown the means of employment, and he who committed crime, and persevered in it, could not plead as his excuse the cravings of hunger or the effect of habits derived from the example of his parents, and the teaching of his fellows. To plant new lands with such characters, would therefore, it was reasonable to suppose, be unsuccessful. The change effected by transportation, so far as they were concerned, would be one merely of place, not of circumstances. The advantages of labour would not be much greater in the colony than at home, and they therefore who had acted unblessedly there, were likely to continue so to do in their new places of abode."—P. 41.

Bacon's decision, then, against Colonies thus stocked, is admitted to be *just*, in respect to the state of things, *in his time*. Let this be kept in mind.

He would (Colonel Arthur conceives) have judged differently in respect of a country less prosperous, as far as regards the situation of the labouring classes, than England then was. Had he lived to see a great change for the worse in this point, he might, it is supposed, have approved of the system he then condemned. I myself do not think he would. But let it be supposed : for it is not at all material to the argument. The average condition of an industrious labourer in England is *not* worse, but far *better* than in Bacon's time ; so that whatever reasons justified, in Col. Arthur's opinion, his disapproval of Convict Colonies *then*, exist in at least equal force *now*.

As to the fact, Col. Arthur has been misled, apparently, by looking only to the absolute increase of population ; which is indeed greater in proportion *to the size of the country*, than when Bacon wrote ; but (which alone is the important point) less in proportion

to the national *wealth*. In particular, that portion of it which constitutes the fund for the maintenance of labourers, is greatly increased in proportion to their numbers, since that period. Estimated even in wheat, the week's wages of a common labourer seem to have been, in Bacon's time, equal to about from three to four pecks; now, to about five to six. In articles of clothing and most other *manufactured* commodities, the disparity is well known to be very much greater, in consequence of the improvements in machinery.

Since then, a Convict Colony was, as Col. Arthur admits, "a shameful and unblessed thing" in the days of Lord Bacon, much more so must it be in these days.

I myself believe Bacon's objection to have been of much greater extent than is supposed by Col. Arthur: but, even according to his own view of it, he is driven unconsciously to give sentence of utter condemnation on the system he advocates.

A still more strange mistake however, relative to a matter of fact, seems to have been made by Capt. Basil Hall, if his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons be correctly reported. That gentleman, who is described by Col. Arthur (p. 9) as taking "rather a favourable view of the prison discipline in America," but who is generally considered as rather leaning towards an *un*favourable view of all American institutions, is reported as having heard many Americans regret their *want of penal colonies*, and as describing the "evil arising out of this singular state of things." So the Americans, it seems, are *singular* in the absence of penal colonies! I had always thought the singularity lay with *us*. If Capt. Hall really did persuade any of the back-wood settlers in the United States, that all the nations of Christendom, except themselves, had penal colonies, he must have used the traveller's privilege with a boldness and a success truly astonishing.

But the present system has sometimes, I am inclined to think, been even the more readily tolerated in the minds of some persons, from the very *enormity* and the palpable character of the mischiefs and absurdities which it involves; which must, it is thought, be counterbalanced by some very great advantages: and these accordingly are taken for granted as existing, even by many who would be at a loss to describe and estimate them; but who conclude that it is *impossible* a scheme should have been persevered in for near half a century, in spite of so many and such monstrous attendant evils, were it not found to produce some important benefits as a compensation.

And perhaps they are right in thus conjecturing that there *are* advantages; but I would caution them not to rest satisfied with this consideration, till they have ascertained *to whom* the advantages accrue:—to the Public, or to individuals, at the expense of the Public. A conflagration is a benefit—to firemen: a shipwreck is a benefit—to those on whose shore the wreck is cast: a general mortality is an advantage—to undertakers and sextons: and I have no doubt that our system of Transportation has its advantages (in the way of *present profit*)—to many who are engaged in the agriculture and commerce of New South Wales, or, in other ways, employed in connexion with our penal colonies. And this, I suspect, constitutes one great obstacle to our immediate abandonment of the system.

I do not mean to impute to its advocates a deliberate design to sacrifice the public good to the private interests of themselves or their friends. But it is proved by all experience (especially in the history of every monopoly) that in such cases men are apt to impose on themselves, as well as on others, by confounding together and identifying their own interests or those of the class they belong to, with the interest of the community. Whatever is a profit or loss to themselves, they would be glad to think must be the same to the nation; and they therefore endeavour (generally with success) to convince both the nation and themselves that this is the case.

Accordingly we find Col. Arthur (pp. 58, 59,) placing at the end of a long list of the advantages of the Transportation system, those supposed commercial benefits, which I believe to have, in practice, the most weight in the defense of that system. The other heads relate to matters already discussed, and which therefore I need not again notice more particularly: such as the utility of Transportation in the prevention of crime, by the dread of the penalty—by the *removal* of criminals (viz. from *one part of the empire to another,*)—by the reformation of offenders, &c. &c.; in all which points he meets the arguments and the testimonies already adduced in my former Letter, by unsupported assertions. But the enumeration of advantages concludes with—

"7. An extension of the empire by the creation of colonies possessed by freemen, whose emigration is encouraged by convict assignment, and for whom the convicts have acted as pioneers."

"8. An increase of the exports and imports of England."

"Aye, there's the rub!" Besides the great object of extending the empire (like the extension of a human body by the growth of some wen, or other morbid and monstrous excrescence,) there is the

encouragement of settlers, by the advantage of convict-assignment; and the increase of commerce.

No doubt agriculture and commerce are good things: but gold may be bought too dear. Let any one but take the pains to calculate the total net profits of the "increased exports and imports of England," and compare this sum with the mere *cost* to the nation (waiving all other evils) of keeping up the whole establishment for the supply of this slave-labour; and then let him compute how far the one overbalances the other.

In this, and in numberless other cases, the paradoxical appearance which such computations will often present, is explained by the consideration, that the *loss goes to one party, and the gain to another*. It is Government that bears the expenses; *they* fall on the community: the profits go to the individual settlers, traders, &c., and the total gain thus occurring to the nation may be utterly inadequate to the outlay, and yet may be a very important and desirable object to individuals on whom this outlay does not fall.[1]

But surely those who are deliberating with a view to the *public* good, ought in all cases to be very cautious in admitting the evidence of interested individuals, whose private advantage is not (though they wish to persuade both others and themselves that it is) necessarily coincident with advantage to the public. Much greater however should be our caution in respect of individuals whose interest (as in the present case) is manifestly and avowedly *opposed* to that of the public.

The Australian settlers conceive themselves to derive a very

[1] And yet it seems the expenditure is not sufficient, even in Col. Arthur's own judgment, to render Transportation efficacious, for its professed primary object as a penalty. "I admit that the condition of these men, (the educated convicts or specials,) though by no means so desirable as it has been represented in England, has not heretofore corresponded with that of other convicts. In fact the only hindrance in the colony to the perfecting of Transportation, as a measure of prevention, has had reference to expenditure. The economy so much insisted upon in the present day, has led to the employment of educated convicts as clerks in public offices, and of expirees and emancipists as inferior overseers; an incidental, not necessary, adjunct of the transport system, originating in motives of economy, but attended by injurious consequences—consequences which, however, have been much exaggerated."—Pp. 52, 53.

That a little less attention to economy would remove "the only hindrance to the perfecting of Transportation," is indeed a most rash conjecture: but many plans of wasteful expenditure (like that of the penal colonies) are conducted in detail with a penurious spirit which vainly seeks to remedy, by petty savings, the ruinous extravagance of the system.

great advantage from the convict-labour.[1] Anything whatever that may tend to diminish this source of profit, they naturally deprecate; whatever tends to increase the number of convicts is for their gain. Here then is a class of men (we will suppose them to be, individually as respectable characters as other settlers elsewhere) who have avowedly an interest in keeping up, not whatever may appear the *best* system of secondary punishment, but the *best for them.* Nay, they have a direct and manifest *interest in the increase of crime.*[2] And is it on the evidence of *these* men that we are implicitly to rely, in an inquiry as to the most efficient system of punishments? "For fortifying a city," said the tanner, "there is nothing like leather."

I repeat, that I am not attributing dishonest motives to any individual. All who have written on this question, may, for aught I know, be as unconscious of any undue bias as I am myself. But it is undeniable that there is, in interested persons, a liability to such a

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[1] "In the Swan River settlement," says Col. Arthur, "the scarcity of labourers arising from the absence of convicts will compel all but the most opulent to work for themselves. Many an educated man and delicate female will have cause to regret the arrangement which deprives them of the advantage of having convicts assigned to them. It is to deficiency of labour that the rusticity of the Americans, most remarkable in the states where there are no slaves, is to be attributed, rather than to the thin sprinkling of gentlemen of birth among the first emigrants. And the great progress in the arts of life and in that decent and orderly way of living which is so generally to be observed in this colony, may with every truth be attributed to the advantage derived from its being a penal settlement."—P. 45.

As for the superior gentility of the New South Wales settlements there may be different opinions. I should myself in chusing a residence prefer the "rusticity" of a country in which slavery of all kinds is unknown. But those who are accustomed to be served by slaves, probably think otherwise. Surely this is a reason for *us* to receive with suspicion their testimony in favour of a system, which secures to them advantages highly *prized* by *them*, but which may be purchased at the expense of too great sacrifice *on our* part.

[2] The leading article in the "Sydney Herald" (shortly before these remarks were first published), in adverting to my former Letter, expresses apprehensions that my "view of prison discipline, which is diametrically opposed to the present system, may probably operate against the *advantages of prison labour which we have hitherto enjoyed.*"

I should be sorry to interfere with their enjoyments, however I might differ in point of taste, were I not convinced that they are purchased at too great a cost of evil as well as expense to this country.

The projected new settlement in the southern part of New Holland is on a plan designed to obviate some of the evils, from which that at Swan River has suffered, without introducing those far heavier ones resulting from the introduction of convicts or any other description of slaves.

bias; and that we are bound in prudence to make allowance for its existence.

I am very far myself indeed from thinking, that real, *ultimate good*, in the most comprehensive sense, accrues to the Colony from its being stocked with "wicked condemned men;" but present *gain* to many individuals does: and this most men are apt to pursue in preference to the ultimate and permanent benefit of themselves and their posterity.

The settlers accordingly, and others connected with the Colony, led by a sort of patriotic feeling for that Colony, to plead the cause of what they consider its good, (which, if it were real, ought not to demand the sacrifice of *our* good,) are perpetually losing sight of that which is, naturally, a very subordinate object at least to them, though to us it ought to be primary,—the efficacy of Transportation in the diminution of crime, *here*. They feel called on indeed to say something from time to time, in its defense in that point of view; shifting their ground backwards and forwards, between the *reformation* of criminals and the *prevention* of offences; but it is evidently the prosperity of the *Colony* that really occupies the chief part of their attention. One out of many indications of this, is their strong and often repeated disparagement of the judgment of all who have not *been on the spot*. We, it seems, cannot possibly be acquainted with the details of the system:—we are destitute of experience:—our knowledge must be imperfect and inaccurate:—in short, we ought to have no voice in the question.

Now admitting all this;—which would be admitting far too much;—since I have stated nothing but on the evidence of those who have been there, confirmed by the admissions of the advocates themselves;—but admitting all this local ignorance, it is evident that the whole argument proceeds on the supposition, that the *Colony is the only thing* to be attended to. The settlers, we will suppose, must know best what benefits the Colony; but they cannot surely be the sole judges as to what are the secondary punishments that operate best for this country.

One of the writers before me recommends Transportation, not on the ground of what it has hitherto been, but of what it may *hereafter* become, under the operation of some new regulation. The others also recommend it, deprecating these very regulations, and reverting to what it *has* been, but is likely to be no longer. Neither party seems to speak in the present tense, but the one in the past and the other in the future. But supposing these advocates were

agreed in their views, as much as they manifestly disagree, still, *we* also should be allowed to form our own judgments on the system, as far as relates to *this* country. It is only by making the Colony the primary, and indeed sole object, that they can maintain their *exclusive* claim to *practical knowledge* and experience.

When the advantages of any foreign commerce, that to China for instance—are discussed, British manufacturers and tradesmen are accustomed to speak of their experience respecting the demand in England for Chinese commodities, and the demand for ours as exports to China. Now would it not be strange for any one to put them all to silence, by saying, "You can know nothing about the matter, because you have never been in China?" They would answer, "The residents in China may be the best judges of the benefit of the trade to *that* country, but *we* must surely know something of its effects at home: and to the British nation, *this* is the important point."

So in the present case also, it is the effect of Transportation, here, as a mode of secondary punishment, that is confessedly the important consideration.

And in this point of view, its advocates seem so conscious of the weakness of their cause, that their chief resource is to contrast it with other plans which either have been actually tried, or are attributed to me as my proposals by way of substitute. Dr. Ross does, indeed, in one place, break out into a florid description of the situation of a transported convict (which he had, a little before, characterized as a "purgatory" (p. 58), and as a punishment of "extreme severity" (p. 59), especially to the "unseared,"—the *least hardened offenders*,) as greatly preferable to that of persons sentenced to the tread-mill. "How far more reclaiming than the tread-wheel is exercise of the very hardest kind among the works of nature! Can the eye of the most wicked—most viciously inclined, look upon the wide-spreading lawns—the rising hills and mountains —the hanging, instructive and eloquent forests—the flowing river or the trickling streamlet clothed with the sweetest and most enchanting shrubs and flowers of this island, without self-reproach, without some sting of remorse? 'Can I,' he will say, 'be thus criminal, be thus so basely ungrateful, while nature with beneficent hands, with outstretched arms, thus draws me to repentance?' "—P. 83.

Now when I consider how large a portion of the labouring population of these islands are compelled, not by their crimes, but by their wants, to pass the day in mechanical toil, in close work-

shops, in the midst of a crowded and smoky town, I cannot but rejoice in the thought, that the beauties of the New Holland scenery are not likely to be so strongly felt by them, as they are here warmly described. Otherwise, there might be a danger of their being so disgusted with the comparative closeness and monotony of the scenes around them, as to be weary of their life of honest industry, and envy the picturesque punishment of the convict: unless indeed they suspected some covert meaning in the words "*hanging forests.*"

But I am compelled to say there is an appearance (arising perhaps from his having inadvertently confounded one author with another) of disingenuous proceeding in Colonel Arthur's representation of what I propose in the way of secondary punishment, as a substitute for transportation. He all along proceeds, as far as I am able to understand his meaning, on the supposition, that I recommend the present plan to be superseded by one which shall maintain the convicts at an expense of between £50 and £60 per annum, in a condition far preferable, in respect of diet, clothing, and comforts, to that of an ordinary labourer. "But if the transports to Ireland were fed in the same manner as men in the penitentiaries are, how would their lot be envied by the half-clad, starving peasantry of that ill-fated country! and if to this were superadded, the anticipation that after the period of their servitude had expired, each was to be rewarded with a gratuity for his labour, in order that he might associate with it the notion of independence, or, in other words, that in return for his services he was not only to be fed and clothed, but also to be enabled to 'save money,' the competition to obtain admission into the gangs would doubtless be very great, and an incentive to crime would be brought into operation, far more efficacious than even the prison and penitentiary discipline of England." [1]—Pp. 56, 57.

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[1] In my former Letter I expressed my apprehension that it would not be possible completely to effect, in Europe, the defrayal of the whole expenses of a penitentiary by the proceeds of the prisoners' labour; as it appears is the case with some of those in America. I have since learned, however, that this object has been accomplished in Belgium.

In the Dublin Mendicity Institution the average cost per head of the diet, together with lodging, fuel, attendance and (partly) clothing, of adults (who are all kept at work as far as they are capable of it) is less than three-pence a day. And their food, though coarse, is wholesome and nutritious. Of course, from the nature of *this* institution, able-bodied and expert workmen will always form a smaller proportion to the numbers, than may be expected in a penitentiary. But let the inmates of a penitentiary be supposed to cost, *over and above the whole value of their la-*

And his argument turns almost entirely on the superiority of the existing system to that with which he compares it, as the only alternative. "The maintenance and discipline (he had before observed) in the penitentiary is stated to cost about £56 per annum."

Surely any of his readers, who had not seen my first Letter, would conclude from these passages, that "*the* Penitentiary" meant some particular establishment, either proposed, or at least referred to, and recommended by me; and that the system of diet and treatment, and the scale of expenditure, here alluded to, had received my distinct approbation. But why did not Col. Arthur refer to the precise page of my Letter, in which this recommendation is to be found? Because (I am constrained to say) *there is no such* page! The whole system of feeding and clothing, at such lavish cost, the convicts whose lot is to be so enviable, is, as far as I am concerned, purely imaginary, and fathered upon me without the slightest foundation.

It has indeed been shown, on undeniable evidence, by the Poor-Law Commissioners, that the diet of a convict is superior to that of a pauper,—and this, to that of a soldier, and still more, to that of an independent labourer. But where have *I* recommended an adherence to this preposterous system? It is possible, however, and I sincerely hope it will be made to appear, that Colonel Arthur has inadvertently confounded a portion of some other work with mine.

But not only is it untrue that I have recommended the substitution for transportation, of *precisely such* a penitentiary system as has been attributed to me: it is incorrect, altogether, to represent me as advising the *immediate* adoption of *any* particular system as a substitute. On the contrary, I distinctly declared my conviction of the impossibility, in the present state of our knowledge on the subject, to come to any well-warranted immediate decision, as to what substitute would be the best. I recommended accordingly, investigation and experiment, by means of a Commission appointed for the purpose. I did, indeed, suggest some principles which I thought it would be useful for such a Commission to keep in view, and some experiments which they might, perhaps, think it worth while to try. But if I had made up my mind as to the expediency of at once

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bour, three-pence halfpenny per day, or about £5 or £6 per annum; even according to this computation a convict would be maintained, *for five years*, for less than the mere cost of the *voyage alone* to New South Wales, independent of all the other expenses incurred in the colony.

fixing on a certain specific system, what could have been the object of the *commission*, or of *inquiry*, or of *experiment?* And yet both Col. Arthur and Archdeacon Broughton (taking no notice of the commission, which is what I did recommend,) refer again and again to "the system which I propose;" when it is not only not true that I proposed *any one*, but impossible that I *could* have done so, without a palpable self-contradiction.

"I am inclined to think, therefore, that the confidence with which several persons have advocated each his favourite plan of prison discipline as preferable to all others, must be somewhat premature. It is but of late years that the subject has engaged any large share (and it still engages much less than it deserves) of the attention of active and intelligent men, at once philosophical, and practically observant: and I am convinced we have still much to learn, which experience, aided by careful reflection, can alone teach. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it would perhaps be our wisest and safest course to establish, in different places, *several* penitentiaries, on different plans, such as may seem to have the most to recommend them; and after a trial of a few years, to introduce modifications as experience shall suggest, and remodel the less successful on the pattern of those which may be found to answer their purpose better.

"I do not, of course, mean that we should try experiments at random, or adopt every suggestion of the wildest theorists: but if we made trial of those plans in favour of which sound reasons could be offered, and were careful to guard in every case against such errors as might plainly be shown to be such, and to tend towards the defeat of our object, there can be little doubt that, in the course of a very few years, we should be enabled, by attentive observation, to ascertain what system worked best. And we might rest assured, in the mean time, that none could be more exceptionable than the existing system of transportation."

"I will take the liberty, therefore, of most earnestly recommending the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, analogous to that which is now occupied with the no less important subject of the Poor-Laws, and from whose labours every one, who is acquainted with the character of the individuals composing it, must hope for the most favourable results.

"Whether the legislature is constituted in one way or in another, it is clearly impossible that it should be capable of going through, with proper care, all the necessary details of that vast

and heterogeneous mass of business which belongs to its decision. And those who are at all acquainted with parliamentary proceedings, have no need to be reminded how much slovenly legislation has resulted from the non-adoption, or very slight and imperfect adoption, in the highest department of all, of that important principle, division of labour: but for which, even the humblest arts could never have been brought to any degree of perfection." [1]

It will be plain, from the above extracts, how utterly at variance with what I really did recommend are the representations that have been made of it.

But one point I certainly did consider as already settled. The experiment of Transportation I considered as not only tried, but persevered in beyond the reasonable bounds of experiment; and to have proved a complete and most mischievous failure. And if I had had any lingering doubts on this point, they would have been completely removed by the publications now before me; in which, besides the many mutual contradictions, and the many admissions fatal to the cause advocated, which I have here extracted, there are many more of a like character (as every reader of them may easily perceive) which I have left unnoticed for fear of wearying my readers with superfluous refutation.

One more instance will suffice. These authors agree in thinking the experiment of Transportation has *not* yet been sufficiently tried, but as to the way *in which* it should be tried, they are quite at issue:—The Convicts, Colonel Arthur informs us, (p. 25,) "are made to work out their bondage either in assignment, in the service of Government, in the road gangs, in the chain gangs, in the penal settlements, or in the chain gangs in the penal settlements. This distribution is regulated by character and conduct, and by no means by an arbitrary disposal. Of all the conditions in which they can be placed, that of *private assignment is the most desirable*, and that of being placed in a chain gang in a penal settlement, the most harassing, degraded and miserable!" And again (p. 32), "Persons who for occasional purposes obtain men from the loan gang, are much more apt to abuse the trust confided in them than ordinary assignees, and this is an important objection to the system of contracts, which has lately been brought into operation in the colony. Contractors for public works generally stipulate for a certain number of men from the loan gang, as on account of the scarcity of free

[1] Thoughts on Secondary Punishments, pp. 10—12, 43, 44.

labourers they could not otherwise complete what they undertake. And it is almost invariably found that the convicts who have been put under their charge, have by no means derived any benefit from it."

And now what says Archdeacon Broughton? "I am *no admirer of a state of servitude by assignment*, or of the exercise of summary jurisdiction. I cannot hesitate in thinking that they are in themselves great evils; and, when all attendant mischiefs, direct and indirect, which result from them, are taken into consideration, I think that the community in which they exist is paying a very heavy tax for the financial advantages which the convict system may confer."—P. 104.

Such is the mutual co-operation of these brother advocates; whose discrepancy extends to almost every possible point, from the most general view of the whole system down to the minutest details in the working of it. "Call you this backing your friends? a plague of such backing!"

Our present situation reminds me of that of one of the unfortunate dupes of the projectors in Alchemy, of whom there were so many, two or three centuries back. One of these, eagerly listening to promises held out of converting lead into gold (which I believe will be effected when convicts are transmuted into useful settlers), pursued perseveringly his search after the philosopher's stone, and, in spite of repeated and lamentable failures, clung with unsubdued fervour to the dreams of boundless wealth in which his imagination revelled. Crucible after crucible was broken; his actual wealth melted away before his eyes in his pursuit of ideal: yet still the moment of projection was anxiously looked for: and if, at length, heart-sick from hope deferred, impoverished and disheartened by the blowing up of one laboratory after another, he seemed verging towards despair, the insatiable transmuters rallied his hopes with fresh and more confident assurances. They had certainly been on the very eve of the discovery; and if he should now desist, all his past trouble and *expense would have been thrown away:* every failure could be accounted for: one said the furnace had been too hot; another, too cool; but all agreed that if he would but persevere, and go the right way to work (though *at variance with each other as to which was the right way*), he would be sure of ultimate success.

To me, I must confess, it does appear that we have been deluded by the dreams of this legislative Alchemy quite long enough, and that it would be our wisest plan to demolish at once the whole

apparatus, and begin, immediately, some *better* course, while we are deliberating and inquiring which is the *best*. But at any rate, let us *inquire*. Should it be thought that the question respecting Transportation is not fully settled, let *that* be *included* in the inquiry: let it be added to the list of other systems of secondary punishment, actual or proposed, that shall form the subjects of examination and comparison by a Commission. But at least let us not resolve, at once, in blind confidence, to persevere at all hazards in a system whose advantages are, *confessedly*, prospective only, and contingent on the successful adoption of new and untried modifications. For, the very plea of the advocates themselves is, that the experiment has not yet been *tried* in the proper way. If therefore we are resolved to admit of no *changes* in anything, but to go on, right or wrong, in the course once adopted, then, Col. Arthur's projected modifications must be abandoned: if, on the other hand, we think it right to inquire at all, what plans will answer best, let us inquire *thoroughly;* and not take for granted that we *must*, at all events, retain Transportation, and have only to consider how to make the best of *that;* but compare together, that, and other plans of a different character.

To concede that the Transportation system may be admitted, along with others, as a matter for further inquiry, instead of being at once rejected, is surely conceding a great deal; considering that by the unconscious admission of its advocates, it is, at the present day "a shameful and unblessed thing," and that such a vast amount of evils resulting from it have been so long before the Public, in statements which were then only denied, when there was a particular object in denying them. But to cast aside all doubt,—reject all proposals for further inquiry,—and proceed confidently with the present system, as if clear of all suspicion, would be a rashness which might be characterized by a still stronger term.

But since the main feature of my recommendation—the appointment of a Commission for inquiry,—does not involve the immediate abolition of Transportation, nor even its abolition at all, should it appear, on a fair comparison with other plans, worthy of being retained;—since, in short, such a Commission could not be inconsistent with the existence of *any* plan that should be proved salutary,—why have none of those who have undertaken to defend the cause, attended to this circumstance? Why does neither Col. Arthur nor either of the others suggest a modification of my proposal, that penal colonies, *as well as other* penitentiaries, should be

subjected to the investigation of the Commission alluded to: adding that though such an investigation might perhaps be superfluous, it would, at least, throw additional light on the superiority of their system to the rest? And why, in short, have they *never alluded to the proposed inquiry at all?*

I cannot but think that we have good grounds for suspecting a reason for this suppression; viz. a secret consciousness, that the system would not *stand the test* of inquiry;—that it would not *bear* investigation;—and that the only hope of maintaining it, was in deprecating inquiry and persuading the Public, by confident assurances, to acquiesce blindly in things as they are. If such a suspicion be unfounded, it is they who have given a colour to it.

Be this however as it may, the fact of the omission is before us. No reason is adduced why the proposed inquiries and experiments should not be made, under such a Commission as I ventured to recommend—inquiries and experiments whose results must be to *prove the superior advantages* of the present system, if they have any real existence.

To accede to such a proposal would not (we should remember) necessarily imply an immediate *condemnation* of the system, but only bringing it to trial: to reject the proposal, and *refuse* inquiry, would imply an immediate and *decisive approbation.* It would imply that there is not even any prevailing *doubt* on the subject in the public mind, nor any *ground* for doubt. And which would be the more rash and which the more cautious procedure, let any one judge.

I am anxious therefore that it should be distinctly perceived what is the present state of the question between the advocates of the system and its opponents. If *our* conclusions be fully admitted, the practical result must be, a resolution, as the first step, to abolish at once the system of Penal Colonies. If *theirs* be admitted,—or rather *some* of them, to the rejection of others, since they are mutually contradictory,—if we fully make up our minds to acquiesce with unhesitating confidence, in Col. Arthur's views, in spite of what is urged by his auxiliaries,—then, we must persist in the system, without further inquiry. But if a *doubt* remains in the mind of any reader, whether they or we are in the right,—if he is not quite *certain,* which party has the better of the argument, then it is plain, he should decide in favour of the investigation, and merely require that Transportation should be included along with other subjects of inquiry.

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Blakie, said he had every reason to believe that his prisoner was a deserter from the 90th Regiment of Foot, as he found a description in the *Hue and Cry* which exactly applied to him. Blakie said he was willing to save all further trouble, by confessing to the felony. He had taken the watch, in the hope of being sent out of the country. Some time ago he had enlisted as a soldier, but he had lately got disgusted with the profession, and in order to make himself clear of the army, he preferred being sent to trial, and transported as a felon. Mr. Conant asked him if had really committed the offence from a distaste to the military profession? The prisoner replied that it was really the case. While he was a soldier he felt himself little better than a slave; but if sent to New South Wales, he hoped in time to get his living at the trade he had been bred to, and, as a mechanic, to become a useful member of society. The prisoner was fully committed.

APPENDIX NO. II.

Facts relating to the Condition and Treatment of Female Convicts, on their Passage to Botany Bay; collected from the Mouth of John Owen, Boatswain of the 'Amphitrite' Female Convict Vessel, wrecked off Boulogne, Aug. 31, 1833, *and confirmed by John Richard Rice, Seaman of the same.*

There were 108 female prisoners on board the vessel: twelve of these women had children with them. The ages of the prisoners were from about twelve to about fifty; those of the children, from about five weeks to about nine years, excepting one girl of fourteen.

The children were always with the women; there was no attempt at separation; they were all together. The women slept three in a bed. The beds ran the whole length of the ship, fore and aft. Between every three beds was a board. The women who had a child had two other women also in their beds. The women all seemed very tender mothers, with the exception of one old Scotchwoman, who treated her child very cruelly; it was a boy of three years old. Owen remembers only one woman who instructed her child—a boy of seven or eight. She used to teach him to read regularly every day. He was a natural child. The woman had been a prostitute, and came from Ratcliffe-highway. Her name was ———. The language and behaviour of some of the women was outrageous and disgusting beyond anything the men had ever heard. Owen has frequently been obliged to throw pails of water over them, as the only means of keeping them at a distance from the crew. All this lan-

guage and behaviour the children were exposed to hear and see night and day. He believes it to be the general rule on board female convict vessels, that there should be no communication between the prisoners and the crew, and that the former do not go to the fore part of the ship. The women on board the 'Amphitrite' had the range of the deck. The doctor let them go where they liked; he never took any notice if they did not make a riot. The doctor had the sole management of them; never heard him expostulate, advise, or in any way converse with them. There was no attempt at restraint, instruction, or government of any kind; only, if one was riotous, he had her brought upon deck, and put into a thing like a watch-box, in which they could not sit, and could only just stand upright. It was very strongly built: no opening, except some small holes at the top to admit air. The women were sometimes shut up in this for hours at a time. This was the only punishment. There was no reward or encouragement for good conduct: no attempt to keep them employed. The captain never interfered with them in any way; it was not his business. The only order he ever gave them was, to bring up their beds on deck every fine morning. That was the only thing they were ever set to do: all their other employment was at their own pleasure. The doctor's wife never spoke to any of them, nor took any notice of them, except to call Poole, the woman who attended upon her. There was no divine service on board. Each woman had a Bible given her at Woolwich, by Mrs. Fry, and two other Quaker ladies. Most of them could read and write. Those from Newgate had been taught in the school there. Mrs. Fry and the other ladies came on board at Woolwich four or five times, and read prayers. Most of the women sewed a good deal. Almost all had a trunk or box of clothes. Part of these were furnished by Government, or by the counties from which they came.

In reply to my inquiries as to the previous life and habits of the women, the sum of Owen's answers was as follows:—Forty of the women were from Newgate. Most of these were very young; the oldest did not seem above thirty. Many of them were from Ratcliffe-highway and from Westminster; some from Chelsea. Most of them had been prostitutes: some were very hardened and outrageous. Those who had been in Newgate the longest were the worst. It was Owen's place, as boatswain, to sling the chair for Mrs. Fry and the other ladies, when they came on board. He heard the Newgate girls wish she might fall overboard and be drowned. Some of them appeared very well disposed. He thinks if they had been kept from the bad ones, and taken pains with, they

would have behaved very well. All the girls on board, under the age of fifteen or sixteen, were from Newgate.

There were eighteen women from Scotland. These were the worst, and most ferocious and hardened on board. They were almost all above forty: only one young woman among them. There was not one tolerably decent. Their language was the most disgusting that can be conceived, and they were always quarrelling and fighting, and stealing from the other women. Owen does not remember what were their offences. Several of them had children. One had a daughter on board, fourteen years of age; she had been in the hospital nearly from the time they sailed, and was not expected to live.

Owen does not recollect how many Irish women there were. The number was not great. There were none remarkably bad among them. None of them had children.

The best behaved of the women were from the counties of England, particularly three from Worcestershire. They were all young. They had all been prostitutes at Worcester, and were transported for some acts of violence towards the police. The eldest was twenty-three. Her name was ———. She was extremely beautiful. These three girls always kept together, and did not associate with the others. They were always quiet and well behaved. They used to sit together constantly, reading the Bible and other books, sewing, and singing hymns. When they sailed, two of them were put into the same bed with one of the Newgate women. The next morning they complained to the doctor, that they could not bear to sleep with her, her language and behaviour were so indecent and offensive to them. They were then allowed to sleep with the other Worcester woman. Two were *enceinte*, and would have been brought to bed on board. When the ship struck, ——— was the only one who did not go down to fetch a bundle of clothes. They expected to go ashore in the boats. Owen asked her why she did not; she said, if she could save her life, she did not mind the rest. He fetched her bonnet for her. After this he saw no more of her.

There was one woman, of about twenty-eight, from Nottingham; she was very quiet and steady; she used to wait on the doctor's wife; her name was Poole; she had a great quantity of clothes. There was one from Hull, of about twenty-two, very quiet. Several from Manchester and from Norwich. Remembers nothing remarkable about them. Two from Liverpool, extremely bad; never saw more abandoned girls; the eldest was not more than seventeen. Does not remember any from the west of England. There was one Welsh

girl, not above nineteen; she could not speak a word of English: the others robbed her the first day she came on board. She was the most dejected of the whole. She used to stand at the gangway from morning till night, looking on the water, and crying. For a fortnight they could not get her to eat; she would take nothing but a drink of cold water, or now and then an apple or a pear. Owen thinks she was from Beaumaris. Forgets what was her crime. She was perfectly quiet.

Owen observed very little kindness among the prisoners. They did not generally seem to be dejected, nor to regard transportation as a punishment. A great many said they never meant to go back to England. Only three were transported for life. One of them was from Newgate, and one from Scotland; forgets where the other came from. Some had been in Newgate four or five months: these were the worst.

[G.]

SUBSTANCE OF A SPEECH ON TRANSPORTATION,

Delivered in the House of Lords, on the 19th of May, 1840, *by His Grace the* ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

PREFACE.

I HAVE been led to the publication of the following pages partly by the encouragement, partly by the alarm, which the late debate occasioned.

In common with the other opponents of Transportation, I was encouraged,—greatly encouraged,—to find that the subject excited an interest, far short, indeed, still, of what it deserves, but yet far beyond what it excited a few years back. And we were further encouraged by the abandonment on the part of the Government of one of the worst parts of the System as hitherto conducted,—the Assignment of convicts as slaves to the settlers: a measure which has, from

the first, formed the principal plea on which the whole system was defended,—which has enlisted the apparent interests of so many persons in its support,—and has all along had a plausible appearance in the eyes of the uninquiring and unreflecting, who constitute the great majority: but of which the pernicious effects are at length perceived and admitted.

On the other hand, I felt no small apprehension lest the Public mind should be lulled into a false security by the application of partial and inadequate remedies, and the adoption of half-measures, which, by the confession of those who propose them, "leave the main evil of Transportation in full vigour."[1] Men are naturally disposed to give a cordial and unscrutinizing reception to any suggestions or any hopes which may justify them in withdrawing their attention from an unpleasant subject. There is danger therefore of their being satisfied on merely learning that *something* is to be done; and of their even expecting a gradual extinction of the system of criminal colonization, from measures whose obvious tendency is to maintain and perpetuate it.

It appears to me therefore more than ever necessary to use the most strenuous efforts for calling public attention to the subject. The patient who fancies himself cured by the amputation of a *portion* of a gangrened limb, and foregoes all further attention to his disease, may be in a worse situation than before. For more than half a century men's minds remained on this subject blinded by an extraordinary delusion against the strongest arguments,—the most ample experience,—the most unexceptionable testimony: if it should take another half-century to dispel a new set of delusions—to open their eyes to the futility of fresh hopes based on the lately proposed modifications of the system—hopes as fallacious, I am persuaded, as those with which the system itself was originally welcomed,—who can tell to what an enormous and irremediable extent this ever-increasing mischief may have grown? That half a century of perseverance in resolute and judicious measures may suffice to eradicate the deep-rooted evils which have sprung, and are springing, from our past errors, is rather my wish than my hope: but if we are to persist, even in a modified degree, in these errors,—if we are to continue to throw even a diminished but a constant supply of fuel on the conflagration, the prospect is deplorable indeed.

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[1] Papers relative to Transportation and Assignment of Convicts. Session, 1839. No. 582. Official Note transmitted by S. M. Phillipps, Esq., to Sir G. Grey, Bart., p. 6.

These are the reasons that induced me to make this fresh effort to call the attention of the Legislature and of the Public at large to a too-long neglected subject. It is almost superfluous, I trust, to add, that I am wholly uninfluenced by any personal or party motives. I have no interest whatever in the question, beyond the interest which every member of the community has in the repression of crime and the enactment and enforcement of good laws,—the interest which every true patriot feels in the prosperity and credit of his country,—and the interest which every true friend of the Human Race must feel, in the general diffusion of morality, peace and good order, instead of wickedness, barbarism, and misery.

Had popularity been my object, I should not have taken up so unattractive a subject;—one whose difficulties are surpassed only by its revolting odiousness; nor should I, if studious of personal ease and quiet, have knowingly encountered, as I have done, the opposition of so many whose interests, real or apparent, might be expected, on this question, either to warp their judgment, or at least lead them to endeavour to warp that of others.

But the cause which I advocate is one which I have long been convinced,—and I rejoice to find that many others have been led to the same conviction—is the cause of truth and justice,—of christian morality,—of sound policy: it is the cause of the British Nation, of the existing Human Race, and of unborn Generations: and I could not forgive myself if through my fault any fair means were left untried for its promotion.

The substance of the opening Speech, and of the Reply, have been incorporated together. The topics treated of were the same in each; but in the Reply (which was, as usually happens, much more slightly recorded in the newspapers) those points were dwelt on and explained which had been overlooked or misunderstood in the course of the debate; and in particular, attention was drawn to the circumstance that Mr. Drummond's suggestion of substituting some island on the British coast for Norfolk Island, as a temporary expedient,—a suggestion on which mainly rested my recommendation of the *immediate* abolition of Transportation to the Austrálian Colonies—was left almost, or altogether, unnoticed by the speakers on the other side.

SUBSTANCE OF A SPEECH, &c.

My Lords,

I have in the first place to present a Petition on the subject of the motion I am about to make; a Petition which, though very brief in itself, is long in respect of signatures, being signed by two hundred and twenty-five respectable persons, resident in London and Westminster, among whom are five or six *merchants trading to New South Wales*. The petitioners pray, in few, but expressive words, for the entire abolition of the punishment of transportation.

I regret, my Lords, that this most important subject has not been in the first instance taken up by some other member of this House, more practised as a debater than myself, and more qualified to meet the great and peculiar difficulties which pertain to it. Not, however, that the *decision* of the main question does appear to me to present any considerable difficulty, to those who have carefully and candidly attended to the subject; but to produce this attention—to direct men's minds to the subject, and fix them earnestly and steadily on the consideration of it,—this it is that in several years' experience, I have found to be the most difficult task. In the course of those years—not less than eleven—during which I have been engaged in repeated efforts to excite some public interest in a matter of such vital importance, I have sometimes been almost led to regret, that the subject of Penal Colonies has *not* been made a party question:—at least, to doubt whether that circumstance—advantageous as at first sight it appears with a view to its fair investigation, has not been, in another point of view, a disadvantage. Party questions are not indeed usually considered and discussed in the fairest and most dispassionate way; but at least they attract attention;—they do obtain consideration and discussion; and this is in itself at least, favourable to the cause of truth; it holds out some hope at least, of ultimately leading to a right decision.

The present, on the contrary, being no party question, has been generally, I regret to say, regarded with equal indifference by men of all parties; and that indifference has commonly been succeeded by a disgust which has still more turned aside their minds from the subject.

Most persons with whom I have conversed respecting our system of Transportation, have acknowledged to me that it is a subject they had not much thought of, but of which they had a general impression that it is one attended with great difficulties, and those, of a peculiarly unpleasant character. And when so far roused to a sense of the importance of the question as to overcome their first repug-

nance to enter upon it at all, I have generally found them so disgusted with the painful, the shocking and loathsome details, into which the inquirer is necessarily led, as to shrink back with aversion from the investigation, and abandon all further consideration of the subject; saying, either in words or virtually, that the whole question of Penal Legislation is difficult and disagreeable, and that they would rather have nothing to do with it.

Such is the temper of mind I have too often met with in those who, in respect of other matters pertaining to the public welfare, are neither indifferent nor inactive. And when I have taken occasion to point out some measures that are imperatively called for, with a view to the immediate mitigation at least of some of the enormous and ever-growing evils of our Transportation system, I have been usually met by the general answer that "there are difficulties" in every plan that has been suggested.

Difficulties indeed! Why, what is all Legislation—what is all Government, but a choice of difficulties? Most especially must *criminal* Legislation be a choice of difficulties, because it is at best but a choice of evils; all punishment being in itself an evil. No one who is disposed to remain inactive and to let all abuses take their course, need be at a loss for an excuse, if difficulties are a sufficient plea. "The slothful man saith, there is a lion in the way! a lion is in the path!" But is such a man fit to legislate or to govern?

For what purpose, my Lords, do we sit here—with what professed view does any one undertake public office—except to grapple with and overcome difficulties in the way of the public welfare? But the difficulties, it is urged, are peculiarly great in the case of criminal legislation. They are so; and are greatly enhanced by the wrong course which we have so long been pursuing. If it is a troublesome and difficult task to devise and carry into effect wise measures, it is a still harder task to undo the effects of unwise ones. To retrace our steps,—to remodel our whole procedure,—to abandon the System of Penal Colonies, and endeavour to remedy in some degree the frightful evils they have occasioned;—all this must of necessity add very greatly to the ordinary difficulties of legislating on this subject. But if the difficulties are great, is not the importance of the questions at issue even more than proportionably great? It is indeed one which is usually treated as if it were of second-rate or third-rate consequence; while the keenest interest is excited by questions, not unimportant indeed, but much more remotely connected with the real *end* of all Government and all Legislation—the

security of person and property, and the morality and general prosperity of the community. It is by reference to these ends that the value of all laws—of all political institutions,—is to be measured. What is the use of Parliaments,—of Judges,—of Constitutional Government, altogether,—except to protect innocence and repress crime—to secure the rights, and promote the peace and good order, and the physical and moral welfare, of the subjects? If these then,—the great ends of Government be unattained and unattended to, while we are earnestly devoting our attention to some subordinate and remote point of legislation,—while we are eagerly discussing perhaps the best mode of appointment of some Government functionary, we are devoting ourselves to the means, while we disregard the end: we are acting as preposterously as an agriculturist would, who should be careful to provide agricultural implements of the best construction, and to arrange his farm-buildings on the most approved plan, while he entrusted the actual tillage of his land to the most careless and unskilful labourers, and cared nothing what seed was sown, or what crops were raised on it.

The apathetic indifference of which I have been complaining is, of late, I am happy to find, giving way to a better feeling. That frozen insensibility to some of the most important interests of the Country and of the Human Race, which had so long prevailed, is now apparently beginning to thaw. More attention than heretofore is directed to the subject; and great, though I must think, far from sufficient, modifications of the existing system have been announced as resolved on. I most sincerely congratulate this House, and Her Majesty's Ministers and the Nation at large, on this change. And some persons may perhaps have expected that I should have remained satisfied with those announcements of intended alteration, which have been lately made by Ministers in the other House: and that I should at least have waited for the result of the proposed experiments. But of the success of those experiments neither I nor, what is much more—the very proposers of them (as far as appears) entertain much hope. I am convinced on the contrary, that those proposed modifications are not merely in themselves insufficient to fully remedy the main part of the evils which call for remedy, but that they leave the very root and principle of those evils wholly untouched. There is therefore not only no immediate accomplishment, but no tendency towards the gradual and ultimate accomplishment, of the great object which we ought to aim at. The longest and fairest trial of any measure avails nothing towards an end which is not even proposed and sought for. And this is not merely my

own conviction; it is also, as I have said, the conviction, apparently, even of the very proposers of the modifications I allude to. It is expressly stated in an official paper (printed last year) which your Lordships probably have seen,[1] that to "send the larger proportion of transported convicts to Norfolk Island . . . . . would leave *the main evil* of Transportation in full vigour;" because "at the expiration of their sentences they will *flock to the Australian Colonies*, and render that *noxious atmosphere fouler* by the addition:" and this is immediately afterwards characterized as a "fatal objection."

I see no reason therefore for supposing Her Majesty's Ministers to be so wedded to the plans now proposed,—so fully satisfied of the efficacy and the sufficiency of the projected modifications, as not to be induced—I may say, encouraged, and enabled,—by a strong expression of the feeling of this House and of the Public at large, to proceed much further in the good work, and adopt effectually remedial measures for the evils in question.

I have spoken of not inducing merely, but *enabling* Ministers so to proceed, because it is not in the *power* of the Executive to take such measures as are essentially requisite for the reform of our system of Secondary Punishments, without the aid of Parliament. It is left to Ministers—in respect of the present question,—it is for them to steer the vessel, in some degree, in the right direction: but it is the Legislature alone that can supply a strong and a favourable gale.

Before I proceed to point out to your Lordships the utter insufficiency, as it appears to me, of the modifications lately announced, towards remedying the main evils of the system, I wish to remark briefly on the extremely slow progress which has hitherto been made in the enlightening of men's minds as to those evils, and as to the urgent importance of aiming at their removal. I advert to this slowness of progress, because that circumstance indicates a danger that unless a stronger expression of opinion than has yet been elicited, on the part of this, or of the other House of Parliament, be now called forth, the chief part of the evils of the system of Penal Colonies may remain unremedied for perhaps another half century; or we may even slide back again into all those extremes of abuse and corruption which it is now proposed to put a stop to.

Let it be remembered then, that more than fifty years ago, when the scheme of a Penal Colony was first set on foot, the illustrious

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[1] Papers relative to Transportation, &c. Session 1839, No. 582. Official Note transmitted by S. M. Phillipps, Esq., to Sir George Grey, Bart., p. 6.

Howard most earnestly deprecated the measure.[1] *He* was not a man whom any one would call an inexperienced speculator setting up Theory in place of Experience: yet it was in defiance of his deliberate judgment,—of his solemn remonstrance—that the plan was adopted: and not only the authority of that great philanthropist, but the too true fulfilment of his emphatic forebodings, during a period of half a century, were, till very lately, disregarded.

But I might refer much farther back, and to a still higher authority, that of Lord Bacon; who expressed in the strongest terms his own conviction of the impolicy as well as immorality of convict colonization. "It is," said that great man, "a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues and not fall to work, but be lazy and do mischief and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation."[2] To colonists of such a description Lord Bacon has indeed bequeathed in vain the exhortation which follows,—"Let men make that profit of being in the wilderness that they have God always and his service before their eyes!"

It is indeed somewhat mortifying to reflect how little the judgments of these eminent men have been attended to: but on the other hand, there is something encouraging in finding my views supported

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[1] See Howard's Works on Prisons and Lazarettos. The labours of Howard were the principal means of urging on the legislature the Penitentiary Act, 19 Geo. III. cap. 74, which he framed in conjunction with Sir William Blackstone, and Mr. Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland). Howard was appointed one of the three supervisors of the Penitentiaries to be erected pursuant to that Act, but in consequence of an unfortunate dispute among the supervisors, in regard to the site of the first penitentiary for the metropolis, Howard resigned his office, and the plan consequently did not take effect. He however never altered the decided opinion which he had formed, in favour of a penitentiary system, and against the scheme of Transportation which the Government had in 1784 unhappily determined to adopt as a secondary punishment. Some years afterwards we find Howard thus expressing himself:—"Such dreadful nurseries have been a principal cause of the increased number of crimes, and the shocking destruction of our fellow-creatures. I am persuaded this would have been in a great measure prevented, if penitentiary houses had been built on the salutary spot fixed on at Islington by Dr. Fothergill and myself. The gentlemen whose continued opposition defeated the design, and adopted *the expensive, dangerous and destructive scheme of Transportation to Botany Bay*, I leave to their own reflections upon their conduct."—*Brown's Life of Howard*, page 495.

[2] Essay 33; Of Plantations.

by such authority. I have been loudly censured,—I have been derided—for the part I have taken in this question: but were I much more sensitive to human applause and censure than I trust I have ever shown myself, I could not but regard it as an honour to be censured and derided in company with a Bacon and a Howard.

My own attention was forcibly called to this subject a good many years ago, from my observation of the effects of the Transportation system in my own neighbourhood in Suffolk. I perceived the every-way demoralizing tendencies of the system; which were more and more forced upon my notice in proportion as I extended my inquiries. I found the relatives and former neighbours of transported convicts receiving such favourable accounts of the situation of those convicts—sometimes true, and sometimes false, but always alluring,—that the punishment (so called) of Transportation had the effect of a bounty on crime, and the condition of the convict with light work and not only plentiful but luxurious maintenance, could not but be regarded with envy by the poor labourer, who, with hard work and scanty food, was struggling, and often struggling in vain, to keep himself and his family from the parish.[1]

The alluring descriptions given of the condition of the convicts, I

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[1] "I question much, however," (says Mr. Cunningham,) "whether many *English* labourers live better than our convict-servant here, whose weekly ration consists of a sufficiency of flour to make four quartern loaves at least: of seven pounds of beef; two ounces of tea; one pound of sugar; and two ounces of tobacco, with the occasional substitution of two or three quarts of milk daily for the tea and sugar allowance. Numbers of the English working poor would doubtless be happy to bargain for such a diet; and thus their situation might in these points be bettered, by their being placed upon an equality with *convicts!*" * * * *

"The Irish convicts are more happy and contented with their situation on board, than the English, although more loth to leave their country, even improved as the situation of the great body of them is by being thus removed,—numbers telling me they had never been half so well off in their lives before. It was most amusing to read the letters they sent to their friends on being fairly settled on board, (all such going through the surgeon's hands,) none ever failing to give a most circumstantial account of what the breakfast, dinner, and supper consisted of; a minute list of the clothes supplied, and generally laying particular emphasis on the important fact of having a blanket and bed to 'my own self *entirely*,' which seemed to be somewhat of a novelty by their many circumlocutions about it. One observed, in speaking of the ship, that 'Mr. Reedy's parlour was never half so *clane*,' while the burden of another was, 'Many a *Mac* in your town, if he only knew what the situation of a convict was, would not be long in following my example! Thank God for the same! I never was better off in my life.'"—*First Letter to Earl Grey*, p. 71—73.

ascertained to be in a great majority of cases, true; but in some instances very much the reverse: in both cases however they did give the same kind of description; and the results were the same. For it unfortunately happens that, in reference to this subject, opposite causes produce the same effects. Men wish for *companions* either in enjoyment or in suffering; and whichever was the convict's lot, (*lot* it might strictly be called, for it was generally the decision of chance,)[1] it was by an *alluring* description of it that he would be likely to induce others to join him.

That these representations did produce their natural effect of leading to the commission of crimes in the hope of being transported, came to my knowledge in several instances; and these I could not but suppose to be but few in comparison of those which did *not* come to my knowledge. And I felt that it is no better than a mockery for any man to pray that he may not be "led into temptation" if he is in any way a consenting party to a system which thus leads his brethren into temptation.

Then as to the returned convicts, all evidence from all quarters goes to show that, as a general rule, their characters are what might be expected to result from the voyage,—the life they lead in the colony,—the intermixture of all varieties of depraved character,—and the other circumstances of their (misnamed) reformatory punishment; and that they return home usually so hardened in every vice, that I verily believe if only five out of every fifty should come back, those five would bring home with them a mass of depravity, greater, and of a more infectious kind, than the whole fifty took out with them.

These views were more and more confirmed the more I extended my inquiries; which also brought under my notice the still more

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[1] "Crime is not punished as crime, although certain criminals are treated with much severity. The question of colonial profit and loss mixes with the award of justice. A man is estimated by his capacity as a colonist, not by his crime as a felon. A clever servant is employed as a steward or butler, regardless of the fact that he has been guilty of embezzlement. At the same time a boy who has stolen a fowl from a farm-yard may be subjected to cruel servitude in a remote settlement. The servitude or slavery which is comprehended under the word 'assignment,' varies and must vary as slavery does, according to the temper and character of the master to whom the convict is assigned. The worst criminal may have the best master, and the most repentant may be driven into fresh offences by the oppression of which he is the victim, and the profligacy of which he is the witness."—*Papers relative to Transportation, &c.* Session, 1839. No. 582. *Official Note transmitted by S. M. Phillipps, Esq., to Sir G. Grey, Bart.*, p. 2.

frightful results in respect of the Penal Settlements themselves, of our "shameful and unblessed" system of colonizing.

It has been sometimes urged, in palliation of it, that if we had not availed ourselves of the advantage of convict-labour, we should never have had such flourishing colonies as we now boast of in New Holland. *Such* colonies as those, we assuredly should not have had: and if the alternative had been that we should have had *none* at all, better—far better—would it have been that the lands of New South Wales should have remained till the end of time in their primitive wildness,—better for the mother-country,—for the aborigines,—and for the settlers themselves,—that the whole region should have been swallowed up in the ocean, than that it should have been erected into such a monument of national folly and perversity, such a stronghold and seminary of wide-spreading and permanent moral corruption, as it now exhibits.

The system,—I mean the continued adherence to the system, has been defended on the authority of Mr. Pitt,—under whose administration it was established.[1] But I cannot see how any one is authorized to assume that Mr. Pitt, if he were now living, and had the benefit of that experience whose results are now before *us*, would have still adhered to a plan which has long since been proved to have completely defeated all the objects he proposed from it. That the plan he adopted was an unwise one, and *unlikely* to realize his hopes, and that it was adopted in disregard of the forebodings and warnings of Howard to that effect, does not warrant our concluding that the fulfilment of those forebodings would have had no effect on his mind. It was begun indeed in defiance of all reason; but it does not follow that he would have persevered in it in defiance of all experience.

Forcibly struck with the frightful amount, and the continual and alarming increase of these evils, and also with the generally prevailing ignorance of their real character and extent, and the strange apathy with which they were usually regarded, I felt myself called upon to use my best exertions, however feeble, towards awakening the public mind. I wrote first an article on the subject in the London Review,[2] which I afterwards reprinted in an appendix to a pamphlet in the form of a Letter addressed (by permission) to Earl Grey when Premier. This was followed by a second Letter on the

[1] See Appendix, Note A.

[2] This Review appeared in 1829, and was continued only for two Numbers. It had no connexion with any other Reviews which have either formerly or subsequently appeared under the same title.

same subject, in vindication of the views taken in the first; which were fully confirmed by the testimony of the very respondents who had undertaken to reply to them. And I subsequently made a communication in writing to the Committee of the House of Commons which sat in the year 1838.[1]

When I see, my Lords, what efforts many of my clerical brethren have made and are making for the mitigation or extinction of negro-slavery, without incurring the shadow of an accusation of departing from their professional character, and intermeddling improperly in secular matters, I feel convinced that no one who has any just and adequate notions on the present subject can possibly feel it strange or indecorous that a clergyman should be warmly interested in it. Taken as a system of *slavery* alone, though that is but one portion of the vast and complicated mass of evils belonging to the system—as a system of slavery, it is in many points worse than negro-slavery. The master of negro-slaves, most of whom probably have been brought up in his family from childhood, and none of whom are necessarily tainted with crime, has every moral inducement, if he is at all capable of good feelings, to treat them well; and at any rate, from having a *permanent* property in them, has at least the same pecuniary interest in their well-being as in that of his cattle. The master of convict-slaves, on the contrary, has no permanent interest in them: his sympathy with them and indulgence of them will be found greatest (as has been proved in evidence) when he himself, being a profligate character, makes them companions in debauchery or associates in crime; and the more licence and indulgence is usually shown to the more desperate ruffian where revengeful passions might be formidable. Then indeed, and when the master happens to be of a timid disposition, and his servants daring and hardened characters, it appears that (in remote situations especially) the relation between the master and servants—the jailer and prisoners—is often very nearly reversed. In short, though it must be admitted that a community consisting of *masters and slaves* is bad, and that a nation of *jailers and prisoners*,—of criminals I may say, and executioners,—is bad, the union of the two in one system,—the system of punishing criminals by assigning them as slaves to labour for the benefit of private individuals—is incomparably the worst of all. Yet this, which is but one out of the many evils of the Transportation system,—the one which it has been at length resolved to put an end to,—continued to be carried on, in spite of all remon-

[1] Report, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 229.

strance,—in spite of the fullest exposure of its noxious effects,—for more than fifty years before the notorious truth was acknowledged and acted on![1] I call your Lordships' attention to the very slow progress which just notions on this subject have hitherto made, because there is much—very much—yet to be done, before a full remedy will have been applied to the abuses of our systems of secondary punishment and of colonization: and because I fear that our future progress will be no less deplorably slow, unless this House and the other branches of the Legislature are aroused to the importance of the subject, and apply to the work of reformation more energetically than heretofore.

During the eleven years that I have been occupied in endeavouring to call public attention to the evils of our present system,—several other persons having in that time been exerting themselves in the same cause,—it was by careless apathy chiefly, and never by even any apparent refutation, that our efforts were resisted. Indeed it may be fairly regarded as at least a strong presumption in favour of the soundness of my views, that from first to last no statement and no argument I have adduced has ever been met, except by attributing to me something quite different from what I really did say, and, in many instances, the very reverse. Vague, general, charges of exaggeration indeed have been thrown out, in Reviews and elsewhere, against the statements I have made: but even a slight examination will suffice to prove that I have kept on the safe side, and have made such statements as are not only borne out, but much more than borne out, both by the evidence before the Committee of the other House, and even by the admissions of the very advocates of the system.—With similar vagueness of assertion it has been said that the opponents of Transportation "have taken all their representations from one side." This indeed, as far as I

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[1] In many other subjects besides this, it is curious to observe how slowly and reluctantly men are induced to admit practically, and to act upon, conclusions of which their understanding has been convinced, when *habit* and prejudice are opposed to them. It is a long process first to effect such a conviction; and when this is accomplished, the task is but half-completed: their *habits* of thought and of action continue, by a kind of *vis inertiæ*, to move in the same course, till time and frequent repetition shall have rendered *familiar* to their minds the conclusions which reason has established. The words which Shakspeare, in mere sportiveness, puts into the mouth of Dogberry, seem in some such cases to be literally applicable: "it hath been *proved already* that you are no better than stark knaves; and it will go near to be *thought so* shortly."

am concerned, I must admit to be true. Nearly all the representations I have brought forward are indeed taken from one side; but that is not *my own* side. I was so anxious to keep clear of all danger either of being unconsciously misled by prejudice, or of having prejudice or unfairness imputed to me, that I referred almost exclusively to the authority of persons decidedly favourable to the system. In the two tracts published in the form of Letters to Earl Grey, the principal authorities referred to in respect to matters of fact, were those of Mr. Cunningham, a surgeon of a convict-ship, who had expressed himself favourable to the system of Penal Colonies, and of Colonel (now Sir George) Arthur, Dr. Ross, and Archdeacon Broughton, now Bishop of Australia; who all wrote in defense of the system, in reply to my first Letter.

All these, as well as the witnesses before the Committee, several of whom were by no means unfavourably disposed towards Penal colonization, furnished the very facts on which my conclusions were based. And when any specific reply has been attempted,—anything more definite than general unsupported insinuations of exaggeration or partiality, — it has invariably happened (as I have already remarked) that something quite unlike anything I ever really said has been attributed to me; and the advocate has then encountered and triumphed over a phantom of his own raising.

Colonel Arthur, for instance, in replying to my first pamphlet, enters into the details of a certain plan of a Penitentiary, and of the objections to it, as if it had been proposed by me.[1] But in this he must have proceeded on some rumour or conjecture; for in the publication which he had before him, not only *this* supposed plan is not to be found, but I had distinctly stated my reason for not recommending *any* plan, except that of appointing a Commission to make inquiries with a view to ascertain what might be most eligible.

And again, very lately, a representation had appeared in the newspapers (whether originating in a mistake of the reporters, or in a hasty credence given to some baseless rumour) of my having proposed a punishment—or rather a substitute for punishment—which would in effect be a bounty on crime. I am represented,—and the report, however it arose, has been widely circulated—as proposing that each criminal on being convicted should, instead of suffering any punishment, be presented with a sum of money sufficient for his outfit and present maintenance, and should have a free passage given him to any colony to which he may chuse to go, as a free

[1] See page 295.

settler. And to prove that this would rather encourage than deter criminals, a good deal of unnecessary ingenuity was expended, which only placed in a stronger point of view the extravagance of the supposition that I, or any one in his senses, could really have made so absurd a proposal!

I will now take the liberty of very briefly laying before your Lordships what I really did say. After having in all my publications dwelt earnestly on one (among many) of the great defects of the Transportation system, that it does not deter, but rather allures men, as appearing likely to put them in a better condition than that of many a poor labourer at home,[1] I remarked (in the letter transmitted to the Transportation Committee) that "under a reformed system of secondary punishment (supposing transportation abolished), it strikes me as desirable, with a view to the preservation from a return to evil courses, of persons released from penitentiaries, &c., *after the expiry of their punishment*, that such as may have indicated a disposition to reform, should be, at their own desire, furnished with means of emigrating to various colonies, British or foreign, in which they may mix, not with such men as their old associates in crime, but with respectable persons, unacquainted with their past history; and may thus be enabled, as the phrase is, to 'turn over a new leaf.' This of course implies, that they should not emigrate in a body to any one place, and as a distinct class. For juvenile offenders, the same course would perhaps be even still more suitable. The colonies which should be specially excluded, should be (at least for fifty years to come) New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; evidently the most unfit places in the world for a half-reclaimed offender. We have surely made trial long enough of that system of moral homœopathy, which seeks to cure a man of vice by putting him in the way of acquiring fresh vice. Surely a physician would be reckoned insane who should send a patient convalescent from ague, and in danger of relapse, into the Lincolnshire fens for the complete re-establishment of his health."[2]

Your Lordships will observe that the whole of the suggestion here thrown out has reference to persons "released *after the expiry of their punishment;*" and that I am speaking of a special favour to such of them (perhaps 20 or 30 per cent.) as may have *given proofs of* "*a disposition to reform.*" If release *after* punishment, and release *without* punishment, are the same, and if a "bounty on

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[1] See my first Letter to Earl Grey, pp. 3, 70, 71, 136, &c. &c.

[2] Report, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 302.

crime" and a bounty on *reformation*, be equivalent, then I am certainly guilty of the absurdity with which I have been charged. But if the reverse of this be the truth, then I must contend that it is some presumption in favour of the soundness of my views, to find the mode in which almost exclusively they are controverted is by representing them as the *opposite* of what they really are.

Although, however, I never was guilty of the absurdity of proposing that criminals should be rewarded, or should be left unpunished, I never undertook to decide what kind of secondary punishment should be substituted for Transportation, or even that any *one* should be adopted in all cases alike.[1] The opponents of Transportation are indeed constantly met by the inquiry "what would you substitute?" as the sole and sufficient defence of the existing system;—as if it followed as a matter of course that we are to persevere in a system which has been proved to have failed, and more than failed, in every point, and has been shown to be the very *worst* of all, unless some one is ready to shew which is the *best* of all. I did not presume to determine at once so important and difficult a question as this; but I pointed out the necessity of taking steps to have a determination made after due investigation. I well knew that those who were—from whatever causes—resolved to adhere to the existing system, and yet conscious that it could not be vindicated, would resort to the question of "what would you substitute?" merely with a view to raise objections, (which may always be done,) against any plan that may be proposed; there being, from the nature of the case, none that can be *exempt* from objections: while those again who might ask the same question in good faith, from a real wish to see the most effectual reform introduced,—these would not fail to see the importance of a regular and careful inquiry. After having shown, therefore, by irrefragable proofs that the existing system was defeating all the objects proposed by it,—augmenting all the evils it was meant to diminish,—and doing unspeakable mischief in various ways besides, I thought a fair case for *inquiry* at least had been made out; and I recommended the appointment of some kind of properly authorized Commission for examining and reforming our secondary punishments. And yet it has actually been sometimes alleged as an objection to my views, that in the eight years which have elapsed since my first pamphlet was published, I have never brought forward any plan for an

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[1] See first Letter to Earl Grey, pp. 10—12 and 43, 44; also Appendix [F.], pp. 300, *et seq.*

unexceptionable system of secondary punishment: that is, that I have not undertaken to *supersede* such a Commission, and to dispense with such an investigation, as I had myself recommended, and shown to be necessary.

Something very nearly approaching to what I ventured to recommend, has, I am happy to say, been done; first in the appointment of a Committee of the other House, which has brought before the Public so much important information; appalling indeed and disgusting in its character, but yet valuable, as a chart of shoals and whirlpools to a mariner;—and subsequently by the appointment of the Commission for inquiry respecting the Constabulary Force. These Commissioners have of course been led to examine into all the causes which tend to the increase, or again to the prevention and suppression, of crime: and I take this opportunity of observing, that as Government deserves credit for instituting that Commission, so do the Commissioners, for the way in which they appear to be discharging their duty. Their first Report—which most of your Lordships probably have seen, as it was published about a year ago, (and a second is, I understand, shortly to appear,)—their first Report, seems to me one of the most important documents ever laid before the Public. I cannot indeed call it an agreeable book to read; but it is interesting,—painfully interesting; and not only highly instructive, but, in one respect, consolatory, in the midst of its most painful details; inasmuch as it shews plainly how great a proportion of crime is attributable to a want of those *preventive* measures which (as is also made evident by the same document) might easily be introduced. Let but the suggestions of the Commissioners on this point be adopted,—suggestions which indeed must occur spontaneously to every intelligent reader of the facts detailed—and we may reasonably hope for such a diminution of offences as will not only prove a vast benefit to the nation in other ways, but also greatly lessen the existing difficulties as to the disposal of Convicts, both during and after their term of punishment.

That prevention is better than punishment, and that punishment is justifiable only as a means of prevention, is indeed universally admitted; but I doubt whether we in general sufficiently estimate the advantage in point of *policy*, and not merely of humanity and morality, of strict and judicious preventive measures over the denunciation of the most formidable penalties: I mean, the more effectual promotion of the ends of justice, by any measures which tend to *shorten the probable career of impunity* to an offender, than by the severity of the punishment in which that career terminates.

The hope of even temporary impunity disarms even capital punishment of its terrors. It is the moral certainty of a *speedy* check that operates to deter. Dangers, however great, when they are contingent, and probably remote, have wonderfully little influence; especially on thoughtless uncalculating minds, bent on present enjoyment; which is just the description of those most exposed to the temptations to crime. When the occupation of an habitual offender is simply a *dangerous* one, it is so far—putting moral considerations apart—on a par with that of soldiers and sailors, and of persons engaged in many unwholesome trades. Some of these last afford the most striking illustration. The soldier indeed, or the sailor, not unfrequently escapes through all his perils, and attains to a comfortable old age; but the Sheffield knife-grinders and some others engaged in equally unwholesome occupations, have a moral certainty of death by a painful disease before they reach the age of 35 or 40; and yet for the extra ten or fifteen shillings per week wages, *men are always to be found* ready to expose themselves to this,—not risk, but—certainty—of premature death. We cannot therefore expect that any denunciation of punishment, even capital, will be effectual, as long as our preventive system is so defective, that a thief, while gaining double or treble the sum for which the Sheffield manufacturer sells his life, can calculate on a career of 5 or 6 years' impunity in towns, and probably double of that, in the country.[1] It is hopeless to attempt repressing crime by any modifications of

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[1] The following passage is extracted from a private letter lately addressed to me by Edwin Chadwick, Esq.:—"In reference to any new Commission for the investigation of the available secondary punishments, I think we have investigated them as far as any Commission is likely to investigate them with profit. We (the Constabulary Force Commissioners) shall recommend the separate system of imprisonment. But amidst a population where the appetites for immediate indulgence are strong; where for two, three, or five pounds, or the means of two or three days' drunkenness, volunteers are found for forlorn hopes and narrow chances of escape; where for thirty or thirty-six shillings a week wages, or ten or fifteen shillings extra to spend in drink, men will undertake such deleterious manufacturing processes as those of the Sheffield knife-grinders, with the certainty of death of a painful kind before they are thirty-six, or within a very few years—amidst such a population, where, from the absence of preventive measures, a man who can get only eighteen or twenty shillings a week by severe labour, rising early and toiling late and monotonously, may as a thief get double the sum, and enjoy a career of four or five years in towns, and probably double that extent of career and profit in the country, (as might be shown by reference to the first portions of the evidence in the

punishment, without such a systematic, well-arranged and vigorous system of Police, as shall cut off in a great degree the hope of escaping detection.

Much however as is to be hoped from the labours of the Commissioners, if their recommendations are energetically acted on, it is plain that no other preventive measures can supersede the necessity of punishments: indeed all other measures must be backed as it were, and supported by the denunciation of punishments as a last resort. All police regulations must proceed on that supposition.

And that the Secondary Punishments which we do retain, should not be—(whatever system we may ultimately adopt,)—any modification of Transportation to Penal Colonies—of that system which for half a century has been bringing disgrace upon us, and such complicated mischiefs upon the Colonies and upon other nations as well as our own, is a conclusion which I can hardly understand any man's failing to draw from the Evidence,—or even any 20 or any 10 pages of it taken at random—which was given before the Committee.[1] I

Constabulary Force Report, par. 4, 6, 10, 11,) it appears to me hopeless to expect that any considerable effect is to be obtained by any probable refinement of punishment. 'You have been punished repeatedly, and in various forms: is there no hopes of your reformation?' said an acquaintance of mine in France to a thief who was about to quit a prison. 'Look you,' said the thief; 'I am by trade a tailor. As a tailor I earn three francs a day. As a thief, I keep myself within the bounds of moderation (*je me range*), but I get not less than thirty francs a day. Would *you* be honest for that?' My acquaintance was silenced by the reply. I think I have heard, that when Baxter, viewing the strength of temptation, saw a thief go to execution, he used to exclaim, 'But for the grace of God, there goes Richard Baxter.' I think we should dwell on the enormity of the daily offence of 'leading men into temptation' by the neglect of preventive measures. As to their practicability, see par. 198 of the First Constabulary Force Report. See also par. 65."

[1] It has been urged in favour of the system that the French are designing to adopt it. That nation certainly are sometimes in danger of being led into ill-considered measures by their eagerness for "Ships, colonies, and commerce;" but in the present case they are more to be excused for concluding that *we* should not have so long persevered in a system that was not beneficial, than we are, for having thus persevered against experience. And we deserve additional blame for having thus set a bad example to others; whose rash imitation of it may perhaps (besides the evil done to themselves and to the rest of the world,) be eventually the means of leading to a war between the two countries.

Some French writers however there are, who, having made the needful inquiries, have perceived and exposed the erroneousness of the system of Penal Colonies.—See, for instance, *De Beaumont & De Tocqueville, Du Système*

cannot but hope therefore that it is not the deliberate and fixed resolution of Ministers to stop at the abolition of the assignment system, and to persevere in a plan which is acknowledged even in the official document which recommends it, to "leave the MAIN EVIL of Transportation in full vigour," the plan of transporting Convicts to Norfolk Island and Tasman's Peninsula, and at the termination of their sentence, when they are (as is fully proved in evidence, and indeed admitted in the very same document [1]) far more incurably hardened and corrupted than they were originally, to let them loose on the Australian colonies, so as to keep up a continual stream of fresh pollution flowing into a community which we have already so shockingly contaminated.

To persevere, I say, knowingly and deliberately in thus creating a profligate nation, and by continual fresh supplies making and keeping it from generation to generation the most hopelessly corrupt community that ever the sun shone upon, would be a national crime and folly which I do trust there is too much good feeling and good sense among us to endure.

To enter into all the details of the particulars which shew what sort of a population that of a Penal Colony is, would be no less superfluous than tedious; as these are already before the Public in the minutes of the Evidence heard by the Committee. But a tolerably

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Pénitentiare aux Etats-Unis, &c., Appendix; Des Colonies Pénales; chap. 1, 2, 3.

[1] The Evidence taken by the Committee fully establishes the fact that the dread of Norfolk Island has not deterred from crime,—that many have returned there very shortly after discharge,—that it has had no reformatory effect,—but has operated rather as the reverse of a preventive of crime. See Examinations of Dr. Ullathorne, Rept. vol. ii. p. 14; Major Wright, do. p. 130; the Right Rev. Dr. Polding, Rept. vol. ii. App. p. 266, and the Rev. H. T. Stiles, do. p. 267. The last-mentioned witness thus sums up his opinion: "The effect, then, of banishment to Norfolk Island, as a preventive of crime in this colony, I conceive to be of the least assignable value possible. One reason why these effects are no greater than they are is sufficiently obvious. The punishment is not visible in this colony, and therefore does not operate very powerfully *in terrorem*. My own district affords me an illustration of this truth. Two or three young men from the currying have within no very long space of time been transported to Norfolk Island; one of them is named Allsop, and was sent for cattle-stealing; but the same crime is, to say the least, as common in the district as ever; it is committed without reflecting upon Allsop's case, for he being out of sight is also out of remembrance." The testimonies above cited, taken together, go far to confirm the expression quoted in the official paper, p. 9, "When a man comes to this island he loses the heart of a man, &c."

correct notion may be formed, by simply referring to some of the population-returns which have been made. It appears that in 1836 the population of New South Wales was 77,000; of which about 28,000 were actual convicts under sentence, and about 17,000 emancipists, that is, convicts whose terms had expired; so that there were only about 32,000,—little more than two-fifths of the whole population, who had not been convicts; and even of these, a considerable proportion are of course the children of convicts. But further, when we remember that the population-return of 77,000 is inclusive of children, and that all the convicts and emancipists are adults, the real state of society will appear still more shocking, for supposing that of the 77,000 about 17,000 were children, and considering that the free emigrants are in a great part young married people, the adult population will be reduced to 60,000, of which 45,000 are either convicts, or emancipists,—so that a community is thus exhibited, of which three-fourths have been convicted felons! And when to this is added the circumstance that it appears the proportion of males to females among the convicts is six to one, and in the back settlements of the colony, seventeen to one, the consequences are such as may be faintly conceived, but cannot be, in this place, described. The unutterable licentiousness prevailing among both sexes, as may be collected from many parts of the evidence, exceeds if possible even what might have been anticipated from the collection together of such a multitude and variety of profligate characters, so much outnumbering the sounder parts of the population.

In bringing forward on several occasions these facts,—painful facts certainly, but, since facts they are, most important to be pressed on the attention both of Government and of individuals, I have been accused of calumniating the colonists,—of casting injurious imputations on their character, on slight and insufficient grounds.

But let it be observed that I have never spoken but of the *general* character of the society, which I have described as it is represented by the testimony,—the *uncontradicted testimony*—of numerous eye-witnesses. I have never cast any censure on individuals. I have never expressed,—I have never had,—any doubt that there are individuals in those colonies of perfectly unblemished character, who have preserved—and it is greatly to their honour—themselves, and what is much more still, their families, untainted by the surrounding neighbourhood:—by what Sir Francis Forbes, no unfriendly witness, describes as "*the most contaminating community in*

the world."[1] It is of that *community*, and of its *general* tone of morals and manners,[2] that I have always been speaking. That it contains worthy and truly respectable individuals, I never doubted; and what is more, I am perfectly confident that all the individuals in the colony of that description, be they many or few, will, instead of being displeased, be gratified by the course I am pursuing. Although therefore I should not shrink from that course, though it were to be censured by all the colonists,—or by all mankind, I am convinced that the truly respectable settlers, and all who have the best interests of the colonies at heart, must concur with me in this matter. I say this, because it is evident from the very nature of the case. There may indeed be men who are what is called "respectable," in point of fortune or station, who may be influenced by views (though to me these seem mistaken views, even in respect of pecuniary profit and loss) of their own immediate interest, to wish for a continued importation of convicts. But for a man, respectable in point of real moral worth, to wish for the continuance of the system which has already made the community he lives in "the most contaminating community in the world," would be a contradiction in terms. Such a man cannot but wish, on the contrary, for its purification, by the stoppage of that foul stream, and the influx of emigrants of good character in their stead. And it is manifest that there cannot be a greater impediment, in every way, both to the emigration of honest labourers, and to the influence of those who do arrive, on the tone of society, than continual fresh additions of people of tainted character. It is therefore, I say, impossible but that all the really worthy,[3] pure, and upright individuals in the colonies, be they many

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[1] Evidence, vol. i. p. 89.

[2] The moral state of society in the Penal Colonies is described by the Transportation Committee under the fourth head of their Inquiry. See Report, pages xxiii to xxxiii. See also Evidence of Mr. John Russell, vol. ii. p. 49—62; of John Barnes, Esq., vol. ii. p. 46—49; of Dr. Ullathorne, vol. ii. p. 14—24, &c. &c. Also Captain Mackonochie's separate Report on Van Diemen's Land, and Mr. Justice Burton's Charge, Appendix to Transp. Report, vol. i. p. 289. These witnesses, without citing more, will be found fully sufficient to shew how truly Sir F. Forbes characterized the state of society.

[3] In some of the newspaper reports the word "wealthy" was by mistake substituted for "worthy." The difference is of no small importance in all countries, but in none perhaps more important than in the colonies in question. It is well known that among the emancipated convicts are to be found individuals who have accumulated very large fortunes, and the Transportation Report gives an account

or few, must prefer a moral to an immoral population, and must consequently be disposed rather to thank than to blame me, for labouring to put a stop to the evil from which the character of their community has suffered so grievously.

But documents have lately been produced, emanating from persons, some of them holding high stations in the colony of New South Wales, advocating the continuance of the assignment system, and representing the state of society as totally the reverse of what I have described, and what has hitherto been generally believed: and on the strength of these documents, (without any reference whatever to the Evidence before the Committee, or any notice of such a Committee having ever sat,) I have been held up to censure as rashly bringing injurious and groundless charges against the colony. And what is truly astonishing, I have been spoken of as having hastily given credence to some *unknown private* informant, nobody knows who! My Lords, I need hardly repeat that I have all along referred and appealed to the Evidence given,—the Evidence of about 24 persons—before a Committee of the other House;—to the Report of that Committee, and to sundry other printed and published documents, containing the testimony—among others—of some of *the principal persons who now come forward to give an opposite* representation![1]

The language of reprobation in which I have spoken is certainly, in itself, strong;—but *much—very much stronger* language would have been fully justified by the Evidence adduced; as any one may easily see by even a slight glance at that Evidence.

But if we are to believe the documents brought forward of late (*too* late, it may well be said) by the defenders of the system, we

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of one who possessed £40,000 per annum.—See Evidence of Dr. Lang, Rep. vol. i. p. 254; and of Mr. Mudie, ditto, p. 112. The means by which the wealth was in this instance acquired were principally by keeping a public house, to which dissolute emancipist farmers were enticed, and where they were in the habit of remaining for days together in a state of intoxication. On recovering their senses, the farmers found themselves charged sums exceeding their means of payment. Thus they fell into the power of their host, and were obliged to return to his house from time to time, till the debts became such as to enable him to dispossess them of their estates, and he had thus actually become the proprietor of a great portion of the cultivated land of the colony. In this sort of way, it appears that not only the emancipist referred to, but many others, have acquired great wealth.

[1] See particularly the Charge of Mr. Justice Burton to the Jury of the Supreme Court at Sydney, Transp. Report, vol. i. App. p. 289, on the State of Crime in New South Wales.

must conclude all that Evidence given in 1837 and again in 1838,—by persons in various stations and professions, and of various opinions also as to the subject in question—we must conclude all this concurrent testimony to have been from first to last a series of falsehood and misrepresentation. This is rather a strange supposition; but far more strange, that if this were so, all this Evidence should have remained for so long a time *unrefuted and uncontradicted.*

The Committee sat first in 1837: the Evidence was published, and must have found its way to Australia,—to the very place from which materials for refutation, had there been such, might have been supplied: it sat again in the following year; a fresh body of Evidence was published, and subsequently a Report referring to that Evidence: all this has been before the Public for nearly two years, and great part of it much longer; yet in all that time, not even an attempt has been made to invalidate the testimony of the witnesses. But now, at the eleventh hour, without any disproof, or even any notice at all of that testimony, statements and descriptions utterly at variance with the whole of it are boldly produced, and unhesitating assent to them demanded.

If the severest censure would have been due to me, as it certainly would, for rashly and on slight grounds making such representations as I did make, what censure do those deserve (if there were any such persons) who knowing or believing that all the Evidence given was a tissue of fabrication and calumnious misrepresentation, yet left it undetected, unrefuted, uncontradicted? Month after month, and year after year, all this Evidence was before the Public; and yet those who now assume that the whole of it is a mass of falsehood, and pass heavy censures on any one who has given credit to it, never offered themselves as witnesses,—never brought forward witnesses, before the Committee,—never, when the Evidence was published, put forth any attempt at disproof or denial of the testimony given, though some of them must have seen *their own* written statements cited as a part of that testimony.

But in fact no one of common sense can doubt that the Evidence *would* have been disproved long since, had it been capable of disproof; and that all who are really well acquainted with the facts are well aware that it is perfectly true. And when they reproach and stigmatize as a libeller one who states what that unimpeached Evidence has proved to be the truth, let any fair-minded man judge against which party the charge of calumny will lie.

I have met with some persons however who set light by all such

Evidence; and who seem to take for granted that a Parliamentary Committee must of course be partial, and that all their examinations and the testimony of all their witnesses, must flow down the current of that partiality. And accordingly, in the present case, because the Committee was called for by persons having a bias unfavourable to Transportation, and the Hon. Baronet who sat as Chairman was disposed to disapprove of the System, it is assumed that all the Evidence taken is to be regarded as ex-parte evidence,—as designed to make out the best possible case against Penal Colonies, by exaggerating on the one side and suppressing on the other.

That the very reverse of this is the fact, I can bear testimony, from having not only read the evidence, but been present at several of the examinations; and any one who has looked into even a portion of the published documents is competent to confirm my testimony. Not only were several witnesses examined who were evidently anxious to give as favourable an impression as possible of the existing system, but several members of the Committee exerted themselves (I am far from blaming them for it, for I think their exertions were laudable) as advocates for the Penal Colonies; endeavouring to elicit everything that might place them in a favourable point of view, and to detect any exaggerations or mis-statements on the opposite side. That the result was to expose the whole system and every part of it, as a complete and most lamentable failure, is to be attributed solely to the irresistible force of truth when brought to light by open investigation. The system was proved at once to be incapable of vindication, as soon as the facts were made known.

But as to the Committee, whatever bias there existed in it, as a Body, was rather *on the opposite* side. Of this any one may satisfy himself by inspecting the Report. It is, as a whole, a clear, well-written, and masterly document, exhibiting the natural results of the Evidence taken; based on and arising out of that Evidence, and resting all its conclusions and all its recommendations, with one or two exceptions, on the facts elicited, and not on gratuitous assumptions or unauthorized conjectures. The exceptions I allude to are, the recommendation to encourage the emigration of free labourers to the Penal Colonies *while still receiving annual supplies of convicted felons;*[1] and again, the recommendation of continuing to maintain penal establishments in the Colonies.[2] If any one will take the pains to compare with the Evidence given, the *Report generally*, and also

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[1] Report, p. xxxv.

[2] Report, pp. xliii. xliv.

these *particular portions* of it, he will plainly see that while the general tenor of it is fully in accordance with the facts proved, and is logically deduced from them, these particular recommendations on the contrary are quite unwarranted by the Evidence, and indeed wholly at variance with it.

Now these portions of the Report were introduced, against the judgment, as is understood, of the Chairman, but of course in conformity with that of the majority of the Committee; whose bias therefore, as far as there was any bias, was manifestly not towards the conclusions which the Evidence tended to establish. Let any one, I say, but compare the two documents together, and he will be struck with the contrast between the two portions of the Report I have been alluding to. The one part,—the main body of the Report—seems to spring naturally out of the Evidence like a tree growing from its own roots: the other part looks like a graft, with totally different foliage and fruit, brought from elsewhere, and inserted into the stock:

"Miraturque novas frondes, et non sua poma."

I have said that the recommendation of sending out free emigrants into the Penal Colonies while they are continually receiving, from Norfolk Island or elsewhere, fresh supplies of emancipated Convicts, is not borne out by the Evidence, but is directly at variance with the conclusions that Evidence would naturally dictate. To prove as fully as might be done the truth of this assertion, would be to cite the greater part of each witness's testimony. They almost entirely concur in giving such a representation of the moral condition of that community, as to shew that, even if the importation of criminals be stopped from this day forward, still the task of regenerating such a society by the infusion of better materials, would be a most delicate and difficult task; requiring to be undertaken with the most deliberate and systematic care, lest in addition to a *failure* in the object proposed, we should increase the very evil to be remedied;—lest, instead of improving the Colony, we should contaminate the Emigrants.

But if into a society in so unsound a state, and on which, "with all appliances and means to boot," it is so difficult to effect a moral cure, the seeds of fresh disease are to be continually brought, by the annual importation of a new set of liberated criminals, then, to think of bringing the Colony into a healthy state by enticing honest labourers to settle there, does seem most preposterous. As well might any one think to purify one of the London sewers

through which a continued stream of filth is flowing, by pouring in from time to time some cupfulls of pure water.

Yet I have been by some persons severely censured, and even taxed with inconsistency, for complaining of the bad state of society in the Penal Colonies, and yet discouraging the emigration thither of respectable persons; which is the only mode, I have been told, of what is called "swamping the felonry,"—of giving a new character to the society—of converting, one might say, into sound wine, a cask full of vinegar, by adding a little sound wine to it. And hopes and expectations have been expressed that the advice I have given to those who have consulted me as to the place to which they should emigrate, will not be listened to. Perhaps my efforts may prove unsuccessful. Some persons indeed *have* been influenced by my advice; but neither in this nor in any other point, can I expect to prevent all the evil, and accomplish all the good, that I could wish. At all events, however, I shall have cleared my own conscience, by the endeavour; nor will I ever while I live, relax my endeavours, at any man's bidding. For how could I have enjoyed a clear conscience,—how could I have lain down peaceably in my bed, if I had incurred the responsibility of inducing an emigrant of good character to expose himself and perhaps a family of innocent children, to the frightful risks of such a moral pestilence?

What ought I to have said, when my advice was asked by persons disposed to emigrate? Should I have described the state of things in a Penal Colony in *their true colours*, and *still* recommended emigration to *such* a colony? Should I have told them in plain terms, go by all means, to settle in such a neighbourhood as in any part of Europe would blast a man's character if he were known to have lived in it;—one, compared with which the foulest haunts of debauchery and crime in this metropolis are decent and respectable: go to a country in which three-fifths of your neighbours, including some of the wealthiest,[1] will be convicted criminals, and a considerable portion of the remainder, the children of such; and into which an annual reinforcement of hardened villains is poured by hundreds and by thousands: where you will have around you thieves and ruffians and the vilest of prostitutes, such characters being not at all confined to the meanest situations; but a large proportion of rich tradesmen and farmers, innkeepers, policemen, jurymen, schoolmasters, being convicted felons; where such monstrous licentiousness as in this country could not be spoken of from

[1] See Note, p. 328.

its being too horribly disgusting, is among them hardly spoken of perhaps, from its being too common to be noticed; where the servants you may engage, besides plundering you of property, will be likely to combine,—the males and the females,—to corrupt your innocent children[1] in a way too shocking to describe; your children, who will also be early familiarized in every other way to such language and such scenes as are the most polluting to the youthful mind, and who will probably receive the rudiments of education from some convicted swindler?

Should I have told these plain truths (for they are established, and much more than established by the Evidence), and still have advised the emigrant to go, as a forlorn hope, as it were, against this stronghold of depravity, and to sacrifice himself by way of helping to fill the ditch before the fortress, while fresh supplies of depraved characters are incessantly pouring in from another quarter? No; that would not have been a promising course for alluring settlers. I ought rather, I suppose, to have imitated the proceedings of some agents, who, I am sorry to say, are going about the country distributing tracts that profess to describe these Colonies, and circulating in every way such accounts as are likely the most to entice men to emigrate thither.[2] I should have dwelt,

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[1] See Evidence, vol. ii. pp. 55, 56, (Mr. Russell's.) See also vol. i. p. 96, for an account of the horrible fate of Captain Waldron. If I were knowingly to recommend any one to take as a servant a man whom I believed likely to assail his master with the knife of the midnight assassin, I should be deemed almost an accessary to the murder. But it would have been meritorious, it seems, to recommend a man to settle in a neighbourhood where hardly a servant can be found who could in this country obtain a character;—where a master is *torn to pieces* by his *female* servants at *noonday!*

[2] One of these tracts printed at Exeter, and industriously circulated by an Emigration-agent there, after mentioning several other colonies, all of which are greatly disparaged in comparison of New South Wales, proceeds to describe this last in glowing colours, not only in respect of soil and climate, but in all that pertains to its literary, moral, and religious character, and its "*manners and customs*" which are, it is remarked, "the same as in England;" and then sums up a most alluring description by adding (what certainly is more than could be said with truth of England) that "*the wild dogs are the only source of annoyance!*" Perhaps there may be in the term WILD DOGS some hidden meaning according to which the description may be nearly true: but in the literal sense, it does seem (in the face of such evidence as is before the public) one of the boldest assertions that ever was hazarded.

Well did Cicero remark, "Qui semel verecundiæ fines transierit, eum oportet *bene et gnaviter esse impudentem.*"

I suppose, on the fertility of the soil,—or the salubrity of the climate,—or the ample wages paid for labour; and have suppressed all notice of anything objectionable in the moral condition of the population! For such, I grieve to say, is the character of the tracts I have alluded to: such are the delusive arts by which innocent females and honest and industrious labourers have been entrapped, and well-meaning and benevolent, but incautious persons among the gentry have been drawn into countenance and aid the scheme.

An attempt was made a few years since, under the patronage of several most respectable and well-intentioned individuals, to remedy the evils arising from the frightful disproportion between the sexes in those Colonies, by sending out an entire ship-load of young women of unblemished character. Care was taken to receive none but such as brought certificates of good conduct from the ministers of their parishes, or some other responsible person: like the garlands with which the Hindu adorns the human sacrifice when just about to perish in the flames. I earnestly deprecated the plan, foreseeing and foretelling the deplorable results. We have it in evidence,[1] that, as might have been expected, nineteen-twentieths of these unfortunate creatures were swept down the strong current of licentiousness which prevails in those regions, and which no ordinary strength can be expected to resist.

All attempts of this kind, as long as criminals shall continue to be poured into these Colonies, must be not only hopeless as regards the object proposed, of reforming the vicious, but positively mischievous also, by corrupting the innocent. It is bad enough to preserve and perpetuate vice, by crowding together depraved characters, and making them the progenitors of a new Nation,—in the course of a century probably a very numerous nation—formed, as if on purpose, of the worst possible materials; but it is yet an aggravation of the absurdity to add to this the moral ruin of those who were originally, and might have remained, untainted characters, by throwing them, along with fresh importations of villany, into this sink of corruption. "So long," says a witness[2] by no means hostile to the system, "as it is deemed expedient to banish British criminals to this Colony, so long must the amount of depravity in it be

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[1] See Evidence of Peter Murdoch, Esq., Report, vol. ii. p. 113; of Mr. John Russell, ditto, p. 59; of Dr. Ullathorne, ditto, p. 22; and of Mr. John Marshall, ditto, p. 90.

[2] Sir Francis Forbes: Evidence, vol. i. p. 73.

such as to make it the most contaminating community in the world." The only possible mode of overwhelming the evil,—of regenerating such a community,—is by first stopping at once the polluted stream now flowing into it by the continual introduction of fresh criminals, and then taking measures for sending over honest and uncorrupted settlers *in large bodies* at once;—not by hundreds, or by thousands, *but by tens of thousands:* so that they may at once exert a preponderating influence, and form a public opinion among themselves. A great pile of green wood thrown all at once upon a fire may perhaps extinguish it; but if the same quantity be cast on by a few billets at a time, these will be kindled and consumed, and will increase the fire: more especially if at the same time you continue to pour oil on the flames.

Under the proposed system therefore, as well as that hitherto pursued,—under any system which continues the importation of persons who have been convicted of crime, all the efforts this Country may make for the advantage of those Colonies will tend only to increase and extend the mischief; because the more such a Colony flourishes in respect of worldly prosperity,—the more its population increases,—(as it is likely to do most rapidly, with a practically boundless extent of territory)—and the more of commercial and political importance it acquires,—the more will its evil tendencies be developed,—the more widely and the more powerfully will it diffuse its pestilential taint; till it become a most portentous curse, as well as disgrace, to this Nation, and to the world at large.

But the real state of the case is one so painful to contemplate, and the remedies called for involve so much forethought, care, and trouble, as well as firmness in coping with difficulties, that one may find many persons content to turn off the subject with the consolatory reflection that, after all, crimes are committed,—vices exist, in all Colonies—in all communities—and of course, in Penal Colonies among the rest:—and that abuses have taken place in Prisons, and must be expected to occur occasionally under any system of Secondary Punishment that ever was or can be adopted. And the conclusion practically drawn amounts, in plain terms, to neither more nor less than this:—that since no human institution or system can be exempt from imperfections and evils, therefore all that is alleged and proved respecting the especial *imperfections* of the punishment of Transportation—the *peculiar evils* of Penal Colonies should be disregarded, and go for nothing.

On such a principle, equally futile are all questions about laws universally, since none can claim perfection:—about governments;

since cases of abuse may be made out under every government:—about the healthiness, or unhealthiness of different climates; since men are liable to disease and to death, both in Sierra Leone and in England, &c. In short, all the most momentous questions that ever were discussed, might be got rid of at once by this summary mode of arguing.

But men never do proceed on such absurd arguments *in cases where they are really in earnest;* that is, when their own interest and immediate welfare are concerned. In fact, any man who did so proceed in his private affairs, would be deprived by a Court of Justice of the management of his own property; he would be pronounced of unsound mind, if in those transactions of life which are justly supposed to call forth what powers of mind a man does possess, he should so set all *computation* at defiance,—should appear not to understand what is meant by *proportion* or by *quantity*.

For instance, there are crimes, and there are convictions for crime, in New South Wales; and so there are in England, and in all countries; where then is the difference? Why, that *murders, attempts to murder,* and other crimes of like magnitude, are as common as *petty larcenies* in England;—that if in this country there had been, in the course of the last year, 7000 persons *executed,* besides 10,000 more, *capitally convicted,* and 120,000 convicted of minor felonies, then, (in proportion to the population) this Country and the Penal Colonies would be on a par in respect of crimes and punishments: — that there are there as many capital convictions (in proportion) in *one year,* as in Ireland—a country not celebrated for obedience to the laws,—in *three centuries:*—that putting out of account all the convicts under sentence, and all the emancipists, who are three-fifths of the population, and taking only the soundest part of it, the free emigrants, and natives, it appears that the proportion convicted of various offences among these persons alone,—this select portion, who are likely, we have been told, to be *more* strict in their morals than the population of the Mother-Country,—is nearly three times as great as in this country;[1] and finally that those most favourably disposed towards the interests and the credit of the Colony of New South Wales, admit it to be "the most contaminating community in the world." There is vice — there are infamous characters — at home, as well as in those Colonies; and what is the difference? Why this: that if in the British Islands there were TWELVE MILLIONS OF CONVICTED

[1] See note B, p. 356.

FELONS, many of them among the wealthiest members of the community, then the state of Society here would be on a par with what exists in those Colonies! Is all this to be practically overlooked, and passed over with the general, sweeping remark, that there are vices and crimes in all countries? Am I not borne out in saying that a man would be pronounced insane who should, in his private concerns, manifest such a total incapacity of estimating the comparative magnitude of two evils;—who should be utterly insensible to the most monstrous disproportion between two objects? And would it not be almost insanity for us to persevere in acting on such principles and plans, after the absurdity of them, as well as their noxious tendency, have been so long and so fully exposed? We have as it were founded, and endowed, and patronized a "University of Wickedness:" it would surely be inexcusable to go on cherishing and supporting it, and supplying it with continued reinforcements of criminals and free settlers thrown together,—the teachers as it might be expressed, and the learners, of villany and profligacy;—till the whole shall have grown up into a numerous and powerful nation, exhibiting on a *great scale* a strange and appalling specimen of the utmost point to which the Human Race can be degraded and depraved by a system,—apparently, and as it would strike a bystander—devised designedly and most ingeniously contrived for that very purpose:—

> "By curse
> Created evil, for evil only good:
> Where all Life dies, Death lives, and Nature breeds
> Perverse all-monstrous all-prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable, and worse
> Than Fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceived."

But if such mischiefs result, it is often urged,—from turning loose on Society those who have been convicted of crimes, it is the more important that *we* in this country should secure ourselves from that evil, by getting rid of such characters, and settling them permanently in a distant land.

Now if all who are transported were sentenced to *exile for life*, instead of being allowed to return, as it is well known they frequently do, almost always, more hardened and more accomplished villains than before, and if the punishment of Transportation should be so regulated as not only to be *in reality* severe, but to be a terror, instead of what it has oftener been hitherto, an encouragement to offenders,—so as no longer to raise up a *fresh stock* of criminals,[1] in place of

[1] See first Letter to Earl Grey, pp. 76, 77.

those who are thus, as it is called, "got rid of;" then, there would be at least an apparent policy in such a course,—a specious plea of present selfish expediency, involving no inconsistency at least with the principle of looking only to our own benefit, with an utter and avowed disregard of all justice and humanity,—with an entire carelessness how great evils we might inflict on others, so we could avoid a far smaller inconvenience to ourselves—with an unblushing contempt not only for the welfare of the rest of mankind in general, but of the rest of the British Empire. But disgusting as is an open and undisguised selfishness, there is something still more offensive in the inconsistency of professing a sedulous care for the welfare of the very parties whom we unscrupulously sacrifice on the altar of our own apparent self-interest. It seems to be an adding of insult to injury, when we thus pretend to be seeking alike the good of the Colony and of the Mother-Country, and yet apply totally opposite principles to the one and to the other.

For example; when statements are made unfavourable to the character of the society in those Colonies, an outcry is raised by some persons against these alleged "libels upon our fellow-subjects,"—our beloved brethren: when it is proposed to deprive them of the supposed benefit of convict-labour, or to dissuade emigrants from going thither, then forsooth, the Colony is a portion of the British Empire,—a jewel in the Sovereign's Crown,—a flourishing, and promising, and deserving community, whose rights and interests ought to be as dear to us as our own. But again, when any one points out the cruelty of overwhelming a small and infant community with the outpourings of all the scum and impurity of this great Empire, and the moral ruin which in so limited a society such a preponderance of vicious ingredients must produce, then, it seems, the case is quite altered: then, the cry is, let us not have these bad characters let loose upon *ourselves;* let us get rid of them at all events; send them to a distance,—to an Australian Colony; they are too bad to be kept at home, but they are good enough for New South Wales. Our dear brethren at the Antipodes—our esteemed and honoured fellow-subjects, are not worth a thought, when any advantage or convenience to ourselves is at stake!

But again, we are told that the severe system which is henceforward to be carried on at Norfolk Island, will reform the Convicts, who are to be then carried to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, where they will prove a great advantage to those Colonies, in their new character of steady, honest, industrious, labourers. This is at least conceivable and intelligible, how much soever it may be at

variance with probability: we have only to cherish the sanguine hope that the discipline of the Government chain-gangs, as they are called, will from henceforth produce effects the very opposite to what they have always hitherto produced,[1] and the picture may be realized: such views, though inconsistent with reason and with experience, are at least not inconsistent with themselves.

But then, when any one points out the superior advantages of having our Penitentiaries nearer home, instead of at a distance of four months' voyage, with a view of avoiding both the heavy cost, and, much more, the corrupting effects, of a long voyage, and especially, for the sake of being able to exercise a vigilant and ready superintendence, then rises the cry of alarm, what is to be done with the criminals when discharged from Penitentiaries at home? How will it be possible to live in the country if such a multitude of miscreants are let loose upon Society? The same Penitentiary discipline, it seems, which would, in Australia, send forth reformed characters, would, in Europe, send forth none but intolerable pests of society: the discharged Convicts who would, *there*, be so well-conducted as to be a blessing to the community, would, *here*, prove an unconquerable and unbearable pollution! This is as if one should maintain that a bucket-full of some filthy or noxious substance, which, if thrown into the Thames, would pollute and poison the whole river from its source to its mouth, would have no ill effect at all, if cast into a small well.

Then again, if any proposal is made for the establishment of Penitentiaries in this country, or near our own shores, a clamour is immediately raised against the apprehended expense to be incurred; and we are told of the abuses that are likely to take place in Penitentiaries, and what a strong case may be made out against them: but if the Penitentiaries are to be established in the Southern Hemisphere, the case, it seems, is altered for the better; the estimates are lowered, though all circumstances are manifestly such as to enhance expenses;—we are no longer to feel apprehension of abuses, and of

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[1] That as a place for the reformation of criminals it is worse than useless, is unhappily a fact too notorious to be contradicted; and if it be true, as no doubt it is, that our present statutes propose the reformation of the offender as well as his punishment, then "this place is of all others the least calculated to produce so desirable a result; and in a moral and religious point of view, the consequences, not only to the wretched beings themselves, but the Colony of New South Wales at large, are dreadful to contemplate." — *Papers Relative to Transportation*, &c.' Session, 1839. No. 582, p. 9.

difficulties of management; all is to go on well, so the Penitentiaries are but established at 16,000 miles distance. And on several other points besides those which I have been adverting to, I have found opposite statements made, opposite reasonings resorted to, opposite principles maintained,—according as each might serve a present purpose,—might vindicate the measures of selfish policy, or of temporary ease and convenience.

Now what man of common sense and of candour can fail to perceive the inconsistency—I may say the disingenuous inconsistency—of this procedure;—of pretending to be actuated by reasons and by motives which are instantly discarded whenever it suits our purpose?

The fact is, that *distance* is especially favourable to those who wish to prevent, not the *existence of abuses*, but the *knowledge* of them. *Actual complaints* are diminished by the very cause which increases the just *grounds of complaint*. To those who are thinking only of keeping up *appearances*, the tenfold aggravation of evils in a distant colony is as nothing, so long as they are less forced upon public *attention*. But those who would perform the office of wise and honest legislators must not shrink from grappling effectually with difficulties near at hand,—must not satisfy themselves with merely keeping them out of sight, or letting their apparent magnitude, like that of the heavenly bodies, be diminished by distance from the unreflecting spectator;—must seek not to evade detection, but to provide remedies.

If we look to the real magnitude of difficulties,—the actual amount of mischief,—and not, merely, to the impression produced on men's minds at home, we shall see at once that the difference between the mother-country and a distant colony is precisely the reverse of what the advocates of transportation assume it to be. It must be, of course, an evil to any community to have discharged convicts thrown loose on society; but in a Penal Colony it must be, from the nature of the case, incomparably a greater evil than in this country. Such a Colony is the worst possible *place* for the liberated convicts; and *they* are the worst possible settlers. In this country,—in almost any country except a Penal Colony,—the discharged offender finds himself in a society the general current of which runs counter to such conduct as he has been suffering for: the wealthiest persons, and those filling respectable situations, are (if not honest men) at all events not convicted criminals, but persons at least pretending to unsullied character: he has therefore the strongest inducement from example, and from interest, to seek to obtain and

to preserve a good character: and he has generally the opportunity of fixing himself apart from his former associates, where his former delinquency is not known; and is thereby encouraged, as the phrase is, to turn over a new leaf. And under such an improved Police system as any one may see from the published Report of the Constabulary Force Commission to be both practicable and much needed, there is every reason to hope that not only the number of such characters will be greatly diminished, but also that they will be in many instances led to betake themselves to honest courses; especially if they shall have been subjected to the discipline of a *well-regulated* Penitentiary on the separate system, which, even where it fails to reform, at least produces no fresh corruption,—introduces a man to no fresh associates in vice. This is not, I am happy to say, a mere conjectural speculation,—a sanguine anticipation; but, I may almost say, a fact which has been experienced. A result at least strongly illustrative of what I have been saying, took place at the time of the late reform of the English poor-laws. Your Lordships may remember what multitudes of men were at that time out of work, ostensibly from want of demand for their labour, but in truth from their preferring to eat the bread of idleness;—living on parish allowance,—disorderly, slothful, and, not seldom, engaged in smuggling, poaching, and pilfering.[1] But when these men found that they were no longer to subsist as drones at the expense of the industrious, the far greater part of them sought employment with a sincere wish to make themselves serviceable; and in consequence almost all of them found it; and have been long since absorbed into the labouring population, and generally without even finding it necessary to change their abode.

Now this affords good ground to hope for the reclaiming even of discharged convicts, *in a well-ordered community*. But in the Penal Colonies, nearly all these favourable circumstances are totally reversed. The emancipated convict, there, finds a society in which three-fifths of the total population are tainted with crime, and above a third of the free population,—including most of the wealthiest,—emancipists like himself. And a large portion of the remainder also

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[1] It is but fair to remark in this place, that what I here say does not apply to *Ireland*. The people there had no parish-pay to tempt them to idleness: the want of employment, which, in England, was artificial, or a pretext, is, in Ireland, *real*. Whether the same remedy is likely to be equally salutary in two such different cases, remains to be proved.—See *Report of Commission of Inquiry into the State of the Poor in Ireland*.

being the offspring or kindred of criminals, this preponderance of known and avowed criminality gives, of course, as the evidence too plainly shows, a complete character of its own to the society. Not only is every kind of profligate example to be found everywhere close at hand, but a debased and *depraved public opinion* is established. The current sets, as it were, against temperance,—against purity of life,—against integrity, and virtue in general. In such a community, the moral standard being lowered, it may be expected that such persons as would be in very low repute, in most parts of Europe, will be regarded as highly respectable characters; because, in every society those will be so considered who are considerably *above the average*, and belong to "the better sort," as compared with the generality. And again, persons of eminent firmness of character may resist altogether the contagion of the surrounding immorality. But this surely is not to be looked for in the discharged felon, even though he should be one not incapable, under favourable circumstances, of being reformed. He is placed in circumstances every way the most *un*favourable, when not only surrounded with every variety of bad characters, but also fully aware that *they* are *acquainted with his delinquency*, and conscious that *he* knows *theirs*. Such men, so circumstanced, are fully qualified to *keep each other in countenance* in everything that is evil. They may be said to be, in a certain sense, *irreproachable* characters; since each of them, however depraved, is surrounded by his neighbours who cannot fairly reproach him for it;—who serve as mirrors to reflect the image of his own vices. Discharged convicts, even when partially reformed in character,—and not, as appears to be invariably the case with the Norfolk Island convicts, incurably hardened and depraved,—when thus thrown together, may be compared to half-quenched firebrands, which, if scattered abroad, are soon extinguished, but if piled into a heap, will kindle each other into a blaze. In such a society accordingly one might expect to find just that state of things which, the Evidence proves but too fully, we do find. There is as it were a continual conjugating and declining of villany and profligacy, through every mood and tense,—every person, gender and number: it is, "I am a rogue; you are a rogue; he is a rogue; she is a rogue; we are rogues; they are rogues; we have been rogues; we shall be rogues; be thou a rogue;" &c. &c.

And terms far more abominable than "rogue" might with equal truth, I fear, be superadded.

"How can you be surprised," says the Bishop of Australia,

"that we have a *corrupt population*, when you consider the *torrents of vice* that have been poured in upon us?"[1]

In such a community, with a fresh stream of pollution continually pouring into it, to expect that free settlers of ordinary good character will remain uncontaminated, or reformed offenders be confirmed in good conduct, and not relapse into vice, would be most extravagantly sanguine: but to expect that the vicious will be *reclaimed*,—the *un*reformed convict become a virtuous character, in the midst of every encouragement and temptation to vice, would be downright infatuation. That such a Colony therefore is, as I have said, the worst possible place for discharged felons, is as manifest as that *they* are the worst possible settlers,—the most unfit materials for raising up a *new nation;* and still more especially noxious to such a Colony as is labouring under the very evil which they will continually aggravate.

Then again in respect of Penitentiaries, of whatever kind, all the objections that are brought against them, apply with incomparably greater force to such institutions at a distance of sixteen thousand miles. The expensiveness of the Penitentiary system is much dwelt on: and in that point of view, such an institution in a remote Colony must be far more objectionable. To Norfolk Island, building materials must be brought at least nine hundred miles; and the transport of the convicts themselves, and of the soldiers who are to guard them, becomes, in the case of a four months' voyage, a very heavy item.[2] I am almost ashamed, my Lords, to dwell so much on pecuniary considerations, in a case where so much more important interests are at stake;—the suppression of crime, the efficiency of the laws, the temporal and eternal interests of many thousands of our countrymen, the character, to all succeeding generations, of what will one day probably be a mighty nation, and a blessing or portentous curse to nearly the whole world. But pecuniary consi-

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[1] And yet this very *same person* passed strong censures on me, for giving the *same representation* of the population, and assigning the *same* cause!

[2] Any foreigner visiting Ireland, and finding the island in a course of being studded over with workhouses for the residence and safe custody of those in distress, including able-bodied men out of work, would not suppose us to be parsimonious in our expenditure for public objects. He might indeed perhaps wonder why our procedure was not reversed;—why, instead of shutting up honest labourers at home, and sending out CRIMINALS to found a new nation in the colonies, we did not rather shut up the criminals at home, and people our settlements with the honest men. But he could not suspect us of unduly sparing expense.

derations have a great — in the present question — an excessive weight. The imagined cheapness (for after all it is but imaginary) of the Transportation system has been, I conceive, a principal inducement to many persons to shut their eyes to the enormity of its evils; and it seems still to operate in no small degree even now that the abandonment of the *assignment system* has destroyed whatever recommendation on the score of *economy* the Penal Colonies ever could boast.

A considerable portion of the expense of the system has been kept out of sight, by not estimating adequately the large share of the military and police establishments of the Colonies which belong to them *as Penal* Colonies, being beyond what would be necessary except for the convicts. Taking the very lowest possible computation of this and of the other items, it appears that at the proposed Establishment in Norfolk Island the cost of each convict's punishment (taking four years as the average term) will be not less than £145. Now in a Penitentiary in this country, on the separate system, as recommended by Howard, by Hanway, and by the Commissioners now engaged in the inspection of the Prisons of Great Britain, the expense, on the most liberal computation, does not appear likely to amount to one-half of this. The expense of the building is estimated by competent judges at from £100 to £120 per head;—the interest of which last-mentioned sum (and this is the fair way of computing) for four years, at as high a rate as five per cent., would be £24: and the maintenance of the prisoners, Mr. Brebner, the intelligent and experienced governor of the Glasgow Bridewell, assures me, has cost in his prison, on an average of the last ten years, less than £5 per head annually, including the amount of salaries and all other incidental expenses. Taking, however, the double of this, to allow for all possible increase of cost for maintenance, this would amount to £40 for the four years; which, with the addition of the above-mentioned £24, would make the total cost £64 instead of £145, as the total cost per head of the punishment of convicts.

Even however if this computation were reversed,—if the Norfolk Island system were as much the cheapest of all modes of Secondary Punishment as it is in fact the most costly, still I should say that the impossibility of exercising that vigilant superintendence which is nowhere more called for than in the case of a prison, would alone outweigh all other considerations.

Let any one but reflect attentively on the great and multifarious difficulties connected with prison discipline;—on the care requisite

for the safe custody of the prisoners,—their health, their morals; on the danger, on the one side, of making the prison a desirable abode, and of cruelty or neglect, on the other;—let him reflect on the various abuses that have taken place in Prisons and Penitentiaries of every description, and which have been,—strangely enough,—brought forward and dwelt on by the advocates of the present system,—that is, of the system of having such establishments removed to the other hemisphere; (where to be sure the abuses, though likely to be actually much greater, are less likely to be *heard of, here*)—let him but reflect, I say, on all this, and the conclusion will surely be, that even a school, a farm, a manufacture, in short, any other kind of institution rather than a Penitentiary, should be conducted at the distance of half the globe; that this, above all others, requires the *prompt* transmission of directions, the speedy remedy of defects or abuses, the *immediate* appointment, whenever vacancies occur, of well-selected governors, as well as the immediate removal of the unfit;[1] and, in short, that continual active and watchful superintendence and control, which is the very reverse of what can be exercised when it takes about *three quarters of a year* to make an inquiry and receive the answer.

But it is urged that, at any rate, the proposed system must be adopted *for the present:* transportation to a Penal Colony must be

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[1] "In order to carry this proposal into effect, a prison will require to be erected, capable of holding as many convicts as can be conveniently and profitably employed in the island, and so arranged as to facilitate the adoption of the most effectual means of enforcing an improved system of discipline; and that for this purpose, as no correct estimate can be formed here of the expenses to be incurred in the erection of such a prison at Norfolk Island, I have to desire that you will, at your earliest convenience, transmit to me such an estimate, together with a plan of the proposed building.

"In my predecessor's circular despatch, of the 21st of October, 1837, he transmitted to you a volume containing extracts from the Second Report of the Inspectors of Prisons in this country, containing plans of prisons; and I now transmit to you a subsequent volume on the same subject, which will afford you the requisite information on this subject. In the mean time you will consider yourself authorized to incur such expenses as may be necessary for the temporary accommodation of an increased number of convicts in that island; and of those who shall arrive in New South Wales from this country in the course of the present year, you will send as large a portion to Norfolk Island as you think can be properly received there.

"The convicts themselves may be advantageously employed in making this temporary accommodation.

"A small increase in the military guard will probably be required, which

to a certain extent continued, at least till proper Penitentiaries can be built. In answer to this objection, I will venture to throw out a suggestion which was made not long since by my lamented friend Mr. Drummond. I am happy and proud to call him such; for I had, of course, for some years, much intercourse with him, and our mutual esteem and regard was I believe continually increased during that intercourse. Not long before the nation was deprived by an untimely death of his valuable services, he was conversing with his usual intelligence on the present subject, and after remarking on the extreme impolicy of removing to such a vast distance an establishment which ab ve all others requires vigilant superintendence, he added, "Why not make Dalkey Island, Norfolk Island?" Dalkey is a small rocky island, the property of the Crown, lying at a short distance from Kingstown. The suggestion evidently was, that either that, or some of the other numerous barren and nearly uninhabited islands (such as Lundy Island for instance in the Bristol channel) on the British or Irish coasts, the voyage to which would take about as many *hours* as to Norfolk Island it takes months, should be allotted to this use, as at least a *temporary* expedient.

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you will send from the troops now stationed in New South Wales.

"The general principles which are to guide the future management of transported convicts are,

"1st. That a fixed period of imprisonment should, in the first instance, be allotted for the punishment of the crime of which the prisoner has been convicted.

"2nd. That the actual period of imprisonment should be liable to a subsequent abridgement, according to the previous character of the prisoner, the nature of his crime, and his conduct during his punishment.

"3rd. That when allowed to leave Norfolk Island, he should not be assigned to any individual in Australia, but should enjoy advantages at least equal to those of a ticket of leave.

"No prisoner is to be detained in Norfolk Island longer than fifteen years.

"In order fully to carry these regulations into effect, it is desirable that, as far as possible, Norfolk Island should be appropriated to convicts from the United Kingdom, and that persons convicted of offences in New South Wales should be confined in some other part of the colony, or employed on the roads.

"In order to carry the new system fully into effect, the superintendence of it should be entrusted to an officer on whose qualifications for the duty the best reliance can be placed: he should feel a deep interest in the moral improvement of the convicts, and be disposed to devote his whole energies to this important object. The opposite faults of over-severity and over-indulgence should be carefully avoided, as alike destructive of any good effect on the prisoners."—*Papers relative to Transportation*, &c. Session 1839, No. 582, p. 17.

I do not think the Norfolk Island system a *good* one, even if it could be thus brought about 16,000 miles nearer home; but the change would be in all respects a manifest *improvement as far as it went;* and as an immediate and temporary expedient, would be both practicable and unexceptionable. And if there is any advantage in the name of "Transportation," there can be no reason it should not be continued. For in all that I have said respecting Transportation, I mean of course what is now commonly understood by that term, viz.: Transportation to a *Colony*.

But then it would be necessary, I have heard it urged, to erect buildings on the island that might be selected; and this would be a work of time.

Why, such temporary accommodations as were erected in Norfolk Island and the other places where Government chain-gangs have been stationed, when convicts were first sent to them,—such as these, could be provided in *less than half the time that the voyage to Norfolk Island occupies:* so that if it were determined that from this day no more convicts should be sent to a Colony, the persons under sentence of transportation, if detained in prison or on board of a ship till due preparation was made for receiving them in one of those islands on our own coasts, and then transported thither, would *actually reach their ultimate destination much sooner* than if conveyed all the way to Australia.

I have said that I do not consider the system as a good one. The confinement and restraint of prisoners by a wall of flesh and blood,—by a rampart of bayonets, and the crowding of them promiscuously together, and then endeavouring to guard against the ill effects of this by the constant presence of severe overseers, must, as experience has proved, have a corrupting effect upon both parties, —must tend to harden and brutalize both the convicts and the soldiers. But as long as we are compelled to resort to such means, that is, till proper restraint by means of *stone* walls can be provided, it would be a manifest improvement as far as it goes, to get rid at once of one great part of the evil,—a long and costly voyage to a spot far out of the reach of proper superintendence.[1]

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[1] One advantage which such an island as Dalkey or Lundy would possess over Norfolk Island, would be that there would be no *vines* or *orange-trees* to eradicate. This may sound strange to any one who is not aware that Norfolk Island,—one of the most favoured spots in the whole world for soil and climate,—has been made almost a garden of Eden by the fruit trees, which, sprung from seeds left by voyagers, have naturalized themselves and overrun the island. It has therefore been judged right, first to select this lovely

The only shadow of argument I have ever heard adduced in favour of a remote Penal Establishment, is the supposed terror, to some minds, of a very *distant place of exile*. "Omne ignotum pro mirifico" has been cited as applicable to this case. The imagination, it has been said, enhances the dread of sufferings whose nature, from the remoteness of the place, cannot be accurately known. That the *opposite* effect is full as likely to take place, is not only a reasonable conjecture, but a fact of which we have abundant experience. It is admitted on all hands that unduly favourable ideas of the condition of the transported convict have been, in a vast number of instances, conveyed to this country. It may be that this will be effectually prevented in future, by the uniform severity to be exercised on all convicts, in Norfolk Island. But even then, that this punishment should be *exaggerated* by the imagination,—that its severity should be believed greater than it really is,—seems neither needful nor possible. If it be, as we are assured by official documents,[1] in reality a punishment so much *worse than capital*, that men have been known to *commit crimes* on purpose to escape from it by *death*, one does not well see how an *over*-estimate of its severity *can* be formed by the imagination. When the actual infliction is so shockingly severe that the people of this country, who can hardly be brought to tolerate capital punishment, would far less tolerate one which is beyond capital, if they once had their attention roused to it,—in such a case, I say, whatever uncertainty and indistinctness there may be respecting the convict's condition, *may* operate to *extenuate*, but never to *aggravate*, the terror of the punishment.

Supposing however the reverse of this to be true,—supposing—contrary to all reason and all experience—that the punishment of the transported convict was never under-rated, and was sometimes over-rated in the imagination; and that consequently a distant place of exile, was, to some minds, a distinct source of salutary terror without any counterbalancing effect of the opposite kind on other minds;—still the price is so enormously disproportionate at which

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spot as the abode of the worst of criminals, and then, for fear it should be *too agreeable*, to *spoil it* as far as possible, by destroying the fruit trees!

[1] The Catholic chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Ullathorne, corroborated by other authorities, represents that the convicts are driven to despair; that they have been known to commit murder for the sake of ridding themselves of life; and according to the expression used by one of the convicts himself, "When a man comes to this island he loses the heart of a man, and gets the heart of a beast." —*Papers relative to Transportation*, &c. Session 1839, No. 582, p. 9.

this supposed benefit is to be purchased, that I think no one who will sit down and dispassionately count the cost could have a moment's hesitation on the question.

For the sake of retaining a system which to some particular minds, it is supposed, may hold out the additional terror of *distant* exile, we are to send criminals at a heavy cost to a Penal establishment which is completely out of the reach of all vigilant inspection;—an establishment in which, instead of being reformed, they are debased and degraded and hardened to the utmost possible degree. It was observed to me lately by Sir Edward Parry [1] as the result of several years' experience on the spot, that "he believed it impossible a convict could be sent to Norfolk Island without coming back a double-distilled villain." Then, after four years' (on the average) preparatory training in this University of depravity, they are to be let loose, to the amount of 4000 annually,—or perhaps, under the proposed mitigation of the system, 2000 or 1000,—on the Australian Colonies, as free labourers and settlers. This precious importation is to consist, you will observe, entirely of *men*; (of *males* I should rather say; for the other term would be hardly appropriate) no women, as far as I can understand, being henceforth to be sent out as convicts. So that a community already overwhelmed with such unspeakable horrors from the shocking disproportion of the sexes, is to be annually inundated with a fresh torrent of pollution, by the influx of hundreds or thousands of the most abandoned profligates, exclusively males! And it is thus that a new and flourishing Nation is to be created and cherished in its growth;—a Nation flourishing in numbers and in wealth, but already of such a character as to have been described by one of the witnesses before the Committee by the concise and emphatic expression of "Sodom and Gomorrah." All sacrifices are to be made—no cost spared—to increase the extent and to keep up the odious character of such a community: a conspicuous and lasting monument of England's shame and guilt: a monument such as I suppose was never before erected by any people, Christian or Pagan, of combined absurdity and wickedness.

But even this is not all: if the proposed system be adopted and persevered in, the other Colonies also in the Southern Hemisphere will be contaminated by the same polluted stream. The colonies already infected indeed,—New South Wales and Van Diemen's

[1] See his Evidence, Report, vol. ii. p. 62.

Land,—are such as some might think fitting subjects of any experiment however wild; or incapable of receiving, morally, either injury or benefit from any; and incapable (though I cherish better hopes) of being regenerated even by perseverance in wise measures. But to taint not only these, but also the rising colonies of Swan River, South Australia, and New Zealand, by an influx of discharged felons, would be doubly unpardonable. The convicts, it has been suggested, at Norfolk Island and Tasman's Peninsula, on the expiration of their sentence, are to be conveyed to the neighbouring colonies, generally, (without any limitation to those which have been hitherto Penal Colonies,) and there let loose; and thus each of these rising communities is to be from its early infancy distorted and diseased by the depravity of these "double-distilled villains." Now the free-settlers in New South Wales indeed cannot complain of this as an *unexpected* hardship, (except indeed such emigrants as have been deluded from their country by the false accounts given in tracts such as those I have alluded to;) but to expose to this moral pestilence those who have settled in the *other* colonies, under the express understanding that their settlements were *not* to be thus polluted, is manifestly as unjust and treacherous as it is impolitic and inhuman.

Indeed there is an express Act of Parliament[1] forbidding the introduction of convicts into South Australia; an Act under which the settlers there have felt themselves secure from the evil it was meant to guard against;—an evil from which they *will* be secured, if there be any sense of honour in the British Government. For it would manifestly be an evasion of the Act, to send thither the refuse of our jails, after having undergone their period of punishment and of debasement in Norfolk Island, on the plea that these men are not *transported*, but only *conveyed*, ("convey, the wise it call,") and that they are not *convicts*, but merely persons who *had*

[1] 4 & 5 Will. IV. cap. 95. According to the *South Australian Register*, dated 25th January, 1840, it appears that the influx of criminals into that colony from the Penal Settlements has already become a very serious source of annoyance.

"No precautions (says the *Register*) have been adopted to prevent the importation of escaped convicts or ticket-of-leave men from the neighbouring Penal Settlements; and the consequence is, that South Australia is overrun with persons of these descriptions, and the police find constant employment in apprehending them. That crime has been seriously increased by the unchecked importation of this class of bandits, may be gathered from the fact, that out of the *thirty* prisoners tried at the last jail-delivery, there was only one convicted who had come to the colony direct from England; and among the twenty-five prisoners now

been convicts, and whose term has expired: they are not precisely the same description of persons as we have promised not to send to South Australia,—convicts under sentence; but differ from them somewhat as a wild beast loose does from a wild beast chained!

Such are the results,—I may almost say the acknowledged and foreseen results,—to be expected from our persevering in the Transportation system, even under a modified shape and to a diminished extent. They may be called acknowledged and foreseen results, because the statements and principles on which I have been arguing are mostly drawn, not from conjectures or observations of my own,—not even merely from uncontradicted testimony, or from the Report of a Parliamentary Committee,—but from Government documents,—from descriptions and remarks, not merely admitted, but spontaneously and prominently set forth, in official papers. That a convict "in Norfolk Island loses the heart of a man, and gets the heart of a beast,"—that "as a place for the reformation of criminals it is worse than useless,"—that "the proposal of allowing them to flock to the Australian Colonies at the expiration of their sentences, would render that noxious atmosphere more foul by their addition," and would therefore be open to a "fatal objection," as "leaving the main evil of Transportation in full vigour,"—all this being, in so many words, acknowledged and foreseen, leaves me at a loss for arguments against the scheme I am deprecating. It seems of itself to plead guilty, as it were, to every charge brought against it. I know of no terms in which to condemn it more strongly than it stands self-condemned.

I do cherish a hope therefore that Her Majesty's Ministers will be induced to follow out fully the principles which have been thus admitted, and to apply a thorough remedy to evils which have been so thoroughly exposed. If some system good in itself had been pushed to a faulty *excess*, a moderated continuance of it would be all that we could desire: if *abuses* had crept into such a system,

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awaiting their trial for different offences, there are but *five* English emigrants; the remaining twenty being either escaped convicts, ticket-of-leave men, or emancipists from New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land. Now, we know not what orders have been issued to the port-officer with regard to the crews and passengers of vessels arriving from the Penal Settlements; but this we do know, that not the slightest attention is paid to the subject either at Glenelg or at the port, and that a shipload of escaped convicts could at any time be landed without remark or remonstrance. Again, there is no check upon the overland arrivals, and it is notorious that some of the worst desperadoes of New South Wales have found their way hither by that route."

it would be enough to remedy the abuses: but when a system has been shown to be in itself an abuse,—to be radically and *fundamentally* bad, we ought not to be satisfied with a mere diminution of the evil. Those who introduced and who carried on for above fifty years the Transportation system with the *expectation of doing good*, have been doing unspeakable mischief; but if we, *without* that expectation, continue the system, though in a mitigated degree, and satisfy ourselves with merely doing *rather less* mischief, but *that*, with our *eyes open*, and *knowing* what it is that we are doing, we shall be incomparably more to blame than our predecessors.

From that blame, my Lords, I have exonerated my own conscience; and I call on this House,—on the Legislature,—and the British Nation,—not lightly to cast from them the consideration of this question merely because there is no party-contest about it; but to weigh well its importance to the credit and welfare of this country,—to the welfare of almost every nation, civilized or uncivilized, throughout the world. And I hope for such a strong expression of the opinion of this House and of the Public at large, as shall induce and enable Ministers to take effectual measures for putting an end not to a part only, but to the whole, of the present most pernicious and indefensible system, and for removing from this country one of the foulest stains that ever blemished our national character.

The Resolution, my Lords, which I have to move is,—"That the System of Transportation ought to be immediately, completely, and finally abolished."

POSTSCRIPT.

Though the Motion was not pressed to a division, it happily had the effect of calling forth some able speeches which at once evinced the increased public attention which the subject has attracted, and also tended to increase that attention.

But I cannot forbear remarking that the main objection to the *immediate* abolition of Transportation to a Colony, which I had forestalled by Mr. Drummond's suggestion of substituting for Norfolk Island (as a temporary expedient at least) one on our own coasts,—this objection was not supported by any weighty reasons against that suggestion.

The only argument adduced was the supposed terror with which, to some minds, it is said, a very *remote place of exile* is invested by the imagination.

I have given my reasons for believing this argument to be greatly

over-rated, and to be quite insufficient, even if it be *not* over-rated, to counterbalance the considerations on the opposite side. But as it does seem to weigh much with those on whom the practical decision rests, I will venture to throw out in this place another suggestion, by which advantage may be taken of the feeling in question, for a beneficial purpose, without incurring (as now) the enormous counterbalancing disadvantages.

Let Norfolk Island, or some such remote spot, be made, *exclusively*, the place of exile to those (a very small proportion of criminals) who are sentenced to *Transportation for life*. Let no others—convicts or free settlers—be located there. And thus you will obtain all the advantages, and avoid (as far as the thing is possible) the disadvantages of a remote Penal establishment. For,

1st. There will be an approach towards a *scale* of punishments, proportioned to offences, by adding on, in the *most heinous* cases, whatever terror there may be in *remote exile:*

2dly. The *promiscuous association together* of those sentenced to a *term* (for slighter offences) and for *life*, will be avoided:

3dly. The dreadful consequences of overwhelming our Australian colonies with the *discharged* convicts,—which it is truly observed in the Government papers (p. 6), "leaves the main evil of Transportation in full vigour"—will be avoided:

4thly. The frightful severity exercised in Norfolk Island might be considerably relaxed, without those ill effects which would, now, follow from such relaxation; because the *numbers* of the exiles would be so much smaller, and also the remoteness and seclusion of the place of banishment, and its being for life, might be a sufficient terror, without any additional severity of treatment.

Such a plan I conceive would be at least a manifest and great *improvement* on the present or proposed course; and would be open to none of the objections, as far as I can see, which have been urged against any of the other suggestions of the opponents of Transportation.

Note A. Page 317.

The system of transportation does not derive its origin from any deliberate opinion of its value as a mode of punishment, but rather from the same cause as that which gave rise to negro slavery, viz. the great want of labour in new colonies. The first Act of Parliament that expressly sanctioned transportation as a punishment was the 4 Geo. I. cap. 11. (A. D. 1717), which recited that the punishments then in use were inefficient, and that "in many of his

Majesty's colonies and plantations in America there was a great want of servants, who, by their labour and industry, might be the means of improving and making the said colonies and plantations more useful to this nation." This Act was, in fact, the introduction of the assignment system, and remained in force until the Americans achieved their independence, which virtually repealed it. About this time the importance of a penitentiary system was forced upon the attention of the Government by the labours of Howard. The Act 16 Geo. III. cap. 43 (1776) recognized the inconvenience of transporting convicts, and proposed to employ them at home; and this was followed by the 19 Geo. III. cap. 74 (1778), which was the groundwork of all modern efforts for the establishment of penitentiaries, and is understood to have been framed by Mr. Justice Blackstone, Mr. Howard, and Mr. Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland). This Act distinctly sanctions the principle of separate confinement, because it declares (sec. 5,) that "if many offenders convicted of crimes for which transportation has been usually inflicted, were ordered to solitary imprisonment, accompanied by well-regulated labour and religious instruction, it might be the means, under Providence, not only of deterring others, but also of reforming the individuals, and inuring them to habits of industry." It is unfortunate that the difficulties which occurred in fixing upon the sites of the first penitentiaries contemplated under this Act were such as to frustrate its execution, and to afford an opportunity for trying the fatal experiment of a Penal Colony in the southern hemisphere. The Act 24 Geo. III. (1784) empowered the King in Council to appoint places for transportation beyond the seas, which was done accordingly by Order in Council in 1786. In 1787, Captain Philip was appointed Governor of the territory of New South Wales and its dependencies, "extending from Cape York, lat. 11° 37′ to the South Cape, lat. 43° 30′, and inland to the westward, as far as 135° E. long., comprehending all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean, within the latitudes of the above-named capes;" and the first fleet sailed from England with convicts, who were established by Governor Philip in New South Wales, with the exception of a small party of them who were planted at once in Norfolk Island. At this period Norfolk Island was inhabited by a race of natives, who are fully described in Collins's New South Wales, but who have long since disappeared. Collins's account of the proceedings of the first convict-settlers, gives reason to apprehend that the destruction of these aborigines ought to be included in the catalogue of evils which have sprung out of penal colonization.

Note B. Page 337.

It is well known that the strongest censure ever passed upon the character of New South Wales, as a whole community, is contained in the Charge delivered by Mr. Justice Burton himself to the jury of the Supreme Court in Sydney, on the 18th November, 1835,—a Charge which describes in the most appalling manner, the vicious habits of the people in general, the inefficiency of the law, and the utter want of moral principle prevailing throughout the colony. The following passages are extracted from the Charge, as published in the Appendix to the Transportation Report, vol. i. p. 289.

"*Supreme Court*, 18*th Nov.* 1835.

"All cases for trial this session having been gone through, Mr. Justice Burton, addressing the Jury, said:

"It was now his duty to discharge them from any further attendance this session; but before he did so, he must make to them a few observations, which they might carry with them to their homes, and there give them a calm and serious consideration. His own mind was seriously impressed with their importance, otherwise he should not introduce them to their attention. * * * *

"He had requested a return to be made out by the chief clerk of the court, of all the capital convictions that had taken place during the last three years, and he thought, when he stated the number to them, they would feel he was fully justified in the course of observations he was about to make:

"In 1833, there had been 135 capital convictions; on 69 sentence of death had been passed; 45 of those capital convictions and 15 of these sentences of death had taken place upon his judicial responsibility.

"In 1834, 148 capital convictions, in 83 of which sentence of death had been passed, 48 of which convictions and 36 of which sentences had been before himself.

"In 1835, 116 capital convictions, and 71 sentences to suffer death, 56 of which convictions had taken place before him, and 28 of which sentences he had passed. In addition to which sentences there are 33 prisoners, who have been capitally convicted, waiting for sentence. Whether death might be recorded or passed upon them, the number of capital convictions was a feature sufficiently striking in the administration of justice in this colony, for it was to be remarked, that capital punishment had been taken away from several offences, such as forgery, cattle-stealing, stealing in a dwelling-house above the value of £5 (those fruitful sources of capital convictions in former times), ever since the 1st of August, 1833, so that those which had taken place since that time were all for crimes of violence, murder, rape, robbery, burglary, maliciously stabbing, shooting and wounding, and offences of similar character.

"He then referred to the calendar of the sessions, furnished to him by the crown solicitor, and stated, that there were still in the jail untried the number of 74 prisoners, from various causes of delay, as to which it was not now his business to inquire. They were, however, neither unknown nor unheeded. With respect to the causes of this state of crime, he had nothing to do with what others might assign; he had formed his own conclusions as to them, which he would lay before

the gentlemen of the jury, and beg them carefully to weigh and examine them, and judge for themselves: he had thought the number of capital convictions alone enough to point his own and their attention to it, as an indication of the state of the country as to crime. He had not thought it necessary, with so prominent a feature before him, to mention the number of convictions before the Supreme Court, during the same period, for offences not capital; he would only briefly refer to them, and to all those offences which were tried before the several courts of quarter sessions throughout the colony, in the exercise of their summary jurisdiction and by juries: the mass of offences which were summarily disposed of by the magistrates, and at the several police offices throughout the colony, and added to all these the numerous undiscovered crimes, which every man who heard him, or to whom the report of his words should come, would at once admit to have occurred in his own circle of knowledge. And then the picture presented to their minds would be one of the most painful reflection: it *would appear, to one who could look down upon the community, as if the main business of us all were the commission of crime and the punishment of it; as if the whole colony were continually in motion towards the several courts of justice;* and the most painful reflection of all must be, that so many capital sentences and the execution of them have not had the effect of preventing crime by way of example.

"In his opinion one grand cause of such a state of things was *an overwhelming defect of religious principle in this community;* a principle which he considered as the polar star to guide a man in all his conduct, and without which none other would prevent him from crime.

"But that he might not be said to make so grave a charge upon light foundations, he would instance the crimes of violence, the murders, the manslaughters in drunken revels, the perjuries, the false witnesses from motives of revenge or reward, which in the proceedings before him had been brought to light. There were some indeed of so atrocious a character, which had occurred before him, that he would briefly instance some of them which the time that had elapsed might have caused to pass away from their memory; and he mentioned the case of Mulally and his wife, who were convicted of stealing from the person of Patrick Sherry, by means of some deleterious drug administered to him, which for a time deprived him of sense, and perhaps only the quantity administered prevented the loss of his life; and the case of Armstrong, an overseer, who was acquitted upon a false charge brought against him by a convict under his superintendence, of shooting at him with intent to murder him.

"He referred to the case of Cowan and his wife, who were acquitted of the murder of a man named Kerr, as embodying in itself a picture of those evils with which the colony is visited. (The case is then stated.)

"The conclusions to be drawn from such a case are manifest; and the judge stated that he was sorry to say, and those who heard him could bear him out in what he said, that this was not the only case which had recently been before that court, in which there was the strongest suspicion of an expected witness against a prisoner being made away with to prevent his giving evidence.

"In another case, an old man who is now gone to his account, and whose name therefore he would not mention, was acquitted of maliciously shooting at a servant in his employment, and the means taken to procure that acquittal were a false charge of felony set up against the principal witness.

" In another case as many as ten or eleven persons had successively abused the person of a woman; of course consent in such a case was impossible to be presumed; but what must be the state of moral degradation of those persons who could consecutively follow one another in the commission of such an act?

" These, and many other instances to which it would be long now to refer (but they were upon his notes of evidence in cases tried before him), had brought him to the conclusion that *there is an overwhelming defect of religious principle in this colony.* If he was wrong in this conclusion, his reasoning upon it would fail; the jury would judge of this; but if he were correct, then it was a state of things which warranted him in calling upon them by all the means in their power to improve it.

" He could not but acknowledge there was a deficiency of religious instruction in the colony. There was not that number of religious teachers its extent and population required. He did not intend to impute blame to any one individually. But when he imputed a want of religious principle, he looked around to see whether there was an adequacy of religious instruction, in order to point their attention to this circumstance; so that if they found a deficiency, they might call upon the proper authorities to make such an addition as necessity required. * *

" He felt bound to say, that masters of convicts were not sufficiently attentive to the morals of their men: defective as our means of religious instruction might be, it had been proved before him, that highly respectable persons, residing near to a church in the same town, and within a few miles, not only neglected to oblige them to attend the church, but actually suffered them to spend the Lord's-day amidst scenes of drunkenness and debauchery. Nor was that all. It had been further proved that the Lord's-day, by some masters, was made a day of labour, and that some other day was allowed to them as an equivalent. * * * * * He was sorry to say that many of the worst crimes which had been brought under his notice were committed on the Lord's-day, and he was led to apprehend that there was a very general disregard and desecration of it.

" There were other causes which led, in his opinion, to crime in this country. With respect to them there might be a difference of opinion; he could only say that he had formed his own; and as he was prepared to give it to the Governor, he should be wanting in candour if he did not state it to them.

" He had been induced, by what had been proved before him in that court, gravely to consider the question of convicts working in gangs, out of irons, and felt convinced it was one of the most fruitful sources of crime to be found in the colony. He had before him a return, from which it appeared that the number of convicts at this time employed upon the roads is 2240, of whom 1104 are out of irons! and (he continued) when they, the jury, considered who these latter men were, and what they had been; placed under the guardianship of a convict overseer; that they left their huts in any number, armed or unarmed as they pleased * * * In short, from the evidence he had upon his notes respecting the conduct of the road parties of the colony, it would appear that those establishments were like bee-hives, the inhabitants busily pouring in and out, but with this difference, the one works by day, the other by night; the one goes forth to industry, the other to plunder. * * * *

" Another source of crime, he thought to be the occupation of the waste lands of the colony by unauthorized and improper persons, both bond and free; who,

commencing with nothing, or a very small capital, soon after acquire a degree of wealth which must lead every reasonable man to the conclusion they do not get it honestly. Another cause, he considered, was the congregating of large numbers of convict-servants in the town of Sydney, to which he attributed a vast proportion of the burglaries and robberies committed there: the master allowing his convict-servants to wander about where and when they please after his work is done, or on the Lord's-day, instead of keeping over them that vigilant watchfulness it was his duty to do; and the premises of respectable and unsuspected persons furnishing them with means of concealment.

"Another source of crime was, the allowing improper persons to have licenced public-houses. It had been proved that a great many robberies were concocted at such houses, and the proprietors of many of those low houses being persons who were not far removed from the class of life in which the prisoners were themselves placed, undoubtedly such houses would be the most frequented by improper characters; but if none but respectable persons were allowed a licence, such characters would not dare to enter their houses.

"But there was another cause which comes home to all, which is, the almost total want of superintendence of masters over their assigned servants. It had been proved to him that many robberies had been committed which are attributable to this alone; where there had been either no overseer at all, or else a very inactive one. In such a matter, every man's respectability was concerned; the reputation of himself and family required that he should keep his servants under just restraint. It had been proved before him that convict-servants, six or seven in number, armed with muskets, a weapon not capable of much concealment, and masked, had committed various robberies upon all their adjoining neighbours: one of them attempted a robbery even in the middle of the day, on a Sunday, in the high road from Sydney to Parramatta, armed with a musket, another person being in his company.

"Further, as many robberies were committed through convict-servants being left too much at liberty to roam where they please during the hours of sleep, it was well worth the consideration of all parties, whether convict-servants might not, during those hours, be placed under such restraint as to put it beyond their power either to injure their master's property or that of his neighbours; he felt himself that some such measure was called for, at least in and near populous towns; he knew that no individual could do it; but he spoke of recommending it as a public measure.

"He had now made to them such observations as presented themselves to his mind after three years of his judicial life in this colony. He might have detained them longer than usual, but that was because he considered this to be the proper time for him to bring them to their notice; and long as he might have detained them, he trusted they would consider his observations of sufficient importance to warrant him in doing so. When they calmly looked at, and gravely considered, the vast amount of crime which was passing around them, could they feel otherwise than convinced so lamentable a circumstance must seriously retard the establishing in this colony of those free institutions which were the pride and the boast of the parent country? He could assure them he had equally an English heart with them, and was dearly attached to the freedom of her laws; but he must press upon their attention, *what, considering the nature of the population of*

this colony, the fact that men are passing daily from one class to another, must be the effect upon those institutions, and of men passing from one class to another without moral improvement? To himself it appeared, that it must be the total corruption of them all. In that point of view alone the subject was well worthy their grave attention. Free institutions could only be appreciated and enjoyed by the virtuous; coercion was for the depraved; and a vicious people had never continued to be free. He stated, that he felt he need do no more to impress upon all their minds the necessity there was for exercising all their influence to procure the moral improvement of those persons who are committed to their trust, and their utmost vigilance and superintendence over them to restrain them from crime, *than draw their attention to the comparative numbers of the free and convicts in this colony, and to the fact that the tide of convict population still sets strongly here, whilst that of free emigration appears feebly to reach our shores.*

* * * * * * *

"He trusted they would take with them to their homes the facts he had stated, and the opinions he had expressed, and communicate them to their neighbours, so that each might judge for himself as to the justness of his views. The facts themselves he had drawn from what had come before him in evidence, and as such he put them. He sincerely hoped they would have proper weight upon the minds of every one to whom they were stated; and that as he had taken this opportunity of inquiring on his part what he had done during the last three years, each of them would also consider what he had been doing during the same period."

It is plain that throughout the above Charge, Mr. Justice Burton contemplated the colony *as a whole*, that he did not affect to draw a distinction between the different classes of the community, or to exclude the free emigrants from the censure cast upon the convict colony in general. If, therefore, there is any error in pronouncing what is called a *sweeping indiscriminate condemnation*, against this unfortunate community, the error was, until very lately at least, shared by the very person whose authority is now quoted against such a judgment.

That there are amongst the free settlers in the penal colonies persons of unspotted character, and actuated by moral and virtuous sentiments, no one can doubt. But the existence of some such persons does not, and cannot affect these important conclusions to which the Transportation Report must inevitably have led its unprejudiced readers, viz. that the general tone of society in these colonies is derived from crime,—that the few respectable inhabitants are surrounded by an atmosphere of corruption,—and that no virtuous person can take up his abode there without imminent danger of becoming a villain. These propositions have been rather confirmed

than shaken by the recent publications of Mr. Burton (see Colonial Magazine, Nos. IV. and V. 1840). He expressly admits the accuracy of the judicial conclusion of the Transportation Committee, "that crime has increased in a greater ratio than the population, and, consequently, in a far greater ratio than the number of convicts." The following is Mr. Burton's *latest* picture of the state of society, for which he appears in the character of an apologist:—

"The vast amount of crime which is chargeable on the colony almost entirely proceeds from its unreformed convict population, for whose moral improvement and proper restraint little has, at any period of its history, been done, and, of the former at least, little in comparison with the necessity is even yet in progress.

"*That society is visited with great and manifold evils in consequence, must neither be denied nor concealed.* The judicial experience of the writer, the history of the crimes committed, their frequently appalling circumstances, and the scenes which, in the course of their investigation, have been as vividly described, as though they were transacted before his eyes, the examination of many thousand witnesses, and these of all classes, and from every part of the colony, have disclosed to his mind a state of depravity amongst those by whom this body of iniquity has been committed, and their associates, which can scarcely be overrated. Individual instances might illustrate this, but the cause of truth does not appear to require their production, since on this point no inadequate idea has been presented to the public, but rather one of too general a kind. The catalogue of crimes against property and person proves too clearly that both are exposed to the apprehension of attack, in a greater degree, perhaps, than in any part of the world which is not the receptacle of convicts.

"Happily the grosser injuries, those affecting life and chastity, are, for the most part, confined to the equally worthless associates of those guilty of them. Instances have indeed occurred, within the writer's own knowledge, judicial and personal, and those, alas! of extraordinary turpitude, where vice has been permitted, under the inscrutable but unerring arrangements of Divine Providence, to triumph in the ruin of innocence, of either sex, the most undoubted! but so rarely as to have formed a subject of reflection and much thankfulness, that vicious men have been permitted to have so little power, *except over one another*, and to give additional assurance to the faith and confidence of the believer in His protection, who, when he was permitted to fall into the hands of cruel and wicked men, said, 'Thou couldest have no power at all against me, unless it were given thee from above!'

"*For this reliance there is indeed great cause, as in it there is the only sure protection:* no day or hour but may witness the escape from some of the various places of confinement of a gang of desperate and hardened villains, who, armed with deadly weapons, (and they never rob without them,) surprise the distant settler in the dead of night, and spoil him of his goods, and put him in fear and jeopardy, if they do not take away his life. *No habitation can be said to be secure from the burglar: increasing property increases the objects of dis-*

honest desire, and increasing populousness in the town facilitates escape from detection.

"The banditti, indeed, whose plunder is obtained in the most violent ways, rarely evade for long the reach of justice; they are sure to be tracked by the very means they must resort to for subsistence, and being at last overtaken, either end their lives on the scaffold, or are transported to the penal settlement of Norfolk Island; generally according as their offences have been accompanied with shedding of blood, or personal violence, or not.

"*Thus the unreformed condition of the convict class*, whether still under sentence or free from it, *re-acts upon society in a variety of shapes*, as if in retribution for the neglect of that moral culture which alone could render them safely admissible within its pale. *There, however, they are festering in its very bosom;* embittering, endangering, and frequently destroying altogether the peace and security of domestic life. Apart from mere dishonesty, against which the wary may provide, the convict vices manifest themselves continually in the lower order—that of servants of either sex, and labourers especially, in a total absence of good principle—in language profane, disgusting, and unclean, and in suspicions of each other and of those around them most odious—the offspring only of minds impure. The several places of confinement for female prisoners, containing some 50, and one of them from 500 to 700 depraved women, are so many colleges from which these missionaries of evil go forth, disseminating the poison of their influence, and the venom of their lips, into every portion of the colony, amongst all who will receive them into their service; and scarcely ever for many weeks absent, they return to the same place of common resort, laden with the results of their travels, which they pass their time in recounting to each other. Many who have from choice (an unhappy one) or from necessity (most hard), adopted into their domestic circles this species of labour, have reaped,—and it will ever be so,—their full amount of tares.

"The corrupting influence of this class had extended, indeed, before the recent emigration of virtuous families, to the almost total ruin of domestic servants, and *naturally and necessarily has infected, through them, in a proportionate degree, the rising generation.*"—*Article, with Judge Burton's name prefixed, in Colonial Magazine, May*, 1840.

So far, then, Mr. Justice Burton, in 1840, does not differ materially from Mr. Justice Burton, in 1835; but, notwithstanding the confirmation of his original statements, by his subsequent experience, he contends that the amount of crime attributable to the free population is so small as to place the standard of their morality very high, and that, in fact, the free emigrants and native colonists are as exempt from the commission of crime as the virtuous inhabitants of this country. We are fortunately enabled to refute Mr. Burton on this point by the very documents cited in his own article, and will proceed to do so with all thankfulness to him for furnishing facts which we might otherwise have found it difficult to obtain.

The following accounts are given of the committals to the jail at Sydney in the years 1835 and 1836.

	1835.	1836.
Convicts	270	258
Emancipists	206	252
Free Emigrants and born in the Colony	81	89
Totals	557	599

These figures undoubtedly show that the free emigrants committed bear a small proportion to the actual and liberated convicts; but the important question remains behind,—*What proportion do these committals bear to the whole of the free emigrant and native population?* In order to solve this, we have referred to Mr. Burton's returns of the number of persons committed to *the whole of the jails* in New South Wales in the two years mentioned, and find it to be as follows:—

	Committals.	Proportion of committals to respective population.
1835	1082	1 in 65
1836	1203	1 in 63

And by applying to the general committals the same proportions of the different classes of offenders which Mr. Burton has given as a *fair sample*, with reference to the jail at Sydney, we discover the following results:—

Committals throughout New South Wales.

	1835.		1836.	
	Number.	Proportion to respective population.	Number.	Proportion to respective population.
Convicts	498	1 in 45	503	1 in 53
Emancipists	380	1 in 40	492	1 in 31
Free Emigrants and born in the Colony	149	1 in 219	173	1 in 195

Thus, it seems, that on an average of the two years, 1835 and 1836, the ratio of the committals of emigrants and native colonists, was 1 *in* 207 *of their portion of the whole population.* Viewing the free emigrants *as a community in themselves,* 1 *in every* 207 *of that community appears to be a criminal,* a proportion greatly exceeding that existing in this country. For in this country the proportion of persons committed for trial, or bailed, to the whole population (census of 1831) was

	1834.	1837.
England and Wales	1 in 619	1 in 588
Yorkshire	1 in 956	1 in 970
Westmoreland	1 in 1966	1 in 2201
Middlesex	1 in 336	1 in 415
Bristol	1 in 290	— —

Thus we see that the amount of crime committed by the best portion of the community in New South Wales, namely, the free emigrants, is more than double the relative amount of crime throughout the whole of densely-peopled England, whilst it is many times greater than the amount committed in our agricultural districts, and even much surpasses our very worst and most depraved localities! Can there be a stronger proof of the demoralizing influence of transportation upon all classes of society, not excepting that class whose general purity has been the vain boast of their *soi-disant* friends of the colony in this country?

It appears, then, that it was erroneously stated that the free population in New South Wales "did not furnish a degree of crime half so great as this country." The resolution of the Legislative Council in favour of Transportation, dated July 17, 1838, was quoted, but no reference was made to the petition from 427 inhabitants of New South Wales, recently laid before Parliament (Par. Paper, No. 211, 7th April, 1840,) which treats the question in an entirely different way, and, in particular, confirms Mr. Justice Burton's account of the alarming increase and extent of crime in the colony, as establishing the necessity for a change in the system which produced such results. This petition was signed by—

6 Members of Legislative Council.
57 Justices of the Peace.
4 Clergymen, including the principal Chaplain of the Colony.
5 Solicitors of the Supreme Court.
355 Landholders, Merchants, and other Colonists.

427 Total—

and is a document of great interest and importance as descriptive of the social state of the colony in various respects.

The morality of the free emigrants as a class, in Van Diemen's Land, is illustrated by the official returns contained in the Transportation Report. It appears that, in 1834, the number of free persons fined for drunkenness was 2132, and in 1837, 2860, being in each year about one-tenth of the free population. According to Captain Mackonochie, however, the proportion is still higher, for he states that 14 per cent. or about one-seventh of them are every year summarily convicted of that offence. Now the amount of petty crime adjudicated upon by the police magistrates of London (even including vagrants, and offenders discharged or committed for further trial) does not exceed 5 per cent. upon the population, so that the offence of drunkenness alone, among the free emigrants of Van Diemen's

Land, exceeds the whole amount of petty crime in London by nearly 3 to 1. Again, we find, on the same authority, that the convictions of free persons only under penal statutes have been from 5 to 7 per cent., and that misdemeanours by such persons have exceeded 5 per cent. These facts, though not indeed embracing the whole criminal statistics of Van Diemen's Land, are yet sufficient to shew how erroneous is the notion that the morality of the free settlers has preserved a decent degree of purity, amidst the criminal atmosphere which surrounds it. The reverse is too plainly the case, although the proportion of the free to the convict population is in a much more favourable state than in New South Wales. The physical condition, however, of the lower classes, whether bond or free, in Van Diemen's Land, is said to be more miserable than in the other penal colony.

The latest intelligence from New South Wales (dated in February, 1840,) is so far from confirming the assertion of an amelioration of the moral state of the Colony having taken place, that it affords strong reason for believing the reverse to be the case. In the course of the year 1839, it appears that the magistrates of Sydney (a town containing about 20,000 inhabitants) disposed of 15,263 criminal cases of various descriptions, being a considerable number over the previous year. This is, as if, in London, three-fourths of the whole metropolitan population, or about 1,200,000 persons had, in 1840, been convicted of crime! The particulars are thus given in the *Sydney Herald:*

"In the year ending June, 1838, the Sydney magistrates disposed of fourteen thousand two hundred and sixty-six cases summarily, of which a great proportion were drunkards. During the same period, two hundred and twenty-three persons were committed to take their trials for felonies, and three hundred and eighty for misdemeanours. In the year ending June, 1839, the number of summary cases was *fourteen thousand six hundred and thirteen; of felonies, three hundred and fifty-eight; and misdemeanours, two hundred and ninety-two.* The increase of summary cases for the year was thus, three hundred and forty-seven; *and on felonies, one hundred and thirty-five*—more than half; while the misdemeanours decreased eighty-eight. The total number of cases in the first year was fourteen thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and in the last, fifteen thousand two hundred and sixty-three—an increase of three hundred and ninety-four. In the year ending June, 1839, five thousand two hundred and seventy-four drunkards were disposed of

at the police office; five hundred and seven of them were by information under the new Act, which causes the drunkard to be sent to the tread-mill, if a man, to the cells, if a woman."—*Sydney Herald*, January 31.

The Colonial newspapers abound with complaints of the insecurity of life and property in the country districts. Sir George Gipps is accused in the *Sydney Herald*, by "a half-ruined planter," of sitting at his ease in the capital, whilst the interior is overrun with murderers and marauders of all descriptions, who plunder the settlers in gangs too numerous and desperate for resistance.

"The criminal session" (says the *Sydney Herald*, 1839) "commences to-morrow (February 1). The calendar contains several offences of a grave nature—murders, bush-ranging, and cattle-stealing. Among the list is Eales, for the murder of some aboriginal Blacks, and four Black natives (names unknown) for killing cattle."

A London newspaper, in 1840, thus summed up its recapitulation of the Sydney news. "We have not been industrious in culling evidence of the dreadful prevalence of crime in the convict colony; but leading articles, letters of correspondents, accounts of trials, and statistical returns, all refute the assertions made in Parliament this session, that an *improvement* in the social condition of New South Wales had taken place."

POSTSCRIPT.

I FEEL bound to mention that a well-written and amusing work which I have only recently seen, Mrs. Meredith's "Home in Tasmania," represents the Assignment system, and the social state of the Penal Colonies, as quite opposite to what one would have anticipated from the nature of the case. She describes the population as decidedly superior in good conduct to that of the Mother-Country! But she is quite mistaken in supposing that the opposite representation rests merely on "vague general declamation." On the contrary, (to say nothing of the many private communications

received by me from credible and well-informed persons,) the numerous witnesses examined before the Commons Committee gave evidence most fully and circumstantially detailed, of facts coming under their personal knowledge. And though a large proportion of them were persons anxious to *defend the existing system*, they *all* concurred in giving testimony completely opposite in every particular to that of Mrs. M.

Their Evidence is *buried* in a huge Blue-book; which however is accessible to any one who may wish to investigate the question. And *to that I appeal.*

It is certainly very difficult to get at the truth respecting the affairs of the Antipodes. And indeed this is one of the very objections I have urged against *remote* Penal Colonies. But how it can be possible that so great a number of persons should have *all* concurred in a misrepresentation which was adverse to the very cause which about half of them advocated, I must leave others to explain.

As for the management of the Convicts employed on the public works, under the administration of a Lieut.-Governor (Sir E. Wilmot), whom Mrs. M. warmly eulogizes, I will give her own statements, leaving my readers to form their own judgment. I do not vouch for the accuracy of the description: but at least it has (unhappily) less of internal improbability than the one above noticed.

"In the district around Hobarton, and on the direct route to Launceston, the roads are reasonably good, and when the probation system rendered the services of so many thousands of convicts available to the local government for the execution of works of public utility, it was generally hoped that in time our colonial highways would be considerably mended; but such expectation has been signally disappointed. Gangs of many hundreds of men have been located about the island in various places, but, as it would appear, with the most careful determination on the part of the directors that their labour should *not* be beneficial to the colonists. Roads were begun, it is true; but generally in such directions as were rarely traversed; and if one over a more frequented part of the country was commenced and carried on successfully for some time, the gangs were almost invariably removed from it when a little labour would have rendered it essentially serviceable to the neighbourhood. I know positively of more than one instance where a road between two districts was in the course of formation, which, had it been carried through, would have greatly enhanced the value of certain large properties; but because the owners of them were obnoxious, upon political grounds, to the officer then in charge of

the convicts, the work was stopped when within a short distance of the proposed terminus (a portion of the road was left unfinished and wholly impassable), the prisoners' barracks were dismantled and allowed to go to ruin, and the gang removed to a distance, most probably to be kept in idleness; for, as the officer had uncontrolled power, and rather a lengthy list of private feuds, it became extremely difficult to plan a road, in any quarter, which should not either directly or indirectly benefit some of the objects of his undying and vindictive dislike; and hence a very small amount of good effected by a very large amount of power—hence the number of unfinished, almost useless roads and expensive stations and barracks, built at the cost of the Government, and left to go to ruin all over the island—and hence the unpopularity and ultimate failure of the probation system."[1]

"At one part of the road we found a gang of men employed in its improvement; forming in the meanwhile greater obstacles than they removed; and so they have continued to be employed, aided by frequent reinforcements of new arrivals, nearly ever since, and still, after nearly nine years, the comparatively trifling task remains unfinished, and the station is deserted. The mismanagement of this gang was evident to the most casual observer. So notorious was their idleness, that it was a common thing to see them not even pretending to be employed, unless in making arbours of boughs to sit under in the sun! A more sleek-looking, stout, sturdy, lazy fraternity I cannot conceive possible. This herding together of so many idle men under the pretence of 'doing probation,' as they call it, must be injurious to the well-disposed among them, and is no punishment to the worthless."[2]

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[1] Mrs. Meredith—"Home in Tasmania," vol. i. p. 59.

[2] Ibid. pp. 83, 84.

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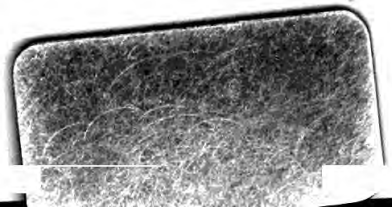
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