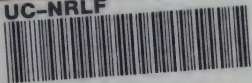
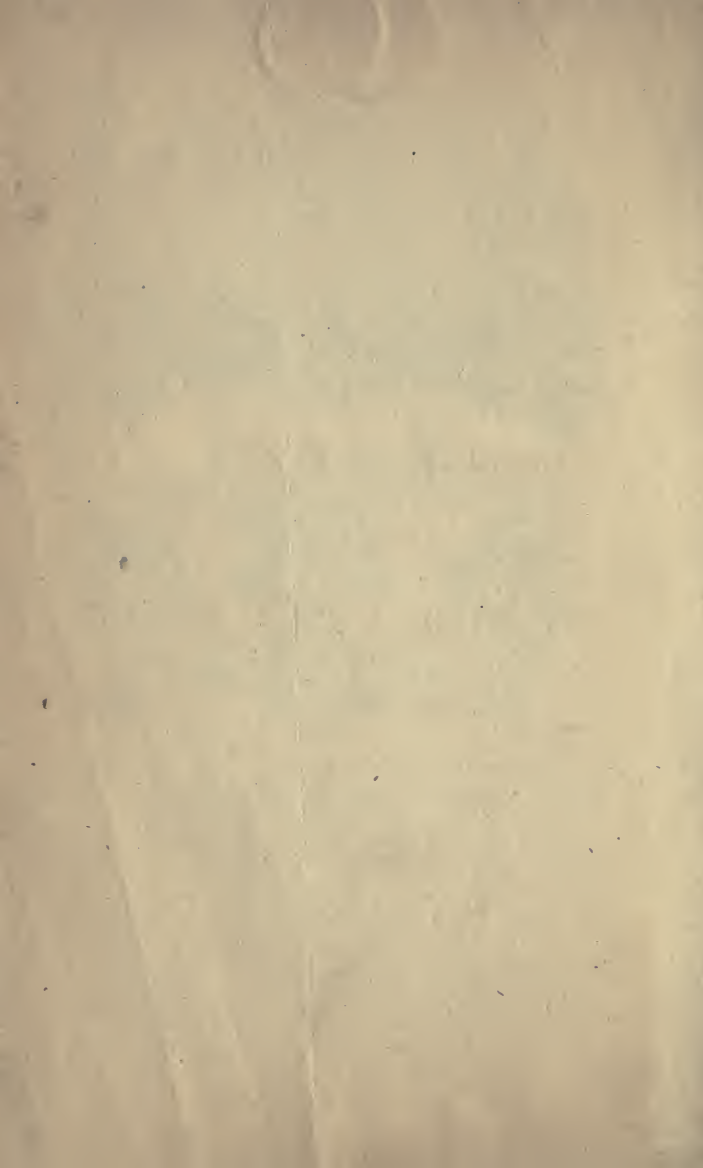


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FAMILIAR LETTERS

ON

POPULATION,

*&c. &c.*

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FAMILIAR LETTERS  
ON  
POPULATION,  
EMIGRATION,  
HOME COLONIZATION,  
&c. &c.

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BY JOHN ILDERTON BURN.

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DEDICATED BY PERMISSION TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD HENLEY.



London :

HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY.

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1832.

HB3583  
-B9

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*Printed by A. HANCOCK, Middle Row Place, Holborn.*

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TO  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
**ROBERT LORD HENLEY,**  
BARON HENLEY, OF CHARDSTOCK,  
*IN THE COUNTY OF DORSET.*

MY DEAR LORD,

In dedicating the following Letters to your Lordship I place them under auspices alike favourable to them and me. The subjects of them I well know are interesting to one of your Lordships unwearied philanthropy, and to all who wish well to the poor.

To alleviate their distress, and at the same time, and by the same means, benefit those who employ them, is the great object

I have had in view in the following Letters ;  
how far I have succeeded the public will  
determine. It is a great gratification to me  
that your Lordship has kindly allowed this  
address, for it stamps a character on my  
exertions that will secure attention, where  
attention is most wanted, among the higher  
and more influential ranks of society.

I have the honour to be,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful, obliged,  
and respectful servant,

J. I. BURN.

21, Connaught Square,  
January 2nd, 1832.

## INTRODUCTION.

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**T**HE following Letters have, for the most part, already appeared in periodical papers within the last five years. Some of them, addressed to individuals, were never before published. The subjects have been treated in such a plain and familiar way as might probably excite general attention, and urge also to useful exertions on behalf of the labouring classes. The Author has reason to believe that his efforts have not been altogether unavailing, many estimable men having expressed a favourable opinion of his views; and he is fully satisfied that ample means exist for accomplishing all his objects regarding the poor, with at least corresponding advantages to the rich. He cannot doubt that the constant employment of the former in useful occupations may, without difficulty, be provided for them at home.

The Letters on this part of the subject will better develope his views; and his attention has

invariably been directed to practical results. Written, as they have been, when he could find leisure from a very different pursuit, where his more material labours are required, he trusts that a liberal allowance may be made for errors of omission, or occasional repetition of some of the leading arguments in the different Letters. He thinks this is perhaps better than to destroy their familiar character. He considers them more in the nature of hints and suggestions than of systematic treatises, and, as such, he commits them to the candid reader.



## FAMILIAR LETTERS.

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### LETTER I.

**I**T is much easier to find fault than to point out a remedy for an existing evil. But every sincere well-wisher of his country will endeavour not merely to show a defect or abuse to which every thing human is liable, he will go further, and try to amend, if he cannot wholly cure, what is amiss. If the mischief of a numerous unemployed population be not checked or averted by some effectual and practical method, the evil now pressing on every part of the empire will increase with fearful rapidity, and tend directly, and at probably no very remote period, to unhinge the whole social fabric of this eminently happy country. I apprehend the thing is by no means without remedy, and that the remedy is of easy application. It is at hand, capable of instant trial, and with the probable, nay it may be said certain, effect of not only curing present calamities, but of laying



a sure foundation for preventing their recurrence in future.

The view taken of the subject shall be that of expediency, without reference to the existing Poor Laws. Leaving them to their regular course, I would endeavour to show that the vast mass of able-bodied paupers, now embraced in their ineffective though most burdensome application, shall be taken out of their operation by immediate employment, beneficial alike to the poor and the community.

It is clear, beyond all doubt, that subsistence is drawn for all from the produce of the land and the waters. It is equally clear that the limit to their production is not ascertained, and quite undoubted that their respective resources are capable of vast increase. How is this increase to be secured? Where is it to be sought for? For what good reason are these questions not practically answered? Nothing can be easier than to reply to these questions in general terms, and the replies carry with them, in effect, the seeds of the remedy I would point out. The increase then is to be secured by cultivating more land, by increasing our fisheries; and why this should be done is simply because the supplies are needed. The practical answer therefore is, to set the unemployed to thus create food, and supply all their wants. Well, but this is mere theory; and the main question, how are they to be employed, and by whom, and which recurs upon



as, and forms the chief difficulty to be encountered. If the question were one of choice and indifference, whether to cultivate poor lands or not—whether to extend the fisheries or not—and whether the balance of profit would be greater in the one case than in the other—it might fairly be left to its fate and to individual decision. But, unhappily, it is one of such pressing necessity, that the actual existence of a large portion of the most useful population of the country is involved in it.

Now between subsistence wrung from the mass of society by force of laws, made originally for very different purposes, and a new subsistence earned for themselves by the same parties, from the universal sources of all subsistence, as before stated, the difference is immense. Not only is the evil stopped of idleness and destitution, you have, on the contrary, industry and production where neither were before called into existence. That this would be clearly advantageous to the whole of society, and to the whole mass of pauper individuals now unemployed, who can doubt? That what is so beneficial in the aggregate can be otherwise individually, will not, I apprehend, be questioned. But though all are concerned in the remedy, many who could easily apply it as individuals, would object to take the chance of general advantage if they themselves did not immediately feel its effects personally. The means hitherto devised of enforcing a remedy, have not been so happily applied as to press equally on all

classes, nor in all districts, and greater inequality of burden throughout the country seems to have arisen, than could by any means have been contemplated before hand, even unmixed with the tremendous evils of litigation to enforce such remedies. The question of settlement has often cost more to decide on, than to maintain the pauper. But to come to a particular application of the proposed remedy; say that in any given parish there shall be able-bodied men capable of labour, and without employment, except in a casual or temporary way, what is the consequence? Why, that the cost of maintenance is made up of rate when wages or work are deficient.

Supposing then that the following experiment were tried, and so tried that its effects could be fairly known, viz. — that a certain portion of horse labour should be displaced, and supplied by the labour of man in every farm of such district. Let us, for example, take two horses from any such farm, and supply their places by three men, we have then immediate and permanent employment for such three men; and now let us see to the question of profit and loss. Say the cost of two horses is 40*l.* and their keep at least as much more, it may be averaged with wear and tear at per annum, for the cost of the horses and interest say only 5*l.* and their keep at only 45*l.* this would be a saving of 50*l.* per annum. Say the three men have 10*s.* weekly each, this would be an outlay of 78*l.*, a difference of 28*l.* per an-

num against the men. True, but what is the difference of their labour in the cultivation of the soil? The horse labour is only occasional, and then directed by men who must also at all times take charge of the horses. The human labour at all times and seasons useful and beneficial, and free from the cost of that constant direction and superintendence required with cattle. The difference is really beyond immediate calculation, for with many human hands there should never be a weed amongst the corn, a faulty drain, a broken hedge, an unmanured field, nor an unmown meadow. It is impossible to pursue all the contingent advantages that would hence arise in the scope of an essay of this sort ; but the attentive mind will, without difficulty, appreciate their value. This remedy is in the power of every cultivator of land in the United Empire, and may be put in practice within a week after the perusal of these hints.

This it will be observed goes no farther than to the land already in cultivation ; but the next step is naturally, if needed, to cultivate new land never before broken up, not for profit, for that is not now the question, but for subsistence ; because subsistence is needed for a certain portion of the population now living unemployed on the public purse. Then let them create their own food out of grounds hitherto barren. Then let them create their own food from fisheries hitherto untouched, or not sufficiently occupied.

[I am not unaware of the alleged remedy of emigration to a better soil and country, and, as it is stated, a more profitable employment of capital, nor of the notion of a redundant population requiring it; but the whole appears to be founded in fallacious views and principles; unless, indeed, it can be shown that the strength of a country does not consist in its population, and that the love of country is imaginary, and not real.]

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## LETTER II.

[POLITICAL economists of a certain class, and political adventurers of all classes, have strange vagaries.] They mightily puzzle a plain man with their involved reasonings, so that one knows not where to turn for relief. [Though they have not yet ventured to say the world is too little for the increasing population of it, yet it may be fairly inferred that this our island needs considerable enlargement to enable its inhabitants to eat and drink to their heart's content.] Let us look calmly around and examine, with common sense to guide us, whether there be any well-founded danger in an increased and increasing population, and whether food and raiment, with which we are exhorted to be contented, are to be had or not within these realms.

[The Giver of all good, and of fertile seasons, never withholds from the hand of industry its



proper reward—abundance.) Between the garden of the sluggard and of the vigilant the difference is extreme. The latter makes the barren wilderness to smile around—the former allows the wilderness to increase on him. These few trite remarks are merely introductory to the principal object of this Letter, which is to ascertain, as before mentioned, whether our islands are big enough to keep us, a thriving and increasing people as we are. (If we look back to the ages that are past, and study the page of history, we shall observe many periods in ours of partial distress; and of distress arising from wants that could have been supplied from the soil, at the particular periods alluded to, by more providence and greater industry. To have said at any of such periods of our history, say two or three centuries ago, that the population was redundant, and that such was the cause of distress, would have been a good politico-economic argument. Our ancestors were not so refined, they thought, and thought justly, that digging a little more land—exerting a little more industry—extending cultivation of every kind—would, and that nothing else would, with certainty, remedy the evils.) That this must have been so, is evident by the gradual extent of both produce and population. That this must ever be so, is about as plain a proposition as that two and two make four. That no other earthly remedy can be devised, is quite as plain and clear, and that no other is actually needed, follows in

this train of abundance, as the reward of cultivation.

This is the natural and usual progress of human society, but in its blessings all other animals participate, for all have the comfort of more abundance thus secured to them. [How is it then that this happy progression is ever impeded? Why does it not always command success—and whence is it that in the midst of partial abundance there is obviously great distress among the labouring poor, and the poor for whom no labour apparently can be found? It is by the artificial state of society usurping unduly upon its more natural course! Manufacturers increasing beyond agricultural labourers—machinery beyond manufacturing labourers—and capital taken from, or rather not applied to land, but to manufactures.]

If any one class of society, to any considerable amount, shall be at any period thrown out of its accustomed channels of production; the evils are immediate and overwhelming, and must be remedied at the expense of all the other branches of it. This is not redundant population, be it remembered—for till the change that stopped their labour had taken place they maintained themselves and their families by it in comfort. But being no longer needed, is it not a proof that there are more hands than are wanted? Suppose the case of one thousand men turned out of employment on a sudden, without support or the immediate means of obtaining it: how are they to be provided for

by the rest of the community? In idleness—it is impossible. In other pursuits—they must first learn them, and then by possibility produce evils of a somewhat similar nature by competing in such number with those already perhaps sufficiently numerous to get a subsistence in that pursuit. If the case were not suddenly brought on the parties, the remedy might be easier devised, but still it is not without alleviation and correction in time. Deprived of one pursuit heretofore needed, and now dispensed with by the community, they may still turn to the soil, and increase the food that must inevitably be needed to supply their daily wants. This resource is as certain as life itself, and it is at hand. Redundancy then is ideal as it regards population. The islands are still large enough for maintenance without sending them to foreign parts. There is merely a change of pursuit, but an increase of produce, and, instead of want, abundance is once more smiling around them. The country is brought into greater beauty and plenty—another wilderness is made to smile, and the sinews of a nation, its strength and best and truest security increased, inhabitants secured beyond all fear, doubt, or dispute.

To look back again—take any part of the island, not two or three centuries ago, but one or even half a century since, and see the vast increase that has been made to the productiveness of the soil! Nothing can be more cheering or

more gratifying to the contemplative mind ; and yet shall we say with the slightest foundation in truth that their progress is at an end, that it can reach no further point of perfection, that now our native fields are so richly endowed by the hand of industry that they must so remain or decline because the labourers are more abundant ?

If it be as clear as the sun at noon day, that Britian has gradually increased in produce and population, what in the name of common sense is there to prevent a similar progress now that science has made such rapid strides, and is still advancing upon ignorance ? Is there no waste land in the empire ? Is there any part yet brought up to its full state of production ? Is there any need to go beyond seas for lands to dig, while a single acre remains here untilled at home ? Is it a lesser expense, were expense only the consideration, to hire men to dig in England or in Canada ? No, but the production is said to be greater there, and to pay more largely on the capital employed. This is something more than questionable, and shall be adverted to on a future occasion. The present debate is confined to the points as stated, with the view to show that there really and truly need exist no want in this our happy country, that is not capable of being amply supplied ; for increase of population is a blessing that carries with it all that is valuable for produce, for protection, and for the comforts and even luxuries of life.



## LETTER III.

A REDUNDANT population that cannot find bread at home, must, of necessity, go elsewhere to seek it. But that this has never been the case in the British islands is clear beyond the possibility of any doubt, *because there are many hundreds of thousands of acres of land that have never yet been brought into cultivation at all.* Until every acre is brought into cultivation—until that already cultivated is brought to a maximum state of production, which it cannot surpass—until the population in such case, whatever may be its increased amount, cannot then actually produce more food at home than they can consume, it is not of necessity that they should leave it. Emigration of necessity may, by possibility, be expedient centuries hence; but we can only imagine the case, it is not a probable one. The common course of events in the progress of civilization and science is not, then, that the fewer inhabitants have or create the larger proportionate produce; the reverse, however, is proved by all past experience, which may well be argued on future speculations on this interesting subject. Scanty produce attends a scanty population, with more undeviating certainty than deficient produce a more abundant population. Produce depends not on few, but large numbers applied to agriculture; and the risks of destitution, like the

Perhaps the  
most part  
of this is  
mountain  
and brook  
and I think  
improbable

risks of insurance, are actually diminished by increase of numbers. A partial cultivation in a partial situation may be nearly all lost in one season; a more extended cultivation over a more extended country runs fewer risks, for the failure in one quarter may be compensated by greater abundance in another. But the seasons are actually improved with an improved country, and the noxious vapours of swamps and bogs are exchanged for the wholesome air of constantly increasing vegetation.

Why, then, till the case of necessity of resorting to other lands for food shall exist (if it ever can exist, which I very much doubt), [why, then, send away a portion of the working population, to be located in Canada or elsewhere, and be there with their families lost to the mother country?] This question deserves very serious consideration. I propose to offer a few casual remarks on the subject. It is of the last importance.

[The strength of a nation is in its people. The greater their numbers the more powerful the state. All calculations are thus founded on the relative empires of the world.

The love of native country is indelibly impressed upon the human mind. It is a fertile source of every virtue—a perfect protection against foreign invaders. But the more excellent the country—the more esteemed—the more renowned—the higher the character, and the greater the blessings showered on all—the stronger, in con-

sequence, is this love of native land. This needs only to be called to our recollection, not any argument to prove it: well then, the obvious conclusion is, that in no respect should its sacred ties be unloosed, or the valuable feeling be obliterated or destroyed. When Nelson hoisted the memorable flag, that "England expected every man to do his duty," it was on the thorough knowledge that the call was made to men fully resolved from the *love of their country* to subdue all opposition, to keep her honour and glory untarnished. The invitation to Canadian or American colonists could not have been answered with the same kindred feeling—the same force of moral obligation. Surely then to preserve this feeling and the people who are governed by it must be a vital object to any government. Emigration of such men destroys in a great measure the force of it, and their offspring in a foreign country have their earliest associations blended with interests and feelings vastly below the standard alluded to. England cannot expect of them the same hearty support in her need as from her native population. Thus far then it is a loss to the country every way. But to compensate this, we are told that they will cultivate better soils, which will yield greater abundance and better pay an interest on the capital to be embarked in their outfit. Let us calmly examine into the truth hereof, and for the purpose of trying the argument in the fairest way, make admissions that in many re-

spects may be questioned. Admit then that the soil is richer than the waste land in Britain; that the expense of cultivation is less and the produce more; in short, a surplus beyond the maintenance of the cultivators, to be sold, in order to realize the profits or interest on the capital. This surplus produce must be sold somewhere. It must be taken to another market, that in Canada being already supplied; it must, in short, be brought to England, and thus employ our shipping interest. Well, the surplus is brought here, and sold here, and the produce of the sales is assumed to be so far beneficial that a reasonable interest is paid on the capital thus embarked. But mark the consequences; as inevitably as closely adhering to the course assumed, and as detrimental and disastrous to the general interest of the country as can well be imagined. Will not every bushel of this imported corn tend to displace an equal quantity now produced here on soils inferior to the Canadian? Will not this as inevitably tend to increase the evils of a redundant population, by pushing the agriculturists here on such poorer lands out of their employment. Thus, although A and B may benefit partially by this emigration experiment, do not all the other members of the community suffer injury? Can there be a doubt here that men thus displaced from a state of partial production, are not, *ipso facto*, an additional burden on society, and must be provided for by, perhaps, a portion of this very im-



ported corn, which occasions the mischief? The evil is not only not corrected by this mode of sending labourers out of the country, but appears fairly to be increased by it; and so it must be, the longer it is persevered in, till the disastrous consequences shall become without cure or remedy. Emigration then, on this ground, appears fully as exceptionable as on the former. The emigrants are not only in a great measure lost to their country, but their exertions are, in truth, injurious to its best interests.

Now, the directly opposite mode of proceeding, viz. that of increasing agricultural labour at home by taking in waste, or never before cultivated lands, is lessening every existing evil of an increasing population, by producing food in a ratio commensurate with it. But the population of the country is thus also retained to the empire, with all its inestimably valuable associations, increasing its strength and power continually and beneficially—increasing, therefore, its home consumption of manufactured goods, the best market that can be had, in the same ratio, and thus gradually securing at home all that is needed for the most comfortable subsistence of its inhabitants.

It would extend this Letter very much to go into figures, so as in this way to give a profit and loss account. Every one may do that for his own satisfaction. The result is founded on what has been before stated, and, for argument sake, admitted, but it must be against the country,

however apparently favourable it may be to the first capitalists; and it must, if persevered in, get more and more injurious by gradually displacing lands now in cultivation, and bringing them down to grass again, thus diminishing the home produce, to go on increasing the foreign or colonial produce, which occasions the evil.

[If the view taken of the subject be reasonable and fair, it is clear that emigration increases instead of diminishes the difficulty (if it be one) of an increasing population. But if a numerous and increasing people be the true and only real strength of a nation, how absurd and preposterous must it be to reduce the numbers or limit the increase!] How far removed from sound policy! How dangerous to the best interests of the country! One might follow up the premises by a partial review of the probable effects of the system in reference to the emigrants hereafter, first severed from their earliest and best associations, and then their gradual acquisition of new associations, and new interests, that ultimately may be quite hostile to those of the mother country.

This is needless; for the argument in favour of emigration, giving it all the assumed advantages of immediate and regular surplus production, and a market for it on the best terms, wholly fails by reason of the train of evils from which it cannot be separated.

## LETTER IV.

**I**N handling any subject of a practical nature, on which opinions are either unsettled or contradictory, it is necessary to advert to principles on which all are agreed; without this, no reasonable chance exists of ever reconciling differences, or, in truth, of advancing in actual knowledge. To till the earth for subsistence, may be fairly admitted as absolutely necessary to obtain it, with the few exceptions of those happier climes where the fruits and natural productions are so abundant that men have only to pluck and eat them for the supply of all their natural wants. [We have to do with even a happier country, where the industry of man creates, and may improve, an artificial paradise, less subject to revolution and change, but abundantly sufficient to return for labour all that can be needed for subsistence and every reasonable desire.]

Till the earth and subdue it. Whenever this is done, increase of food follows as certainly as that the sun continues to rise, and give light and heat to the earth. Cease, at any period, and under any circumstances, short of a diminished population, to till the earth, or any part of it, then so much in proportion is, of necessity, to be subtracted from its produce. Such plain and self-evident propositions may be thought quite needless to be ushered forth in this manner; but

it is on these plain and very evident propositions that the main questions that follow securely rest. [Many an apparently powerful, and many a fine spun argument has been found to crumble under its unnatural weight, for want of recurring to obvious first principles. Redundant population, that is, population beyond supply, is a grievous evil. What can be more appalling and destructive of the happiness of any country, than the existence of hungry human beings, for whom subsistence cannot be found? It is of such tremendous magnitude, that no government, or legislature, or public body, or individual, can be more usefully employed than in the endeavour to remedy or qualify it. The very bonds of civilized society must be dissolved, if effectual and speedy relief be not found. There is not an instant to lose here, for no argument can stay a hungry stomach. Redundant population exists without sufficiency of food in, perhaps, the finest country in the world. What can the starving poor do but leave it, if they have the option? What can the opulent, or government do, but with all practicable speed furnish the means of emigration to another land, where subsistence is to be found? But is the population redundant; and wherein does the redundancy of population consist? The assertion has been made certainly in parliament, and out of parliament, and evidence of a most voluminous nature has been brought forward to show the fact; yet does it not thereby follow



that it is true.—No, not even on the evidence of several witnesses before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, stated in their Report on Emigration, and the unanimous feeling entertained by them as to the “enormous evils existing, and still greater to be anticipated from the unchecked progress of population.” And again, in another part, “that whatever complicated causes may have led to this state of things, the fact is undeniable, that, generally speaking, there is an excess of labour as compared with any permanent demand for it, which has reduced and must keep down the labourer at the lowest possible amount of subsistence.”

Now of these facts there can be no possible doubt; but that they solve the question of redundant population is by no means so clear. They are admitted to be labourers not tilling the earth, and the wonder is, that the portion of it which is tilled by others should yet furnish a modicum of food to them, the redundant consumers. A plain man of common sense might infer, that want of food, if any thing on earth would do so, must check the increase of population. This has been the reasonable opinion of some very able writers; and, “whatever complicated causes may have led to this state of things,” it is fit that they should be removed with all possible despatch. One of those complicated causes, however, as adverted to in the said Report, is the removal by ejection of an

excess of tenantry from the estates of the landowners in order to improve them, and that "process is constantly and extensively in force, checked only in some cases by motives of humanity, and the dread of immediate disturbance of the peace." That the peace should be endangered by the miserable beings thus dislodged from their abodes, who find themselves without resource or refuge, cannot, I think, be a matter of much surprise. A more certain and never-failing mode of insuring a redundant population cannot, by any possibility, be adopted. Displace labourers from the finest and most productive parts of England by a similar process, and to any considerable extent, and if redundant population do not ensue, *ipso facto*, and more rapidly than by procreation, there is no truth in the plainest deduction of reason and good sense.

Adverting again to the complicated causes of redundancy, that cause alone suffices to solve every difficulty. It is complicated, if this case can be so called, by numbers, not by intricacy. Applied to fifty redundant human beings, it is less complicated than applied to 500. But to 500,000 it must, indeed, in this way be so complicated as to require a much greater stretch of mind to embrace it. The question of redundancy remains, unfortunately, just where it was, as to any light afforded to it by the evidence hitherto adduced. Till the earth and subdue it, and then food is the result for those who otherwise can-

not get it; and then, also, the produce, the work of man's labour, destroys the redundancy said to be now existing. [It is rather singular that the evidence of redundancy should be the strongest, in the way the question has been too hastily taken up, not in the most populous, but in the least populous parts of the country. And does not this prove, in a great measure, that the assertion is ill founded?] That subsistence and population must go together in a healthy state of society is too clear to need any proof, and that subsistence should be increased with population is equally manifest. Thence follows the plain question, "Has the population of Ireland improved the lands of Ireland, so that a greater quantity of subsistence is not to be drawn from them?" Has the population of England, Scotland, and Wales done the same? If not, which every man will admit, what becomes of redundancy? It is not the fact then, that the population of Ireland is redundant, because it is not the fact that Ireland is fully cultivated. It is not the fact that the population of England, Scotland, and Wales is redundant, because England, Scotland, and Wales are not fully cultivated.

[Redundancy, in any acceptation of the word, cannot be fairly admitted, because it would apply to situations and circumstances which the advocates for emigration have never yet admitted. It would apply to very many periods of our history, when the population of the British Islands

was not of half its present amount. It would apply, on precisely the same grounds, of unemployed paupers burdensome, consequently, on the other members of the community, and must have led, for the same reasons, to the same remedies now offered of emigration; if, indeed, any solid foundation for such an opinion ever had, or now has, any existence. )

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### LETTER V.

**I**N my last letter I endeavoured to show that the opinion entertained of a redundant population in the British Islands is not well founded. That the evidence in support of it would apply to such a variety of circumstances, independently of redundancy, that it cannot be received as satisfactory; and that, therefore, the population is not only not beyond, but far below the amount which these Islands could sustain, without foreign aid of any kind. I shall now take a few instances from the Emigration Report, to show the justice of the preceding remarks, thus—

“ In the parish of East Grinstead, there was in 1827 a population of 1,229 persons. The number of acres in the parish 5,251, being rather more than four acres to each individual. Is this any proof of redundancy? And yet it was supposed that from 30 to 50 men were out of employment therein, from five to six months in



the year, and for three months 70 to 80 entirely dependent on the parish."

"In Bilsington parish, Kent, there are 2,700 acres, and a population in 1827 of 335, being rather better than eight acres to each individual. Great redundancy here! And yet the number receiving parochial relief was then 129, being actually more than one-third of the whole amount."

It will be seen by the attentive reader, from the preceding extracts and minutes, that the redundancy stated to exist is not in the most populous districts, as was remarked in my former letter, where one should naturally look for it, but in those where the cultivated land not only does not exceed, but does not equal that which has been rendered productive. This fact alone would stagger any man of plain sense, where a question of subsistence merely with regard to consumers was at issue. That is, how could he be prevailed upon to believe the former insufficient in districts where the bulk of the land which affords it is uncultivated? Divested of all prepossession and machinery—I mean as applied to parochial politics and management—is it possible to imagine a redundancy of consumers over production, where no attempt has been made to increase the latter to a greater extent over lands quite capable of yielding it? This really does not admit of any doubt or argument on such grounds; yet a conclusion is drawn from no better

evidence that redundancy exists, because it happens that individuals able to work, willing to work, but not suffered to do so on lands not their own, are consequently driven to pauperism and abject misery, a dead weight on society at large. They must, nevertheless, be maintained in an useless existence, burdensome alike to others and themselves—consuming, therefore, a portion of the produce to be drawn from the lands already in cultivation, instead of making additional food from untried but equally certain resources. On the contrary, in more populous and more extensively cultivated lands no such redundancy is found to exist. The evidence is, indeed, the other way. In the fully peopled and fully cultivated districts, there is no such redundancy; in the thinly peopled and partially cultivated country it is said to abound. Evidence so strangely contradictory to common sense cannot support a proposition so much at war with it. But we may try it by another test, and revert back to periods of our history when all are agreed that the British Islands were not only less populous by many millions, but also less productive in probably a still greater proportion. Let us take figures to make it more tangible. When the population was at eight millions for Great Britain, we must now admit that there could then have been no redundancy. This is clear, because the eight millions have since increased to sixteen. These numbers are merely

assumed for the argument. Then, in the progress from eight to sixteen, there could have been no such thing as redundancy; for produce must have kept pace with consumption. And how must it have done so heretofore, but by gradually increasing cultivation? Nobody will doubt this; and, if it be as clear as the sun shining at noon day, what is there to render it doubtful in future, if production only be made to keep pace with, or, in truth, to precede consumption: is there any given point in argument in which the cases will not run parallel? I defy any man, be he who he may, to point out a difference that can in any way destroy its force. Now, what has been done by man's labour may well be done again, and for the same reason. Where, then, is the question of redundancy? But it shall be taken fairly. There are many periods in history that may be assimilated to the present, where the poor increased oppressively on the other portion of the people, and whereby great evils were said to have existed by or through redundant population. I mean redundant in precisely the same acceptation as at the present moment. Men without employment, able and willing to work, but not having the opportunity afforded them, and thence, and thence only, becoming burdensome to the country. Now as it is quite evident that the island has had the capability of maintaining the increased population of present times, being more than

twice the amount of no very remote period, it is equally clear, I take it, that at such remote period it would have been absurd and preposterous to have said there is redundancy of population, and that a part must be sent abroad for subsistence. The absurdity is manifest, now that we find double the number in perhaps a more comfortable state of existence. But if absurd then, because subsequent experience has shown it to be so, is it not fair to say it is ill-founded now, because there is still an immense quantity of land not hitherto cultivated? The same reason that held then, holds now. Cultivate more land and more people can be maintained. Cease to do so, and redundancy does not only ensue very soon afterwards, it exists *instantly*. Where large masses of persons are collected together in manufacturing districts and fully employed, there is no redundancy; that is, they are all needed. Stop the manufactories one week only, and redundancy exists to an alarming extent. In the time of the late war, when we drew our resources from our own soil, many lands were brought into cultivation that had never been cultivated before, and there was comparative plenty. On the peace, many lands were taken out of cultivation, as being less profitable to the agriculturist, and there was consequent redundancy, that is, scanty employment and scanty food for the poor. It is a curious fact, as before cited, that redundancy is found



and stated to exist most injuriously in the least populous districts—districts where four and eight acres to each individual is apparent, by simply dividing the number of acres by the number of individuals. I by no means infer, thence, that any new division of lands should take place. That is far from either my design or argument ; but it is irrefragable, as applied to the question of produce and consumption—capability or non-capability to maintain a vastly increased population. It has been shown, I think, that sudden changes in the manufactories—changes in agriculture—pursuits that tend to lessen instead of increasing produce—tend also, with unerring certainty, to occasion the evils of redundancy ; and that a population of half the present amount in these Islands has been occasionally redundant, either when sudden changes have arisen, or when cultivation has not gone on with the increase of consumers. The same causes now produce the same effects. They will continue so to do ; and if precaution be not taken to remedy the evil, it must become yet more oppressive and alarming than ever. Emigration is not a remedy commensurate with the malady. Emigration only has an indirect tendency to increase it. [But it suffices in this letter to have shown, that redundancy never did exist in the British Islands, and that there is no reasonable presumption that it ever will exist, unless the means to provide for an increasing population be omitted or withheld.]

## LETTER VI.

HAVING examined the question of redundancy of people in the British Islands, and shown, I trust, the fallacy of such an opinion, I shall now advert to the proposed remedy by emigration. It is admitted that, whenever the period shall arrive, which however is for the present sufficiently remote, the only effectual remedy must be that of sending the superabundant consumers away, to make food for themselves in some other climes. It would probably be running too great a risk to depend on importation for the then deficient quantity. Clear it is, then, that the surplus consumers must either have food brought to them, or that they must be sent to create it for themselves on other shores. But let us examine the present plan of emigrating people now, who are every way qualified to raise subsistence for themselves from the land here; indeed, here or abroad, they are equally capable in whatever way they may be directed. The locations to Canada have been much dwelt upon, as of vast importance to the well-being of the province, and of great comparative comfort to the individuals so located. In each respect this may be fairly admitted. The advantages are unquestionably great in both, and cannot be denied; but is it equally advantageous to the mother country? Does she benefit by the tran-

sit of her best labourers and their families, who are, in a great measure, lost to her immediate interests? I fear it is decidedly injurious to her interests, by weakening so much of her natural strength. [If it be an advantage to possess a scanty, rather than an abundant population—if the real strength of the country be not, in fact, its extent of population—if we can compete with other nations in time of war, with a population thus thinned, as well as if we had the emigrants all at home—why then, truly, to emigrate is beneficial, and not injurious to the mother country also. As this, however, cannot, I should suppose, be contended for by any one on such grounds, then the advantage of emigration will be nearly all on one side, and the gain of the colonies be, consequently, thus acquired at the loss of the mother country. Thus it is, then, so far tolerably manifest that such emigration is not advantageous to the strength of the mother country.] [Let us see if it add any thing material to her resources. Oh, it is said, the colonies belonging to the parent state must, if benefited themselves, benefit also the parent state. The increased population will create increased consumption of home manufactures, employ a larger quantity of shipping, and, in short, contribute every way to the benefit and resources of the parent state. Taking it then in the most favourable point of view, let us see what is lost at home to secure the gain abroad.

The same parties here would have been quite as sure to consume as much as they would do abroad, having the same means. They would have done so at less cost, and a less fluctuating return, and no loss by exports or imports, nor of time, nor dangers of the seas. They never could have ceased being consumers at home, though they might abroad have got supplies from some other country, without special prohibition. If prohibited to their loss to benefit the mother country in any considerable degree, then it is possible that a separation might ensue; and thus all advantageous intercourse be at an end, at least for a time, and ultimately other nations let in to participate in this our trade and profits. These things are all possible. They are not very improbable. Such a course has already been pursued by the American States, now no longer colonies of Great Britain.] But at home, as is before stated, none of such contingencies could by any possibility happen. The labourers kept at home always consume at home, and if kept in comfort increase, instead of diminishing the consumption. But at home there are only waste lands to be cultivated—poor lands not worth the trouble or the expense of cultivation, that wont yield a profit for capital so employed. In one view of the subject this may be all very true; A and B, by employing paupers largely on waste lands, may not procure adequate returns for their money and philanthropic exer-



tions, although a mighty mass of human misery may be relieved, and a large quantity of additional food for them be produced. Though, as things are just at present circumstanced, A and B may lose money, no man in his senses will hesitate or doubt that the district, the immediate neighbourhood, the portion of the country within the sphere of their exertions, will be benefited, and manufacturers will be benefited, for those employed there will become consumers of clothes as well as of food. Let us try figures again. Take only one thousand for example. Now one thousand hats, coats, waistcoats, &c. is a pretty good order to be given, say once a year; but, as it is clear that the one thousand men can easily produce more food than they will consume, and every year make their land better, it is not, perhaps, assuming too much to say, that they will then double their order, and have all the aforesaid articles twice a year. A and B's loss, then (for I take it so to try the question), is the gain of the country, of the manufacturers; and to the poor men so employed the difference is immense. Well, but A and B all this time are losers. The land does not pay. Admit this for one, two, or three years, even then, let me ask, what did the land pay before? What did A and B pay before, indirectly, towards the maintenance of all or a portion of those one thousand paupers? What was paid, not casually but permanently; annually, and not in a dimi-



nishing, but rather in an increasing scale, and what hope of a change for the better? These are very fair questions—they are quite pertinent to the subject in hand—they should be fairly and ingenuously answered. I think I know what the true answer would amount to in the fair way of putting the question. That, in truth, A and B, the immediate apparent losers, would, in the course of a very few years, have the balance in their favour. Still I am free to admit this is not an experiment on a large scale, for A and B to make, but I do contend that it is an experiment that ought to be made, and without any loss of time. Let us return, however, to the point of emigration, and now see the vast difference in the process from that already proposed. Take Canada where the pauper labourers commence operations, not on a cultivated soil, but on the waste lands of that country. They have to make food out of it. They have to go on in precisely the same course assumed for the labourers at home. Oh, but the land in Canada is so much richer, and will yield so much better and quicker a return! Be it so; then, instead of arguments, I will advert to facts. This will save time and bring us probably sooner to the right conclusion. In page 416 of the Report on Emigration, it is stated that 254 persons were, in 1826, located in Newcastle and Bathurst. These 254 persons cleared 245 and a half acres in one year. The produce 8,251 bushels of potatoes, 4,175 bushels of

turnips, 1,777 bushels of Indian corn, 80 bushels and three quarters of wheat, 1,159 (whether bushels or not, I know not,) of maple sugar, made in spring; and that the 254 persons had purchased by themselves 11 oxen, 18 cows, and 22 hogs. Taking all the bushels together 15,443, and dividing by 245 acres, it is 63 bushels an acre nearly. Now, contrast this with the many thousand places in this country where a produce as valuable, perhaps, might have been had from a similar number of acres—and where is the mighty advantage? Observe, these 254 persons are previously furnished with all means needful for their operations, and this is the result of the experiment for one year. There is one adjunct, viz. the ague during the summer to add to their comforts. Take another instance of 135 located in the township of Smith at the same time. They cleared 113 acres and a quarter—produce, 4,800 bushels of potatoes, 1,550 of turnips, 637 of Indian corn,  $40\frac{3}{4}$  of wheat, 889 of maple sugar; and they purchased six oxen, seven cows, and twenty-one hogs. Here we have seventy bushels to the acre, and these parties, too, had the ague during the summer. The cases taken are simply in the order of the evidence, the first and second. Take them all, they come nearly to the same thing, and what do they prove? What would probably be proved at home in the same way. The general summary of the whole, indeed, is as follows:—1845 persons located in 1826,

who cleared  $1386\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land, which produced 67,799 bushels of potatoes, 25,623 of turnips,  $10,438\frac{1}{2}$  of Indian corn,  $363\frac{1}{2}$  of wheat, 9067 of maple sugar, who purchased 40 oxen, 80 cows, and 166 hogs. Thus we have in the aggregate 80 bushels of produce to an acre. A Canadian gentleman proves by his opinion, that an absolute pauper family, with an allotment of 50 acres of good land, would be enabled to pay the money advanced for subsistence, &c. at the end of seven years. I ask whether such family in England, Scotland, or Ireland, would not be able on the same terms to do the same on 25 acres, or even the half of that number? Emigration then, thus conducted—and I know not that it could be altered for the better; it appears of necessity so to conduct it—affords no adequate relief to the immense number of poor labourers, of all classes, now unemployed. It is a more expensive remedy than home location, and in its issue never can be so certain in the beneficial consequences to be derived from it, as by employing the same parties here, upon the same principles, with the same adequate means, and for the same probable period of repayment of the money expended.

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#### LETTER VII.

HAVING shown in my last letter, the effects arising from the location of 1845 settlers in

Canada in 1826-7, and ventured to draw the conclusion that equal advantages as to produce, merely on the same terms and under precisely similiar circumstances, might have been had at home, with less cost and no sea risks, or expenses of transit, I shall now take up other portions of evidence from the Emigration Report, in support of the views I have hitherto entertained.

Alleged redundancy of population was shown to exist in thinly peopled portions of England, of which examples were given; whilst, on the contrary, it did not exist in more populous districts. We find in Ireland, evidence strangely perverse on this same point; that is, if redundancy be admitted. "On a property in the county of Kerry, (page 449,) with which witness was acquainted, a small farm which had been let about the year 1760, almost as a gift, to an old servant, consisted of six acres of good land. When it fell out of lease three or four years ago (that is 1823 or 1824) the population of these six acres amounted to 36 persons. The farm is now in the possession of an individual who has built an excellent farm house upon it, and lives respectably and comfortably. What has become of the 36 persons who were all removed I know not." This evidence is valuable in more points than one. Respecting these 36 persons on the six acres, three or four years before 1827, viz. six to an acre, there was then no redundancy. In Sussex, as before stated, where there are four acres to an individual, and



in Kent, where there are eight, there is redundancy. This can never be owing to mere difference of soil, it may however to the mode of using, or rather not using it. I should like to know what sort of land the said six acres were in 1760, when they were leased to the old servant almost a gift. It is not likely to have been that in cultivation then, but very probably waste, or newly taken in. I say it is not likely that six acres of tillage land would be so cut off, and given to an old servant. Supposing, then, that the land was waste, the constant improvement or labour of so many years, and by so many increasing hands devoted to it, must of necessity have rendered it vastly more productive. The fact of its maintaining 36 persons proves it to a demonstration. Does not this example, then, show what may be done by human labour? Showing this, does it not disprove the necessity of emigration to another country and to another soil? What became of the 36 persons so driven out of their farm, witness knew not! Perhaps it had been as well for them to have been all thrown into the sea. It is tolerably clear that they could get no settlement near the six acres thus abandoned, or they would have been known. They were wanderers without home or occupation. Now take a similar course of proceeding with regard to other lands in other parts of Ireland, or indeed any where else; and let us take from 10,000 acres, not six, but one only, to an acre,



so displaced in any one year, what frightful redundancy is at once created by the desolating experiment! What misery! What destitution to the individuals! What grievous mischief to the whole country! And what is the compensation for it to those who expel them? The same six acres are now, witness adds, in the hands of one individual, who has built an excellent farm house upon it, and lives respectably and comfortably. Take this person and his family at six, the six live comfortably on six acres, which had till then maintained thirty more. It is not said what the individual pays for the six acres, and it is wholly unknown what rent the 36 would or could have paid at the expiration of their former term. I would here ask any man of common observation how to reconcile the question of redundancy to the simple facts thus stated? The labour of 36, however, is suddenly destroyed to make way for the labour of one and his family, say six, and then, to be sure, redundancy is inevitable. There are thirty persons without employment driven from subsistence at once. I shall show, from the same evidence already referred to, that similar redundancy has existed in Canada, and the United States of America, the grand receptacle for redundant labourers, and even at the Cape, and then I would hope enough will have been shown to set the question at rest. In allusion to the distress in Canada from an over emigration, and whether it would cease after the first three or

four years, witness says, page 120, "I have no doubt it would, because we found when 10,000 arrived in the first two or three years, great distress; but these have scattered themselves over the province and over the United States, and they furnish places of refuge, if it may be so termed, to the increasing population." Now, if this be not redundant population in Canada, and distress consequent upon it, until relieved in two or three years, I know not what is. In reply to Q. 974, that out of an average annual emigration of 10,000, only 250 have found their way into the hospital, "That is the result, but more have required relief during the winter—able-bodied men—and it is for the relief of these persons that the towns have been burdened. Men who have been improvident, have not laid by any money for their sustenance during the winter, although they were in the receipt of very large wages during the summer. Again, of these 10,000 all the destitute and improvident have been relieved by the sum of 3000*l*."

The grand inference I should not hesitate to draw from the whole is, simply, that at home in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the same course may be pursued with nearly all the advantages of emigration, and not of the drawbacks of loss of people to the mother country—loss of the produce they could make here—loss of time and money in the transit of the same parties, and all that they shall hereafter need of

manufactures, and the loss of many individuals, by going over to the United States, and thereby becoming consumers there, and, by possibility, soon rank as enemies instead of friends. The loss of 1,000 this way, tells as 2,000 if they go over to an enemy. In pages 71 and 72, a witness speaks to the fact of redundancy in New York, and that in order to get rid of a portion, they sent up Irish emigrants to Albany; and the people of Albany not having employment for them at that season of the year (September), felt it a very great inconvenience, and they spoke of it as a matter of complaint that the people of New York should send that class of people to them. Again, page 204, Q. 1884, "Was not there very great distress for a very considerable period among those persons sent out (to the Cape) in 1820?—I have no doubt there was considerable distress for two years or more—more, perhaps. Five of those from Nottingham returned." Thus, then, we have redundancy in New York, Albany, Canada, the Cape, England, Scotland, and Ireland, from causes which, when duly attended to, come pretty nearly to the same point, viz—want of employment. This redundancy exists where there are from three to one hundred acres to each individual; and it has been shown not to exist where one acre has been occupied by six individuals.

It has been said, and very recently said, and I suppose gravely too, that the reason of our hav-

ing so much uncultivated land is, because it is barren. Why, what is the Canada land? Is it cultivated till the settlers begin their operations? Why, has not the time been when all the cultivated land in the country was barren? Barren! Is that a reason for not making it productive? Because it is barren it requires and, therefore, ought to have human labour bestowed on it to remove barrenness. Aye, but it won't pay! Yes, it will!—it will pay paupers with food who are now starving; it will furnish labour for thousands now totally destitute; it will provide the very things now most needed—labour and subsistence, and that at home, at our very doors, without the ague, or any new malady to torment the parties abroad. The removal of a part of the *superfluous population*—I adopt these words of others, not my own—by emigration, is not the only remedy, nor the best remedy, while an acre of land, barren as it may be deemed, in the country is untilled; nor would there be at any time a superfluous population, as has been shown, if the same means exactly were applied here as are proposed and adopted for emigrant labourers abroad.

It has been said, and very recently said, and I suppose gravely too, that some of the waste lands in the country might be cultivated; but then if these lands were cultivated and proved rich, the natural consequence would be to reduce the value of the poor lands now in cultivation, and the produce of the new lands would act as foreign



corn imported into the market. There must be some very remarkable error or oversight here. Will not the Canada produce then operate precisely in the same way? What is the difference? Why, this only—that the growers in Canada will be the men who might have grown here, and eaten of their produce here; and, therefore, the larger quantity, in proportion, will be to be consumed by the smaller number here, smaller by the number of growers there, having been taken hence for the purpose. Then this will sooner produce the same evil, or the argument must be fallacious. Fallacious it unquestionably is, and seems to hitch on the strange idea, that an identical quantity of land and produce must exist under all circumstances, of an employed and unemployed population; of an increased or diminished number of consumers.

This appears to be the error; for one may naturally suppose that those who are now starving will eat a little more when they can get it; that they will get it by their own labour, and, therefore, and thereby, consume in proportion, without any danger whatever to other growers not so destitute. To pursue a general principle into minute details is always a difficult, often a hazardous attempt. The most absurd propositions thence frequently arise, and in the instance just given, I cannot think the notion sound. No one can doubt that produce will follow cultivation. No one doubts that labour for food will always produce it; and, that



without such labour, we must starve. No one will say, it is not better for men to cultivate waste land than stand all the day idle. Then the remedy for such men, and that to any extent, is at hand.

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### LETTER VIII.

**I**N a former letter I stated that 1845 settlers in various townships in Canada, in 1826, had cleared 1386½ acres of land, in rather more than a twelve-month, which had produced 67,779 bushels of potatoes, 25,623 bushels of turnips, 10,438½ bushels of Indian corn, 363½ of wheat, 9467 of maple sugar, and that they had purchased 40 oxen, 80 cows, and 160 hogs; the produce in the aggregate being about 80 bushels an acre. To guard against mistake, and to reduce this to a plainer comparative example, we have only to divide the separate articles of potatoes, turnips, &c. and it comes to this—nearly 48 bushels of potatoes, 18 of turnips, 7 of Indian corn, about a quarter of a bushel of wheat, and not quite 7 of maple sugar per acre. Now, allowing these 80 cows to produce all the year round eight quarts of milk a day, this would afford to each settler something between half a pint and a pint; that is, if the cows all the year round yielded milk, and to such an amount. Now, for butcher's meat, say that they killed one-fourth only of their oxen and hogs, viz. 10 oxen and 40 hogs; this would be, by the

year, the 184th part of an ox, and less than the 46th part of a hog for each settler; they would never fatten on animal food. If any one will take the trouble to divide the potatoes, turnips, &c. in a similar way, it will soon be seen what luxuries are to be had out of Great Britain for hard labour and the ague. But the value of the produce, the oxen, the cows, and the hogs, is comparative, and it will be admitted that they are much less than at home; therefore, the real substance, and comforts, and prospects of the settlers must receive a proportionate abatement. I ask whether an acre of waste land in England, Scotland, or Ireland, will not, with moderate cultivation, produce 100 bushels of potatoes, 40 of turnips, and one bushel of wheat? I ask again, whether this produce is not of much greater value here than in Canada, bushel for bushel? And again, whether the chances for the repayment of the rent, or even the purchase of the land, are not quite as certain and likely to be effected as speedily here as abroad? If so, what becomes of the question? In all other respects the advantages are incalculably greater. The parties are retained to their country, and increase her strength. They are sure to be consumers afterwards of other articles manufactured in the country, and can never get supplies elsewhere. Disease of climate at least is banished, the chance of their going over to another country, and thereby becoming, ere long, enemies instead of friends

destroyed, and the comfort of the parties, not therefore cut off from their country, secured, beyond all estimate, in a superior degree. Oh, but they will have far more land in Canada than they can ever have here. Well, but what is the use of it? Mr. Robinson says, "50 acres to a family would as certainly enable them to pay as 100, because in the seven years referred to, they could not cultivate more than 20." Why, then 20 surely would suffice as well as 50. In fact, that number of acres only which could really be cultivated, is the number only needed, and more would be utterly useless. It is computed, he says, page 414 of the Report, "that there are 200,000 persons in Upper Canada, and they occupy about 10,000,000 acres of land, which is in the proportion of 50 to each. We find, however, that at least one-tenth of this land (that is 1,000,000 of acres) in any one district in Upper Canada, will be found unfit to place a settler upon, in consequence of its being swampy or stony; if swampy, this will be remedied in a few years by the clearance made by the settlers, and at the end of seven years become as valuable as some of the land occupied; so that those who are industrious, and have acquired the means, would have an opportunity of extending their possessions." The attentive reader will not fail to remark how this strengthens all that has been urged for home, instead of foreign location. Why, in seven years constant labour and atten-

tion to any waste swampy or stony land in Great Britain or Ireland, would it not be, indeed, of wonderfully increased value for the self same reason exactly, the same course of husbandry and labour, and unquestionably equal, if not superior results, with that most decided advantage, health instead of disease? Between the extremes of giving land to the settlers, *more than they can cultivate*, and taking from poor tenants in Ireland the land they have heretofore occupied and cultivated, surely some happy medium may be discovered that will avoid the evils of each. It is said in page 409, “ that prior to the removal of poor tenants from Mr. Marshall’s estate, county of Kerry, the proportion the land bore to the population resident upon it, was half an acre to every soul, or two and a half acres to every family of five souls each. Since their expulsion, witness adds, I have let the land in the proportion of fifteen acres to every family of five persons, or three acres to every soul.” We have seen, in a former letter, that before expulsion in another quarter of Ireland, there were six souls to an acre, or three to one more than in this case before expulsion. Well, then, it goes on, Q. 4,221, “ Do you not conceive that it is the well understood interest of every proprietor whose estate is overpeopled, in a pecuniary point of view, to get rid of that surplus population, and let the ground in another manner than has been usual in the South of Ireland?” Rather a leading



question this, certainly, for it asserts or includes the point at issue. No matter, let us see the reply: "I think, ultimately, it undoubtedly is, though many resident proprietors are desirous of having a considerable population on their estates in consequence of the cheapness of labour, and the competition, and consequent high rent offered for land; a rent which, though never paid if money be required, is generally discharged by means of labour." But if it be discharged by means of labour, for which otherwise money would have to be given, what is the difference to the landed proprietor? Why, he gets a high price for such land, employs the people on it in discharge of the rent, and they obtain a subsistence in comparative comfort. Displace them, and what then? It would seem a lesser rent paid in money, but labour, when required by him, must be paid in money also. So far then, there seems to be no decided advantage, but the reverse. Let us, however, take the course to be generally pursued by all landed proprietors, and what then? Indubitably, that money must be paid, to subsist in some way or other the unhappy men and their families thus displaced, until they can get employment. But they are redundant, and truly so, it must be admitted. Why, then, send them to Canada. Well, and what then? Why, they are to begin, at some one's expense, exactly the same course, upon a larger scale, as that from which they had been driven



at home. This, it seems, is the well understood interest of the landed proprietor in Ireland. Be it so, and yet the consequences are as disastrous and extensive, and ruinous alike to all parties in the end, until a new location be fallen upon, as imagination can conceive. Sir William Temple said, 150 years ago, in reference to the linen trade in Ireland, "that there were but two things which could make any extraordinary advance in that branch of trade. First, an increase of people in the country, to such a degree as might make things necessary to life dear, and thereby force general industry from each branch of a family (women as well as men), and in as many sorts as they could well turn to, which many others might in time come to turn the vein that way. The second was a particular application in the Government." In another place, he says, "The true and natural ground of trade and riches is the number of people in proportion to the compass of ground they inhabit. This," he says, "makes all things necessary to life dear, and that forces men to industry and parsimony." He attributes the great wealth and advance of Holland "to its population, the number and vicinity of their great and populous towns and villages, with the prodigious improvement of almost every spot of ground in the country, in spite of nature; that low interest and dearness of land are effects of the multitude of people, and cause of so much money to lie ready for all projects by which gain

may be expected, as the cutting of canals, making bridges and causeways, levelling down and draining marshes, besides all new essays at foreign trade, which are proposed with any probability of advantage." Again, alluding to their prosperity, founded mainly on general industry and parsimony, occasioned by the multitude of people. In correspondence with such opinion of Sir William Temple, we find some of the evidence already alluded to, and it is fair to give it. Page 464, "Do you consider much of the misery of the state of the lower classes of Ireland to arise from over-population?" D. Elmore replies, "No, I do not; it appears to me to arise from the want of employment for them. I am perfectly satisfied that the land is capable of supporting more, under a better system of management," &c. In another place, he adds, "I think removing the poor people to places in Ireland where the population is not great, would remedy the evil: large tracts of land in Connaught, and other places in Kerry, fit for the purpose." "Not at all advisable," says Mr. Dixon, "to remove pauper labourers, if there was a real demand for their labour." In another place, in reply to a leading question, he thinks half the labouring population sufficient to do the work. I merely ask, what work? If it be the work, and no more than the work required twenty years ago, when he says labourers were not near so plentiful, then, indeed, the reply is quite intelligible.

Population has increased so much, that labourers are much more abundant. Why then, the labour of cultivating new lands is as palpable and evident, and as necessary, as that one and one make two. "Nothing equal to the eagerness," he says, "with which an Irish labourer will look for work. If he hears of work within ten miles, to be done in the country, he immediately applies." Now, can there be a better character than this? One more deserving of the humane consideration of every human being, or one which would more amply repay the attention necessary to render his condition happy! Would not the delight be reciprocal? But this needs not to be urged by any one. Those who advocate the principle I am combating are, I believe, actuated by the purest motives. Mr. Wilson, in reply to a leading question, whether the distress did not arise from *redundancy of population* in Ireland, "I must say that I wont go so far as to say that; because, if that population were distributed throughout the country in a judicious manner, I think the country more than ample to support it, not only in comfort, but in comparative affluence with the present state."

In answer to another question, he adds, "By dividing the land at present held by middle men, and grass lands among a portion of the present middling description of farmers." But I have done with this part of the subject. In my next Letter, Colonization, contradistinguished from

Emigration, shall be considered with a view to show that, in the former case, the connexion with the mother country is always kept up with probable advantage to her—in the latter, the reverse.

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### LETTER IX.

AFTER the endeavour to show that emigration of a pauper population is injurious to the best interests of the mother country, and that the benefit thence arising to the destitute individuals is wholly at her expense, I shall now turn to the subject of Colonization, which seems in some measure to have been improperly mingled with Emigration. They appear to me to be essentially distinct in nearly all their bearings. The one is voluntary, the other enforced—the one a partial and temporary location, with means to boot to continue or abandon it—the other a general and permanent location, with all chances of reunion with the parent state cut off. In the one case, every interest and feeling is in close connection and identity with those of the country at home; for home is not the colony. In the other, all such associations are destroyed the moment the emigrant is located in a new country. These are striking differences. They are not at all concurrent interests: their tendency is to separate, as circumstances arise, where the one or the other shall preponderate.



The colonist goes out to India for instance, the West Indies, the Cape, &c.—to do what? Separate himself for ever from his native land? No, but the better to secure his return thither with competence. In all his career, therefore, this object and tendency of his actions are retained. Every act is made subservient to such ends, and the connection with Britain is as eagerly kept up as if he resided within her bosom. After his period of exile, which he generally considers it, another comer is ready to take up the station, and thus the benefits of capital and exertion are applied and kept up from the first to the last, and both countries are enriched. The Briton never ceases to be a Briton. On the contrary, “he drags at each remove a lengthened chain,” that more strongly binds him to the place of his nativity. This perpetual change of location, always voluntary, generally advantageous, never hopeless, gives mighty energy to the exertions of the individual, all intimately blended with the best interests of his country, which are still his own. The emigrant, on the contrary, begins his career in the known and felt misery, little short of despair, that he must bid a long, probably an eternal adieu to his native land. Every association of early life—every delightful recollection, must be for ever buried in oblivion, if, indeed, busy memory did not recall, with unwonted brilliance, the scenes never again to be realized. Heartless, hopeless, pennyless—driven



from home into a strange country, he must there labour incessantly for food ; he must put up with deprivations that he could never contemplate, and by degrees sink into the habits of former exiles, and make himself as happy as he can. Below the standard of civilization he has left, without the chance of working up to one similar during his life ; his children will also consequently take the place of the parent with less of pain and difficulty, being born with associations confined to the new country, the new habits, the new pursuits, the new products. Are these, I would ask, in unison, and to be identified with British interests ? Are these similar to the colonist who has never had them interrupted ? Certainly not ; and, consequently, whenever the intercourse ceases to be more beneficial to them than intercourse with any other country whatsoever, the chances are, that discontents first, and separation afterwards, may be the result. All the advantages of the latter then, are had from colonists without one single disadvantage. All the disadvantages of the emigrants are likely to ensue, without one single advantage of colonization. This, as it regards identity of feelings and interests, as parent state and settlement abroad, or of the mother and her child—the mother having unnaturally turned her child adrift, never more to approach her bosom—the child clings to the step-mother for that support the other has denied. The colonist, like the honey bee, seeks

abroad for honey for the hive—the emigrant seeks a hive elsewhere in which to deposit his stores. Are these distinctions real or imaginary? Are they not founded in the first principles that actuate human beings? And will they not continue to the last stage of existence and of civil society? This granted, and it cannot well be denied, what other consequences follow in the train of such locations and associations. [With the colonist, his best interests are those of the mother country—still his beloved home, whither all his spoils are at last to be deposited. With the emigrant, all such interests are not only destroyed—new ones (often ultimately adverse to the former) are substituted in their stead; if he can, his object is to draw every thing from the mother country she has to offer, at the least possible cost, and to give her in return the profits of his labour at the greatest possible rate; exactly the same, in short, as would prevail with regard to any other state or country whatever.] If, in such intercourse, any other friends or enemies of the parent state can at any time furnish him with what he wants on easier terms, his clear interest is to break off all intercourse with the parent state. But he does not always wait till this occurs. He does not continue his first location until the experiment is tried. He, once fairly expatriated and without hope of return, leaves the new country without warning or ceremony for another, if, by so doing, he thinks he can better his condition.

No longer, then, in connection with Britain or her colonies, he becomes a citizen of a rival state, and there seeks for those comforts, that, if only secured to him, it matters not where. Now, to the facts naturally arising from the situation of an emigrant to Canada, for instance, and that he does not remain permanently located there, but in very many cases recorded in the evidence all along alluded to, goes over to the United States. Mr. Fitzhugh states, that he held an office under the American Chamber of Commerce, at Liverpool, to prevent frauds on emigrants; that he held the office since 1823. In reply to various questions, page 223, he states, that the number of passengers to the United States has been very considerable. "It continues, and seems to be increasing." "They go chiefly to New York and Philadelphia, and some few to Boston." "Not many who have gone in the last two or three years to the British Colonies." "During the last two years, the emigration from Liverpool to the United States of America has consisted chiefly of manufacturers from different parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire.—There still exists among these men a great disposition to emigrate." "There were in Liverpool, when I left it, several vessels fitted almost entirely with manufacturers, many of whom had been engaged by parties embarked in manufacturing in the United States, and their passages paid by them." "These men, chiefly called printers." Q. 2175.

“Do the weavers go in any numbers?—A great many.” 2176. “But they are principally calico printers?—Yes, those persons who had been engaged by manufacturers in America, and whose passage had been paid.” 2177. “Are they paid for by American manufacturers?—Yes.” 2178. “They are going out in considerable numbers?—Yes, in considerable numbers.” 2200, “Is the disposition on the part of the poor of Lancashire to emigrate to the United States instead of British colonies in America?—Yes, it is at present, in consequence of many of them having friends settled there, and in consequence of the *growth of manufactures in the United States.*” 2215. “When I left Liverpool there was an overseer of a parish in Kent engaging a passage for a number of poor people in his parish to go out to New York: and during the last two years the passages to the United States, of a considerable number, have been paid by parishes.” Let us pause a little here, and ask ourselves how, in the name of common sense, such a mode of proceeding can possibly relieve the distresses of the country? First, of the manufacturers. Is it by diminishing the number here, and increasing it abroad, that they can be benefited? What! expect the same demand for their labour here, when the foreign market is thus supplied with those lost to the country? Will America take the produce here, as heretofore, when a portion of the manufacturers are thus cut



off from Britain, and added to America? No wonder there is a growth of manufactures in the northern States. The wonder would be, that any man in his sober senses can imagine this growth is not fatal to an equal amount of labour here. Then this process is clearly suicidal. You thin the field to lessen the crop, aye, and to impoverish the soil! Whilst America produced cotton only, she sold it, her superfluity to you, who made it into stuffs, your superfluity, and re-sold them to her, with ample profit to each. Now, you still buy her cotton, not quite so superfluous to her, because she uses it as well as you; and do you expect to return to her stuffs, as heretofore, when she is gradually supplying herself? This intercourse must as certainly lead to diminution of supply in both respects, of cotton unwrought and sent here, and cotton wrought and sent there, as that two and two make four. To have retarded the progress, then, would have been better policy, and would have better relieved the distress of the manufacturers. To give such increased facilities to it is, in effect, to run into the fire to avoid the flames.

The fallacy seems to be, and a strange one it is, that only get rid of a certain number of manufacturers, the remainder are sure to have the same work amongst them. But there is another point, trifling, perhaps, in comparison: all those emigrants are lost to their country as consumers. No matter, there are consumers enough



left—more than can get a subsistence. Yes, and they are likely to remain so, for aught that such a remedy can do for them. This is like the comparison made in a former letter—what is taken out of one scale, is placed in the other, and makes double the disadvantage to Britain, who thus supplies, gratuitously, manufacturers and consumers to those who have been, and may again become, her enemies. Now, take the case of the agriculturist, and what benefits does he derive from the operation? Lessening the number of mouths is but a perverse way of increasing the amount of consumption. But the poor people left behind will get more of it. How, and when, and where? Their occupations will not be a whit more valuable, or more certain, or constant. Evidently one great foreign market is more limited—more limited by the very means of thus affording relief. Misery, however, will be limited to a lesser number; fewer will suffer. The comparatively happy emigrants, certainly, will be taken from the number, and that, probably, is the whole and sole difference as to this point. Produce, however, must diminish: and, if produce diminish, the number of sufferers will increase, so that, ere long, the same disastrous features will be displayed, in all probability, if no better course be in the interim pursued to displace the evils.

I shall conclude this paper with the following plain questions. Will America consume the same

amount of cotton goods from England after, as before she imported British manufacturers to make such goods for her? Will America or England then benefit by the operation? Will this increase or diminish manufactures at home? If it diminish them, will this lessen, in any degree whatever, the distresses of the manufacturers? If not, what then?

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### LETTER X.

**T**HE strangest contradictions appear upon the face of the evidence taken before the Emigration Committee, and yet from the mighty mass, many very material facts are completely established—established, too, by apparently conflicting evidence, as will appear in the sequel. Let us take, for example, the subject of wages paid to the labouring poor, whether as agriculturists or manufacturers, and we shall find it clearly proved, I think, that low wages are alike injurious to the master and the man. High wages, on the contrary, enable a poor man to buy more agricultural produce, thus offering a better market for the farmers. They enable him also to purchase more clothes, thus equally benefiting the manufacturer. Being better fed he can do more for his employer; and more constantly occupied, he has less inducement or leisure to commit crimes, and is consequently a more valuable member of

society. He and all around him, and his associations, are happier comparatively, and more contented. The farmer, having a better and more constant market for his produce, can better afford to pay his rents. The manufacturer, having a more constant demand for his goods, can better afford to pay, and keep a larger number of hands constantly employed. The landlord, receiving higher rents, can consequently better keep up his state, and better afford to spend his money in every way, and thus circulate back again a greater quantity. He will have less to deduct for poor rates, and a larger sum to spare for other taxes: receiving, in fact, a larger income, the interest of the public debt will be better secured, which income again circulates more freely among the public at large. All these advantages follow naturally in the train of high, rather than low wages and prices. Whereas the latter, that is, low wages, diminish consumption, fill the poor houses, stop manufactures, lower income, in effect, by increasing the burdens on it, and, in the same series already named, produce evils opposed throughout to the benefits stated as being the attendants, the natural attendants, of higher wages for human labour. The Rev. I. T. Becher, page 403 of the Third Report, says, "In the parish of Thurgeston, of which I am the incumbent, by keeping up the rate of wages to 12s. weekly for an able-bodied labourer, and by employing a sufficient capital in the cultivation

of the ground, we have at this moment, in a population of 330 persons, but one resident pauper, who is a widow receiving sixpence weekly." In another part, "Thinks the capital employed in agriculture would produce greater proportionate employment than in any other department." In reply to objections, "Does not consider draining calculated to abridge human labour; on the contrary, it increases the quantity—the drill plough approximates the cultivation more closely to horticulture. You will find that upon an acre of land under drill cultivation, many more people will be employed in weeding, and in other processes, than upon an equal surface of land which is not so improved. Take, for instance, a garden in the neighbourhood of London, or any land in the country, under the drill system of husbandry, and it will be found, that though this system increases the produce of the soil, it does not diminish the labour per acre. Again, "The average wages for a labourer in our district are 12*s.* weekly, at all times, except harvest, when they average 15*s.* The farmers know so well the superiority of a free labourer, at 12*s.* a week, even in winter, over a pauperized labourer at lower wages, that they cheerfully give the full hire, and consequently we have no instance of making up wages out of the poor rates."

Now mark the opposite testimony of the Lord Bishop of Chester (now Bishop of London):



Q. 2319. "Does your Lordship think that this low rate of wages in the agricultural districts is referable to the population being disproportioned to the demand for labour?—No, I think it chiefly attributable to the operation of the poor laws. Under the present administration of the poor laws a deficient population may become burdensome to the parish as well as redundant, although, of course, not to the same extent." 2320. "How could a deficient population, not sufficient for the demand of labour be otherwise than sufficiently remunerated to keep them off the parish?—Because there will always be a certain number of persons who will be glad to find some pretence for not working, and will prefer 7s. a week without work, to having 10s. with work; and while there is a parish fund to be depended on, the farmers will systematically pay low wages, and have the deficiency made up out of the rates to which others contribute as well as themselves; this, at least, is according to my own experience." So also in the evidence of W. H. Hyatt, Esq. in April, 1827, who states, in reply to Q. 2336, "That there are very few weavers out of employment absolutely at this moment, but the wages that they derive are not adequate to their support." 2337. "Is not the inadequacy of their wages owing to there being a greater number than there is work for?—Certainly." 2338. "Can you state upon the average of the whole population, the deficiency of employment?—If we take,



for instance, the hundred of Blackburn, where, I believe, the hand loom weavers are principally living, out of a population of 150,000, the return sent to us was, that there were 90,000 last year stated to be out of employment; these persons have since found employment generally, but at very low wages." 2,339. "The deficiency is rather more in the wages than in the employment. The weavers are called upon to work from twelve to fourteen hours a day; the average earnings per week of the individuals would be from 4s. to 5s. 6d." Here we have an average of sixty per cent., in that immense population, absolutely dependent on the charity of the community. The course pursued by the Relief Committee is next given, as follows: "The course pursued by the Relief Committee, which was formed after the public meeting in May, 1826, was, in the first instance, to make liberal remittances to the suffering districts; and having provided against the extremity, they formed local committees in every place applying for aid. To these bodies sets of queries, as to the amount of population, resources, poor rates, and actual condition, were sent, the accuracy of the return being vouched for by a neighbouring magistrate. The rate of aid afterwards furnished was regulated by these documents, which, in districts where the distress continued, were renewed from time to time, so that the existing state of the place was always before the Committee. When the danger of

starvation was removed, the Committee, aware of the ill effects produced by gratuitous assistance, directed that out-door labour should be expected from all able-bodied persons applying for relief. This measure had the double effect of preventing parties who could obtain other employment from participating in the charity fund, and also of removing a number of the weavers from the loom altogether, leaving to those that remained a greater portion of employment. Whenever any party or undertaking was benefited by the work performed by the individuals under the care of the Committee, a contribution, according to circumstances, was expected. In general, the arrangement was two thirds of the amount expended in manual labour, to be furnished by such party or undertaking, and one third by the Committee. At the commencement of the winter, distributions were made of articles of clothing and bedding (many persons having sold or pawned theirs at the pressure of the moment), and in some cases, where the distress was the most severe, provisions were again supplied. As the rigour of the season abated, this gratuitous assistance was discontinued, but grants for labour down to the present moment have been periodically made to the parts of the country still suffering under distress. The districts that continue to claim the attention of the Manufacturers' Relief Committee, are Paisley and some other parts of Scotland (where, however, the con-

dition of the people is much improved), Pendle Forest, and the hundred of Blackburn generally, some other parts of Lancashire, the district round Huddersfield, the neighbourhood of Leeds, and some other parts of Yorkshire, portions of Wiltshire, Gloucester, and Somersetshire, also the Staffordshire Potteries. In the woollen districts the distress has rather increased of late, and the fancy waistcoat trade about Huddersfield has not made the improvement which it was expected the spring would produce. These are but temporary bars that will eventually be removed, and employment will again ensue; but to the hand loom weavers of Lancashire, Paisley, and some other places, no lapse of time can possibly bring back their usual occupations; the rate of wages they must be confined to, in order to compete with the power looms, will not suffice for their proper maintenance: indeed, the only cause of their finding employment at present is, that either the poor rates or funds of the Relief Committee contribute towards their support, and, in fact, pay a portion of the wages of the master manufacturer; which circumstance induces him to give out work that otherwise would not at this period be wrought, or would be performed by the power loom, which produces cloth of rather a superior quality. In this district but scanty aid can now be derived from the poor rate, the lay payers having themselves become paupers; and the diminution of the funds of the Committee will

gradually put an end to that resource. The condition of the hand loom weavers must therefore be very deplorable, unless some means are devised for procuring them such occupation as may enable them to earn a subsistence. It appears that a portion of the calico weavers may, by a small alteration of the loom, turn to weaving muslins and fancy goods, but that can only be to a small extent; and they must by this means either reduce the wages, or dispossess some of the persons at present occupied in this branch of manufacture. The case of these persons therefore claims the attention and sympathy of the country."—I shall reserve the remarks on the foregoing evidence until my next, this letter having already swelled to a much greater extent than I had contemplated.

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### LETTER XI.

**F**ROM the evidence stated in my last, it would really appear that the misery of the poor mechanics was without adequate remedy; as if no means existed by which their labour could be directed into another channel, by which food, at least, could be obtained. It seems to be abundantly clear, that temporizing means will not avail them. Food, in its original nature, is only to be had as the fruit of labour, but the land that yields it is ever obedient to the hand of industry. Labour here never goes without a reward,



and no man who can handle a spade need be idle. It does certainly appear to be a most extraordinary conclusion, that population is become redundant in a country not fully cultivated, and the more extraordinary by the singular proofs relied on for supporting this opinion. It is stated in the Report before alluded to, that at Pulborough, in Sussex, there are 6000 acres, and a population of 2000, and yet, although this is three acres to each, Mr. Burrell, the witness examined, says—that the poor rates are about 23*s.* a head—the distress there is certainly arising from *over population*. At Mildenhall, in Suffolk, it is stated, that there were 268 persons paying rates, and 315 unable to pay, with 124 paupers, making 707; and that the number of acres in this parish was only 16000, being rather more than 22 acres each. And this witness is so satisfied on the subject of redundancy, that he thinks the 268 (for to no others can his opinion apply) would be disposed to consent to pay 7*l.* 10*s.* per annum for 10 years, to raise 60*l.* to get rid of a family, consisting of a man, woman, and three children. Enough has been shown, I think, to satisfy any unbiassed mind on the subject, but it is proper to go a step further; from another source, viz. the actual experience of a gentleman, who has proved that one acre, properly managed, will maintain five persons. If this be so, and no one can doubt the fact as he states it, then Mildenhall, instead of exporting men, women,



and children, would do well to import them ; or, at the very least, encourage the breed. Is it of human beings that this cold-blooded estimate is formed ! Beings born in the image of their Maker, by him brought into and upheld in existence ; that men dependent alike on his bounty and mercy, shall slight and dispose of them as of the cattle in their stalls ! Mr. Allen, in a letter entitled Colonies at Home, has shown, beyond all doubt, what may be done by human labour upon land by a judicious management, and on this evidence, Mildenhall, instead of being overburthened with 707, would afford subsistence to 80,000 !! And Pulborough, instead of supporting 2000, no less than 30,000. I shall not insult my reader by a single comment on such facts and evidence. In adding the following testimony, I do so with the utmost respect ; but it is surprising that men of the first-rate ability and talent should arrive at conclusions so very positive, and yet so very opposite to what has been shown to be plain matters of fact. The Lord Bishop of Chester (now Bishop of London), a member of the Relief Committee, himself an host, says, in reply to Q. 2254, “ It is now decidedly the opinion of the Committee, that it (Emigration) is both the cheapest and the most effectual method : that it is the cheapest, may be proved by a very simple calculation ; that it is the most effectual, is a matter of opinion, about which this Committee (of the House

of Commons) are much more competent to form their judgment than we are. We certainly are of this opinion, thinking it is extremely advantageous to draw off the redundant population, as not only increasing the employment of those who remain, and raising their wages, but also as taking off the materials of future distress."

I again repeat, that it is surprising to find a conclusion drawn by able men so strongly opposed to common sense; a conclusion that assumes a provision for the poor operative anywhere but at home, by a change of pursuit from the mechanic to the agricultural, on any lands but those of their native country. The following continuation of the evidence shows, to a positive demonstration, that, for thousands the weaving was to be abandoned, because the wages would not afford the means of subsistence; and it proves also the excellent disposition of the poor men and their families to conform, in all their necessities and deprivations, to the established laws of their country.

Thus in reply to Question 2262, the Bishop says, "Amongst the people themselves I observed the greatest quietness and good order; a degree of contentedness under pressure to which they were quite unused, which excited my admiration. Since this time I have every reason to believe, that while in some places the distress has been considerably diminished, in others it has increased in at least an equal proportion. I am satisfied,

from inquiry, that there was no probability of a return to any considerable extent of employment to the hand loom weavers ; yet I am also satisfied that the decay of that branch of trade will by no means be so sudden as has been apprehended."

It may be well, ere I close this letter, to lay before my readers a proof of the extreme miseries and destitution to which some of our unfortunate fellow creatures have been reduced by the want of employment, and the inadequate price of labour. Thus page 217 of the Report, Q. 2076. "With a view of giving the Committee a general idea of the extent of the distress, can you mention any particular instances of which you have been yourself an eye-witness?—One or two I have ventured to report to the London Relief Committee, such as I had not conceived to exist in a civilized country. There is one I have not reported, which was anterior to the last donations we received. Mrs. Hulton and myself, in visiting the poor, were asked by a person, almost starving, to go into a house ; we there found on one side of the fire a very old man, apparently dying ; on the other side, a young man of about 18, with a child on his knees, whose mother had just died and been buried ; and evidently both that young man and the child were suffering from want. Of course our object was to relieve them ; and we were going away from this house when the woman said, Sir, you have not seen all. We went up stairs, and under

some rags we found another young man, the widower ; and on turning down the rags, which he was unable to remove himself, we found another man who was dying, and who did die in the course of the day. I have no doubt this family were actually starving at the time.”—2077.

“ Though this case may be an extreme one, are there very many families in that neighbourhood who are on the very verge of famine, if not suffering actual famine?—I am sure that both I and the clergyman of West Houghton, who has been with me latterly, have made a very accurate calculation on this point. In our last tour we visited West Houghton, consisting of rather more than 5,000 inhabitants. We found 2,500 totally destitute of bedding, and nearly so of clothes. I am positive I am correct when I say that six per cent. are in a state such as that described—a state of famine, or that approaching to it. It is from the papers I have prepared for the Committee that I deduce that to be an accurate statement. In another case of extreme distress, there were a widow and three children, who had tasted no meal and water, which is the only thing almost they eat there, for forty-eight hours. I found a young man of 16, in such a state of exhaustion, I was obliged to send a cart with a litter to bring him home, and he is now under my own care ; and we have hardly been able to sustain him in life. We found many families who have not made one meal in twenty-four hours !”



This is, indeed, distress, such as no man could have supposed to exist in any civilized country—in this civilized country—this truly humane and generous country—containing abundance at the time, and ample means of creating more! But so it has been; so, I trust in God, it will never be again. The remedy exists, is at hand, and should be applied.

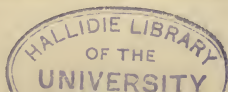
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## LETTER XII.

**T**o ascertain the truth of an alleged redundant population, it is fair to select evidence on the subject from the source that is said to establish the fact. It is reasonable also to comment on such evidence.

In page 409 of the Third Report of the Emigration Committee, it is said that “Prior to the removal of poor tenants from Mr. Marshall’s estate, county of Kerry, the proportion the land bore to the population resident upon it, was half an acre to every soul, or two and a half acres to every family of five souls each; since their expulsion I have let the land in the proportion of 15 acres to every family of five persons, or three acres to every soul.” Now the obvious comment, as it appears to me, is that the redundancy here stated was actually occasioned by the expulsion. It does not appear to have existed before. It must have taken place immediately with





the parties turned off. And yet, "though many resident proprietors were desirous of having a considerable population on their estates, in consequence of the cheapness of labour, and the competition, and consequent high rent offered for land; a rent which, though never paid if money were required, was generally discharged by means of labour." Here we have precisely what is adverted to in letter eighth; small rents, paid not in money but in labour, which, in any sense of the word, is money's worth. Now to prove any thing from these extracts, it should be shown what was the value of the labour given up in the shape of rent, by the parties before expulsion, and the actual rent paid by the new tenant in lieu of such labour; for if the difference should be in favour of the former, where, I ask, is the evidence of any sort of redundancy; or, as far as this goes, of any actual loss or inconvenience? It is merely matter of opinion, unfounded perhaps, and hasty opinion; for some proprietors think expulsion unprofitable, and I think so too. Supposing double the quantity of land had been let to them instead of expulsion, could they not then have paid a money as well as a labour rent, say in equal moieties? It is of ordinary and general experience, that the smaller the allotments of land to industrious tenants, the greater is the proportionate produce, because there is more labour and manure bestowed on small than on larger farms. The rents also, are proportionably higher. The rents of neither parties are given,

so that the true question remains as it was, respecting actual or injurious redundancy. If, as I suspect, the rents of the expelled, paid in labour were greater than of the others (less by upwards of six to one) paid in money, then the advantage of expulsion is chimerical and does not exist. But another consequence ensues: It is quite clear, I take it, that the lesser number of tenants could not produce so much food from their allotments proportionably, so that when more was actually needed for the increased population, this expedient deprived the greater number of the means of creating any food at all, and secured less than before from the new tenants. A directly contrary expedient, viz. that of only doubling the allotments to the former, would have inevitably displaced want as to them. It would have secured an overplus. In which case would the rents have been better paid, either in money or in labour, and in the larger proportion? The great error appears to be in estimating a like quantity of produce as before, from the smaller quantity of labour in the new tenants. This, as I have said, is contrary to all past experience. It assumes too, that the money rent of the smaller number is sure to be well paid. Does not all the number thrown out of subsistence, of their own making, increase the burden on the community at large, and impede, to a certain extent, the regular payment of all rents?

Now mark another question, a leading one

certainly, and the reply to it, page 447, Q. 4320, "A large unemployed population being one of the principal sources of the evil in Ireland, even if emigration were to diminish their numbers, are you of opinion that other measures would be indispensably necessary to obviate the recurrence of that evil?—Undoubtedly, but then other measures would arise out of the well understood interest of the parties. Meaning thereby a different distribution of the poor tenants." Then emigration alone, with emigrators, wont do, it seems, without other helps; but when the leading part of the question, redundancy, is the only one to be established, it is too much to assume it as the inducement to what follows.

In another part, page 270, it is said that there were 3000 acres and 50 tenants, a few of them sub-tenants. Taking them at 55, and seven persons to each family, this would still leave more than seven acres for each, and the acres all cultivated too! Curious redundancy! Why the land would maintain upwards of twenty times the number.

Again, page 127, Q. 1034, "Are you not aware from your general knowledge that most of the disturbances that have prevailed in that county (Limerick,) and which more or less break out every now and then, has arisen from *undertenants dispossessed*, whose residence upon the ground is mischievous not only to the principal landlord, but to the middle farmer of the county?—

I am sure it is the principal source of disturbances." Now is it any wonder that disturbances should arise from such a source as that of expelling people from the land that subsists them? Is there any corporate body, however exalted, in the kingdom, not even omitting that of the capital of this great empire, which if expelled from the feast of turtle and venison, when in full view and with good appetites, would not create a disturbance that might shake the empire itself to its base? But what are turtle and venison, the occasional and accustomed luxuries of these bodies, to absolute subsistence, taken by force from absolute want.

Q. 2751, The witness says, "I am satisfied it would be the advantage of the landlord to get rid of them, (poor tenants,) but the misfortune would be, that the persons who would offer to emigrate would be the persons whom it would be the interest of the landlord to retain on his property; it would be better that he should have a larger portion of land, you would be obliged to force out of the lands the persons whom it would not be for the interest of the landlord to remove." 2777, "Do the proprietors of land find a difficulty when they wish to remove tenants after a lease has fallen out, in getting rid of them, and providing other tenants to take their places?—Not in the county in which I reside. I don't think landlords have reason to apprehend any bad consequences, they must feel for their situation, yet



still they are unwilling to remove them, though their interest requires it." How their interest requires it, is the very question that is adverted to before, and that is still to be proved. The following query and replies will probably help us to an answer not quite in accordance with the gratuitous assumption: Q. 2778, "What, in point of fact, becomes of those people when they are so removed, do they become occupants on the adjoining land?—Perhaps it increases the difficulty on other property, and contributes to the sub-letting of the property next to it." Again, Q. 2780, "Do you know the fact of a remission of rent to pauper tenants, with a view of inducing them to give up the legal claim they had on the property?—I have done it myself, I have now 1000*l.* due by a number of common tenants; I have said, plant your potatoes, pay up your rent to the last May, hold the place till next May, and then quit, and I will give you a receipt in full to get rid of you." 2781, "What became of them?—They went on the different properties in the neighbourhood, that was the evil which I wished to get rid of." 2786, "How many families did you get rid of?—I should suppose about 52 or 53 families; they held about 552 acres of land." 2794, "What is the usual size of the farms?—From 400 to 500 acres down to one acre." 2795, "Then what proportion of the county with which you are best acquainted, is possessed by persons having from one to ten acres?—I should suppose one-



third." 2800, "The practice in the county I live in, is, that they (the poor) have a miserable cabin, and they plant a certain portion of their conacre potatoes, and they cut a little turf; the principal of the family comes to this country to work, the wife and children go to beg, and in many instances he returns with the money he has earned with his labour, and pays the conacre rent with it, and the family return from begging." 2804, "In reference to co-operating in emigration—I would first weigh well, if I had a common tenantry so placed, if it would be for their advantage, that would be the first thing I should consider; and, secondly, I should consider whether it would be for the general interests of the country, that is, for the advantage of the empire in general. Though I say it would be for the advantage of the landed interest to remove them off their property, yet there is still such a quantity of waste land, I think these people could be very usefully employed, and afterwards their service would be of great use to the state." So that the great, the leading question of redundancy, as far as this testimony goes, and the necessity for emigration, remain pretty much as they were before as to proof, with the exception that all the admitted facts, divested of previous opinions, are really and truly the other way, as has been already shown.

But, it will be said, the labour rents, though high, are not all paid, or that labour sufficient to

absorb them, is not required, and, consequently, that there is a loss. If, as I suspect, the rents of the small allotments are proportionately much higher than the others, then it should be shown what amount of labour rent is actually paid, or needed, and what proportion it bears to the lesser money rent. If only one half of the former be secured, and that is equal to the latter, then, though the landlord is numerically losing, or not receiving, or not needing, the half of the labour rents, yet he sustains no loss in reality under these conditions. He gains in the general circumstances of the country, by having nothing to pay for the subsistence, in another shape of assessment, for the miserable beings otherwise expelled from their allotments.

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### LETTER XIII.

**F**ROM the strain of the comments in my last letter it will be unnecessary to dwell so much on the circumstances hereinafter extracted. The judicious and attentive reader, bearing in mind their direct tendency, will apply them as occasion serves to the further evidence following.

Speaking of the removal of 300 persons from the island of Rum on the last emigration—  
 Q. 2939. “Thinks they could spare one-third of the population of the Western Islands of Scotland.” 2944, “No person can settle in

the island since, without leave of the proprietor. Expense of removing the 300 above 2,000*l.*, all paid by the landlord." 2950, "The land rented at 800*l.* a year, and it contains 30,000 English acres (about 6*d.* per acre). Impossible to say what extent any one person possessed." 2960, "State to the Committee your idea with regard to the excess of the population in some parts of Scotland?—To give the Committee an idea of the population in some of the islands, I shall mention the island of Tirree, belonging to the Duke of Argyle. The island contains about 15,000 English acres, including lakes, rocks, &c. The population is about 6000. There are 431 tenants, &c." 2964, "Thinks money might very well be expended in removing this population—the lower classes. I don't know that it would put much money into the landlord's pocket to be at the expense, because the farms would then become much larger, and any person who had money to stock a large farm would expect to live a little better; he would eat up the spare produce, and indulge in a few luxuries." 2967, "In the island of Uist the people receive from fifty to sixty shillings per ton for manufacturing kelp, which as nearly as possible discharges their rent." (What do they receive now?) 2972, "People increasing. In the island of Tirree I fancy the population is trebled in the last forty years." 2973, "Very frequently exposed to great suffering from the want of provisions. In

1812, Clanronald expended 3,355*l.* in purchasing meal for these poor people. In 1815, 111*l.*—in 1816, 242*l.*—in 1817, 4565*l.*—in 1818, 1136*l.*" 2974. "And received no rent in exchange?—Of course the kelp belonged to him; at that time the kelp always belonged to the proprietor, except when there was a bargain to the contrary." 2975, "Then this expenditure does not appear to have been lost to the proprietor?—There was a diminution of rental to that extent." 2977. "*During the war they all married very early, in order to have the number of children requisite to exempt them from the militia; boys of 16 or 17 married, which is the cause of the great increase of the population!!!*"

So then, the secret is out at last; and is it a wonder that distress arises when boys of 16 or 17 marry to avert, as they ignorantly imagine, a greater evil of serving in the militia. This is not the natural progress of society; it is forced, unnatural, and therefore injurious. Something like the English paupers marrying in order to get a better allowance from the parish. What habits of providence or care can be expected in either case? Are there no fish in the sea? Is there nothing but kelp? Have the poor or the generality any, and what, allotments of land to grow meal and potatoes? Are not all these vital and previous questions? Surely a shilling an acre could be well afforded by them, and that is actually double the rent of one island. But I shall go on with the extracts:



Q. 2980, "One half, at all events one-third, have not employment." 2981. "The island of Coll contains about 15,000 English acres, the soil very sandy, and a very considerable portion of rock and moss; the land more adapted for pasturage than cropping. The population about 1300 (upwards of 11 acres each), about eighty tons of kelp annually manufactured on the island, principally belonging to the tenants themselves." 2982. "The same circumstances of difficulty do not attend Coll as Tirree and Uist, because the proprietor of Coll having lived very much upon the island has kept down the population. I believe at one time, about 40 years ago, that the population of Coll and Tirree were very nearly the same." 2984. "The means he used to keep down the population were, that he would not allow a young man to marry without his consent. He said, if you marry without my consent, you must leave the island. All protestants in Coll."

Then there were evidently no boys of 16 or 17 permitted to marry here.\*

We now come to a different feature in the evidence, and it is of a description that needs no comment to show the misery inevitably adhering to the system mentioned therein. Thus,

\* Reading Pepy's Memoirs lately, I was struck with the observation following page 268. "They are not very populous there, by reason the people marry, women seldom till they are towards or above 30, and men 30 to 40, or more oftentimes 35 years old."



Q. 3002, "I know a very large tract of land that immediately bounds my property, the estate of the Earl of Limerick, in the county of Clare, and which I know to have, I am positive as to three, but I rather think four, intermediate landlords." 3003, "Between the principal and the lowest occupant, I have known these people, in the course of a fortnight, distrained by three or four different persons; their cattle put into the pound by one person; given out by the pound-keeper, on their oath that they should be forthcoming on the day of sale, seized afterwards by one of their other landlords, and when some of them have been running away with their flocks and corn, to avoid a seizure by one person, they have been intercepted by another who had a claim and brought back." 3004, "The occupying tenant liable to distress from any one that is above him. The state of distress of those people I have alluded to, and the anxiety of their minds, was exceedingly great. They were constantly coming to me for advice, as I happen to reside near them." 3016, "I am a catholic, and, attending my chapel, I heard one day an address read from the altar, stating, that the vicar would require his tithe on a certain day. I have heard another, that the rector would attend on a certain day to receive his tithes. I have heard another, calling on the parishioners to be ready with the county charges on a certain day; and another to be ready with the church rates. I have heard an-

other, stating, that the priest would call over the names of all those persons who had not contributed towards the repairs of his chapel, and disgrace them if they did not pay within a certain day; and I have heard the priest a few days before Christmas say, that he should expect that they would be ready to give him his pittance on Christmas day." 3017, "Within what period has this taken place?—Within a month of Christmas." 3018, "What are the county charges?—The grand jury rates." 3053, "The lowest description have no means to provide for emigration.—Straw is their bedding; a small blanket their covering; and a pot in which to boil their potatoes." 3078, "The poor we employed regularly in Westmeath were in a poor pitiable condition; their cabins very bad; and for half the year they cannot obtain employment, though very willing to work if they can get it, and at almost any thing you please to give them." 3080, "Do you not conceive that the cause of there being no demand for their work is the population is so excessive as to supply all the work that is regularly wanted, and to leave a considerable redundancy?—It is the fact, there is an overgrown population." Could they get nothing from the bogs and wastes of Ireland? Where would be the redundancy then? 3129, "As to the effect of removal. But if this were a general practice, do you think that the state of the country at large would be prejudiced by a

numerous class of those persons so ejected wandering over the country? -- Decidedly; and that has been a very great cause of the disturbances in the south of Ireland." 3141, "Is it not the common practice of landlords to forgive considerable arrears of rent in order to induce the tenants to go away, and give up their farms? -- It is only giving a nominal sum; it is only remitting debts from paupers who could not pay them. Perhaps they may have a miserable car, or something of that description, and the landlord may say, I will let you go, with all your furniture, and all the rent with you; but that is giving up a very small sum of real money indeed."

Is it giving up any money at all, if the rentals were actually brought down to the standard of what are termed the improved lettings? Expel fifty who pay in labour 50*l.*, of which only half is needed, and let to ten who pay in money 25*l.*, what is the difference? Nothing to the landlord, but it is life or death, nearly, to the expelled fifty.

"I was told," says a witness, "last week, that no fewer than fifty families had left Blackburn in the preceding week for the United States of America. The Committee will observe that these are not paupers, but industrious families, who fly from the pauperism which stares them in the face; consequently, although the abstraction of any given number of operatives, as it must diminish the number of hands that demand em-

ployment, *does good* by tending to bring the demand and supply to a level, it does not in the least diminish the present frightful burden of poor rates. The emigrants now go to the United States, because they there hope for employment as weavers. I last week saw a letter from a person in Philadelphia, who left Blackburn last year, stating, that for weaving a striped calico he could earn from four and a half to six dollars per week: in Blackburn he could not earn much more than as many shillings. At present our emigrants all flock to America, where they enrich a foreign state by their labour and mechanical skill, and imbibe there the opinions and feelings of the state where they are adopted as citizens; they become *Americanis ipsis Americaniore*, nor do they retain much, if any, regard for that native country which they quitted in distress and discontent. Thus does England's indifference to emigration operate mischievously to her interests by swelling the number of her commercial enemies, and enabling them to establish a successful competition with her manufacturers."

I shall reserve further comment till my next letter, so as to embrace other particulars of equal, if not superior importance.

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## LETTER XIV.

IN taking extracts from the Emigration Report, it will be seen that my object is really to go upon the ground on which so strong, and, as I think, so erroneous an impression has been made on the public mind. The actual experiments have been hitherto all on one side; assuming gratuitously, that it is hopeless to try home locations under any circumstances whatever. As we go on, however, it may be right to advert to its bearing on the latter also.

Q. 3642. "Are you able to state what may be the average number of voluntary emigrants who at present arrive in a year at Quebec?—I have always understood from 8 to 10,000." 3643. "Will you describe practically what becomes of those persons upon arriving at Quebec?—Many of these people that arrive during the summer months find labour at Quebec, and from thence gradually go up the country *and cross over to the United States*, or go to Upper Canada, after they get to Prescot, Kingston, or York." 3645. "Their first employment is as day labourers." 3647. "Do they frequently experience much misery, owing to want of employment in the first instance?—*A great deal, if they arrive late in the season.*" 3654. "A great want of labourers in Upper Canada; but the great question is, whether you could



find any person that could afford to take a man with his family off your hands."

Here we have, in truth, both distress and redundancy, until the parties are permanently fixed up the country; that is, fully employed. Redundancy first, by coming over late in the season; distress next, by reason of this imported redundancy until location. Is this at all different then, I ask, from what it was and is here, or for any other reason? And the remedy? Why it is to cultivate waste land, which surely might be done here by the like means, and with the like results. Let us resume the extracts. Q. 3932. "Do they principally go to Canada? [referring to 2,000]—To Canada and New York; out of that number there are about 800 at New York." 3933. "What is the description of those that went to New York?—Farmers and labourers, and a few weavers. They have had communication with the States, and they say that weavers are wanted at Philadelphia." 3934. "Do the agricultural population appear much inclined to go to New York?—Yes; they are more anxious to go to the States." 3938. "Then, in fact, the better sort of persons go to New York?—Yes; and some with a good deal of money have gone to Canada. There are a great many of the men that go from the county of Limerick very snug farmers. They were anxious, they said, to get rid of rents and tithes, and to become proprietors themselves." So then we have here both labourer and capital

quitting Ireland to benefit the empire! This needs no comment. Again, as to increase of population. Q. 3948, "In what class of the community do you conceive the increase of population to go on most rapidly in Ireland?—In the lower classes." 3949. "Do you conceive it goes on more rapidly when the state of the population is very low, or when it is advanced and improved?—I think it goes on more rapidly when it is a point above the very lowest." 3950. "Taking two classes of the community, the farmer and the cottager, in which of these two classes do you conceive that the greatest number of improvident marriages takes place?—I think in the cottier class." 3951. "Can a cottier obtain possession of land, and the power of building a cottage, without the consent of the landlord?—Certainly not; but according to the system that has been pursued in Ireland, he need not have the landlord's consent." What strange improvidence is here! What utter recklessness of consequences of every kind! What fruit of such a system, or rather want of all system, can rationally be expected other than those most disastrous and distressing effects already detailed? Without better principles and better conduct, I would ask any man whether any country will long thrive with a population so forced and formed? If a better mode of education be adopted abroad, may not the same be done at home? What follows more materially affects

the general question. Q. 4136. "Great and sudden revolutions in trade, which are unforeseen, and, perhaps, inevitable, will undoubtedly occur, on which occasions the supply of labour will enormously exceed the demand. Under these circumstances, you have no alternative but providing some substitute; and the principle in Nottingham has been to subscribe voluntarily and liberally, and to expend such contributions solely and exclusively in employment, under the superintendence of a committee." 4137. "Then, in fact, that sum of money was administered in the hope that an alteration would take place, by which the parties would be restored to their average employment?—It was; considering such occurrences always as a temporary suspension, not as a permanent alienation of employment."

In reference to the parish of Thurgeston, alluded to in Letter X., the wages are 12*s.* a week, and 15*s.* in harvest. The higher part of this parish is woodland and clay soil; the lower part stretches towards the banks of the Trent, and is a loamy soil. It contains 3,000 acres. The population in 1821, was 330. (Only nine acres each.) Q. 4140. "Are you not prepared to admit, that in many instances the introduction of agricultural capital is calculated instead of increasing the demand for labour, very materially to diminish it, inasmuch as all occasional processes in husbandry are effected by diminishing generally manual labour?—I think

that observation applies less to agriculture than to manufacture, because the plough is nearly the same now that it was 4,000 years ago, and the spade, as well as other rural implements, have remained almost unaltered during the like period ; therefore, though I am well acquainted with the introduction of machinery for threshing machines and for some other works of husbandry, yet the introduction of machinery is small in husbandry when compared with manufactures ; and the steam engine, that grand moving power, is so little applicable to rural purposes, that I think the capital employed in agriculture would produce greater proportionate employment than in any other department."

The importance of the foregoing evidence is, that it in a great measure disposes of the question of emigration, by showing the fair advantages to *all parties* of the employment of capital at home in agriculture, at wages sufficient to enable the labourer to live comfortably. The facts and the principles applied in them are both decisive, only apply them more extensively here.

Again, Q. 4161, " From my knowledge of the country (Canada), and the manner in which emigrants generally succeed there, I have no hesitation in expressing my firm belief that any industrious man could pay for 100 acres of land with ease in five or seven years from the produce of it, and support a small family comfortably in the mean time." 4167. " Then, practically speaking,



if assistance were to be given to him to the extent of 60*l.*, do you think that he would be able and willing at the end of seven years to pay the sum of 4*l.* per annum for such loan; that is, the 60*l.* increased by compound interest to the sum of 80*l.*, having the power of redeeming that 4*l.* per annum at any time by the payment of the 80*l.*, or by effecting such redemption in progressive instalments?—I think that in seven years a person would be able to pay the sum without any doubt.” 4170. “Do you think there would be any particular difficulty in obtaining that interest from the settler?—I think what property he might possess, if he improved it during that period, would certainly be worth a great deal more than the sum advanced to him.” Now, admitting this to be quite correct, and well founded, I ask whether a process in all respects similar would not at home, in all respects, also be equally efficient on the same conditions? I will go farther, and say that harder conditions on the pauper here will produce at least as much—that is, by his renting instead of having the land given to him. If in either case the experiment were made here as it is abroad, and found to answer, then a more populous, a more abundant, a more improved country at home being the result, all these advantages are secured instead of being lost to it by emigration.

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## LETTER XV.

I GIVE the following evidence as being of an important character: Q. 3279, "Although cheapness of labour, and consequently a cheapness of production, must have a tendency to command an improving market, and must have a tendency to increase demand, do you not admit there is a limitation to that, beyond which any cheapness will produce no effect?—Certainly." 3280, "Then, in point of fact, if a manufactured commodity be produced beyond a given extent, no degree of cheapness will force a sale of it?—No, at least no such sale as will allow of its being continued to be produced at a profit." 3282, "I think that the home demand of the country depends very much upon the condition of the labouring classes; that is, that the extent of the effectual demand for the manufactures and commodities consumed at home, depends essentially upon the good condition of the labouring classes." Can any one doubt this? 3283, "Are not the manufacturers' profits principally dependent on a low rate of wages?—I do not quite agree to that doctrine; I think that wages and profits very often rise together. When the value of the whole commodity rises from the state of the supply compared with the demand, there is a greater value to divide between the capitalist and the labourer; the labourer will have higher

money wages, and his profits of stock may be higher at the same time." 3284, "Is not the tendency of a redundant supply of labour, ready at all times to fill up the decrease of the labouring population by want and disease, beneficial to the manufacturing and commercial interests, inasmuch as it lowers wages and raises profits, and renders possible a successful competition with foreign capitalists?—I should think that even if it did so, no persons could possibly bring themselves to encourage such a system with that view." Does not this completely blink the consequence of consumers being, in such unhappy circumstances, driven out of the market? How then can the manufacturers be actually benefited? The loss of trade must, thereby, be at least equal to the gain in the lowness of labour. Q. 3285, "Compassion to the labouring poor, and regard to the public peace, may render the diminution of their supply of labour desirable, but a redundancy is favourable to trade and commerce, is it not?—In one respect it is, and in one respect not; it may enable the capitalist to work up his commodities cheaper, and to extend his foreign trade, but it certainly will have a tendency to diminish the home trade; and I think the home trade much more important than the foreign." To be sure it is. 3286, "When the labouring class in a country receive good wages, does not the demand for manufactured goods, on the part of that class, form one of the best markets a manu-

facturer has?—I think it forms a very important part of the market, for manufactured goods of a cheap kind.” 3289, “Although the redundancy in the supply of labour should tend to impoverish the condition of the labouring classes generally, yet, is it not possible that the demand in the home market, for the gross amount of produce, might be fully as great as if the labouring classes were fewer in number, and in more prosperous condition?—I should think not.” These questions all assume redundancy, the thing to be proved. 3290, “Have the goodness to state the reason why?—The difference in point of numbers might not be very great, and if so, the difference in the demand of the labouring classes living well and comfortably, would in my opinion be such as more than to balance the numbers. I cannot of course speak with accuracy, but I should say there is a great difference in the manner in which the labouring classes live, as to clothing, houses, and other domestic comforts and conveniences, and that habits of that kind, must create a great demand for commodities and labour; a great home demand.” There can be no doubt of it, nor any, I apprehend, of the general replies heretofore given. Again, Q. 3420, “Is it your impression, that in the year 1792, when the population of Ireland was four millions, the condition of the peasantry was better than now, when the population is seven millions?—I am not competent to answer that question; I think

it very likely there might not be much difference." Then why not go on? 3431, "A period might possibly arrive when the population of Ireland would equal the population of England!" It might, and what then? The distress might not be increased? 3432, "Might not at that period every labourer in Ireland be in a state of competent prosperity; supposing the supply of labour to be proportioned to the demand?—Certainly." 3433, "What is your opinion of the capability of Ireland to become a very rich and flourishing country?—My opinion is that it has very great capabilities, that it might be a very rich, and a very prosperous country; and that it might be richer in proportion than England, from its greater natural capabilities." 3434, "I think that a judicious system of emigration is one of the most powerful means to accomplish that object."

Now, as in this evidence the opinion is stated, that there might not be much difference to the peasantry of Ireland, whether the population were four or seven millions, and that it might equal the population of England, what is to render it impossible, or rather is it not equally probable, that there may not be much difference still? But emigration will make a difference in the numbers at least, which surely is something to a country, all other things being equal. The idea entertained seems to be, that the better supply of labour to the demand would be the result. Why so? Unless it were done by other means.



If by other means, why emigrate? The fallacy seems to be this; the supply now made with more hands, will better suffice among fewer. Assuming this, it would seem that the larger produce from the larger number, would still be produced, the number of producers being lessened. If not, then still the supply of labour to the demand will require adjustment under either limitation. Why not adjust it then to the larger, as well as to the smaller number?

But from what follows something like a better adjustment has been tried, and tried too with great advantage. In reference to the bogs of Ireland. Q. 3438, "Are there any of them of that quality which could, under a certain application of capital, become the finest land?—No doubt of it; and that could be done the very first year; there is a specimen on Lord Palmerston's estate, which was cultivated last summer (1826), and in four months from the time that the spade was first put into it, we had very fine potatoes, and turnips, and rape, and so on, growing there, as good as on any land in the world." 3442, "Believes it did not stand his lordship for cultivation in more than 7l. an English acre, and for that he has a crop worth something." 3443, "What could a tenant fairly afford to give for that land?—The ordinary run for good dry land, is 30s. an acre, should expect full as much for the other." 3450, "In what state of improvement would that bog be, when you consider it



would be right to subject it to a rent of 30*s.* an acre?—I do not think that Lord Palmerston will let it till there has been about three years' crops taken; but I am of opinion, that supposing the first year's produce does not pay, the second and third years' produce will pay for themselves."

3455, "You have referred to very extensive bogs in the district of Conamara; do you imagine that 10*l.* an acre being applied in reclaiming these bogs, upon the most judicious principle, would bring the land into that state of improvement as to command a rent of 20*s.* an acre?—I think a great deal of it would, because I know that in Conamara and in certain favoured districts the people applied to take land, and offered to rent it at once, without any outlay at all being made upon it; it is red bog, upon granite rock, but they have sea manure in the neighbourhood."

3456, "Can you give the Committee any general estimate of the quantity of unreclaimed land in Ireland, of this description, which under an appropriation of capital not exceeding 10*l.* per acre, might be brought into a state of cultivation, so as to produce a rent of 20*s.* per acre?—I should think there are about three millions of Irish acres, that is equal to five millions of English acres, that includes all the waste land; but I think that almost the whole of the waste land of Ireland is reclaimable." 3457, "Do you imagine that the proprietors of those lands would consent to give up half of them, provided they were brought into that state

of cultivation which is contemplated at an expenditure of 10*l.* per acre?—That was the principle that was followed in the English fens; I think it would be very fair to do so.” 2358, “For example, if the State, or if companies would undertake to lay out such a sum of money in the improvement of those masses of land, do you imagine that the proprietors would consent to cede to such companies one half of the land as a remuneration for the money so laid out?—I think that the same principle as has been already followed in England, about two centuries ago, might be very applicable in Ireland.” 3459, “Have the goodness to state in detail, what that principle was?—For instance, the great marshes that lay between the Tower of London and the county of Essex, from St. Catharine’s Dock all the way down, was embanked in the Reign of Henry the VIII., and half the extent was given to the person who embanked it, who was a Dutchman. And in the undertaking to drain all the great fens in England, which was began in the reign of James the I., the remuneration to the undertakers was to be about one-third of the whole extent, and that principle was pursued throughout the whole of the undertaking. The great Fen Company held their land in the fens upon that principle; as being the undertakers they had a certain portion of land. I think the same principle could be applied to bogs; and I have no doubt that companies would be found in

England, that would undertake it upon these principles; all that would be necessary would be to preserve them from litigation, for whenever the land became valuable, it would be immediately litigated." 3460, "Have you in any case proposed a plan of a Bill to carry into effect such a purpose as this, in any district of Ireland?—I drew up some years ago a Bill, upon the principles of an English enclosure Act, for the improvement of about 19,000 Irish acres of the bogs of the northern part of the county of Kerry. I got the consent of a great many proprietors immediately, but one gentleman, who was not thoroughly master of the subject, made a great opposition to it; and the Bill after a petition being brought into the House of Commons, was not persevered in; but I am satisfied, that if I were to go back again and propose another Bill, that gentleman would be one of the chief promoters of it." 3461, "Do you think that the experiment that Lord Palmerston made on his estate, establishes the principle, that private capital applied in reclaiming bog, under favourable circumstances, would be amply remunerated?—I think it decidedly establishes that: I had great doubt before this experiment was made, whether it would do so, because my estimate at the time of the bog surveys was made when agricultural produce was high, and I had great doubt whether in the previous depressed time it would be possible to repay the undertaker so well as at that time; and

I was very much pleased to find, that his Lordship was satisfied that he was undertaking a profitable speculation ; that was not the view with which he engaged in it." 3466, "You have mentioned 7*l.* as the expense per acre, in the case of Lord Palmerston's property ; has not the greater part of that 7*l.* been applied in the actual remuneration of labour ?—The whole of it." The very thing wanted.

Having got thus far, let us see what the next witness says to it. Q. 3482, "Are you of opinion that the value of land to let, after such expense (referring to the cost) being laid out upon it, is as great as was stated by Mr. Nimmo ?—I doubt whether it would be in the natural state of the country, but at present I am satisfied the common tenantry would give the sum Mr. Nimmo has mentioned." 3483, "And you entertain no doubt that such rent would be not only agreed to be given, but actually paid upon such land ?—Undoubtedly ; I see instances of it every day." 3497, "Thinks there is ample employment for the whole of the population, for a long course of years, in reclaiming the bogs of Ireland ; and I think that the spirit of the gentlemen of the country is such now, that they would prevent the increase of population. It is in the power of the landlords to prevent the increase of population, and they will prevent it ; their attention is turned towards it now." (I should like to know how !) 3499, What is the usual extent of the possessions and farms in your part of the coun-



try?—On the grazing land they are often very considerable, but on the common tenantry lands they seldom exceed four or five Irish acres, and descend from that to a rood, or half a rood; many thousand families exist upon half a rood of land attached to a cabin.” 3502, “Recommends that whenever a piece of land falls out of lease, that it should be given to some resident tenant on the land, who already was cultivating his land with industry, instead of admitting a stranger upon the land.” 3503, “The advice I should give would be to let it to the best resident tenant upon the land, and on no account to let another tenant come upon the land, or to admit another house to be built.” 3519, “Is not there a great want of capital amongst the farmers in Ireland?—They are without capital, except the graziers; there are extensive graziers that are exceedingly rich men.” 3520, “Then in point of fact, as to farm buildings, fences, draining, and introducing a proper system of crops, all that is yet to be done in Ireland?—All that is yet to be done in Ireland, in the part I am in.” 3522, “As to getting rid of his extra tenantry. At the present moment I believe he would lose rent. If merely the number of tenants that were necessary to the cultivation of the land upon an improved principle, were left upon it, and all the rest were removed, in the first instance the landlord would lose rent. The small tenantry in Ireland pay more rent than any regular farmer would pay; and

they pay it not out of the produce of the land, but out of the produce of their labour in England.' 3524, "The Committee are to understand that in those counties (Mayo, Roscommon and Galway) it is the almost universal habit of the poor class of labourers to migrate into England, for the purpose of obtaining wages during harvests?—It is, and they bring from England money to pay rents for land, far beyond the real value of that land, and they actually pay that rent." 1525, "Are the rents paid with punctuality?—They are; those common tenantry will pay to middle men 20s., 30s., and even 40s. per acre for the privilege of building a cabin upon the skirts of a bog, and cultivating the bog themselves; raising the rent by their labour in England." 3526. "And subsisting upon the fruits of the cultivation of that bog?—Yes." 3527. "Does not that practice present great obstruction to the improvement you contemplate?—In the district immediately under my own observation it would not; because I know few, if any, instances of the bog being given to the tenant; there is an express reservation in the lease of all bogs and turbarry; as far as my experience goes; I know it does exist in other places." 3531. "Practice of middle men to let, &c. Every young lad arriving at the age of 19 or 20, marries, and immediately builds a little cabin upon the skirts of a bog; he plants himself there; he rents a rood or two roods of land, which is sufficient to pro-

duce potatoes for his food, and he goes to England as soon as his potatoes are set, and he brings back from three to six guineas, with which he pays his rent, and provides himself with other necessaries." 3539. "I find that the number migrating to England increases every year from the district that I am acquainted with, and though there are instances of individual distress, generally speaking, I believe they bring more money from England every year." 3540. "There is one circumstance which may perhaps be stated as a matter of fact: a part of these persons come to London every year, and they deposit in the hands of one law agent in London any savings they may have to remit to their families, and in the case of one property these deposits have increased during the eight years I have been in Ireland from about 400*l.* a year, to about 10 or 1200*l.* a year. But it is only a small portion of our migration that comes to London; the greater part go to the fens of Lincolnshire, and they bring the money home with them." 3541. "I am now making a list of the population of one property; I have gone on to the extent of 23,771 Irish acres, and I find a population of upwards of 18,535 souls upon it." 3542. "Is this population all agricultural?—Yes: there is no manufacture except a little linen. There is arable and mountain land, exclusive of deep bogs." 3555. "If the means of earning money in England to pay the rent were taken away from them, they

must eat up the whole produce of the land, and no rent would remain."

Q. 3583. "Will you be good enough to inform the Committee the general process that takes place in the settlement of paupers in the neighbourhood of one of these bogs?—Settlement it can hardly be called. A pauper often takes possession of a spot upon a bog, and builds a house of sods, perhaps of the value of twenty or thirty shillings; he pays no rent, and subsists there as miserably as possible, partly upon alms and partly by depredation." Can any system on earth be worse than this in any quarter of the globe? Savage life is preferable—and in a christian country too! 3584. "It is supposed that in the event of the improvement of the bogs the country would be left without a sufficient supply of fuel; on the contrary, we should not merely derive the advantage of cultivating their surface, but increase their capability of supplying fuel many hundred fold. Fuel can at present be obtained only from the edges of the bogs, the wetness of their interior renders it unavailable for the purpose, but if once drained, fuel might be obtained from any part of them." Again, 3586, "Would you be disposed to agree with this opinion, that supposing all impediments of a legal nature were removed from this reclamation of the bogs, that capital employed in such reclamation would be rewarded with an interest of from ten to fifteen per cent.?—I cannot doubt it, seeing that so



many able and intelligent persons after years of consideration and experience have come I think unanimously to that opinion." Is this true? If so, what mode of investing capital can equal it? 3592. "Can you inform the Committee the estimated extent of the bogs of Ireland?—The bogs of Ireland are divided into two great classes, flat red bogs, and the peat covering of the mountains." It was ascertained by the Committee that there were of the flat red bogs 1,576,000 English acres, and of the peat covering reclaimable mountains 1,355,000 English acres, making an aggregate of 2,831,000 English acres.

What a source of wealth is here unexplored! What can any colony offer more or better for labour and capital, both so much needed—both so well rewarded!

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## LETTER XVI.

**I**N reference to the very able and very satisfactory speech of Lord Bexley, as reported in the "Morning Post" of November, 1829, I would invite attention to a fact therein stated, and no doubt correctly, that the population of the empire has increased of late, and does now go on to increase in the ratio of one and a half per cent. per annum.

Now it is clear, indeed nothing can be less doubtful, that the increase of consumers yearly

of one and a half per cent. will, of necessity, require the like increase of production; and it would appear to follow pretty nearly as of course, that more land should be made productive, on a similar scale, to meet the increased and increasing demand.

Were this minutely attended to, little or no inconvenience would arise to any portion of the community; a regular increasing demand would thus secure a regular increasing supply; and an over-glut at one time, and an under-produce at another, would neither be felt nor known. Questions of emigration to a more abundant country—of a redundant population—of agricultural distress, and individual destitution—would surely not be raised, did the operation take place that obvious necessity demands, and were the country alive to the best interests of all countries—a numerous population, and the ready and certain means of providing for them.

I am quite aware of the various modes of relieving pressing difficulties that have been obtruded on the public mind of late, as a remedy for increasing population, as if such increase were a disadvantage, and not a benefit to the state. If this were really a just view of the subject, it must have been so when the population of this eminently happy country was not of half its present amount; and so, going back to Alfred, the same argument—if argument it can be called—would have held good with actually

more appearance of reason than at present. No one can doubt that the state of agriculture and production has most extensively improved by the advance of civilization and science. I add, fearlessly, by the *increase also of population*. From past experience, I see no just ground for apprehension that the same increase of hands will not be attended with the same beneficial results as to production at home, without recourse to foreign aid. That produce kept pace with consumption was manifested during the war, by the continual increase in the agriculture of the country, beneficial alike to all parties. That it ought to have done so since is quite manifest, to have averted the many evils that have arisen from the temporary stoppage of such improvement. The demand evidently has not been lessened; the supply, therefore, in a wholesome state of things, should have kept pace with it, which inevitably must have been the case, supposing the parties to have been in the same relative situation, and not subjected suddenly to foreign imports, in money payments cheaper, but in all its consequences dearer in the end, by displacing home growth, home labour, home prices, and home profits.

Take any period of our history as a people, and say when the greatest quantity of all the necessaries of life and comfortable living could have been had, and that by the greatest body of the population—has it been in a period of scanty or

abundant population? Has it not been during a war of unexampled pressure, in which England's glories, and her resources, and her population, have unfolded and increased in joint magnificence to the astonishment of the world?

*“When England, true to herself, drew from her own bosom the means of sustenance never denied to well-directed labour.”*

The same principle is of never-varying application. The first labour of man is for sustenance—the next for science. This natural order pursued, evils of destitution may be imagined—they cannot exist. But, subverted—then it is difficult to find a remedy for the numberless miseries thence, and thence only, arising.

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#### LETTER XVII.

THE evils attendant on the want of regular labour for the poor are of the most appalling description, and admit of no earthly remedy but that of which they are so often deprived—employment again in some other manner. Take the poor manufacturers, for instance, many thousands of whom are now labouring for inadequate wages, and can a more trying and heart-rending scene of human suffering be imagined? Men, guilty of no crime, willing and able to work for their bread, and yet whose protracted, and toilsome, and most anxious exertions are insufficient to protect



themselves and families from actual want of necessaries. The grand consideration with every thinking man is, simply, whether such a state of things is inevitable or avertible; and every man of any feeling for the misery of his fellow-creatures, is loudly called upon to direct his attention to the subject. It would almost seem, that the progress of the mechanic arts has been injurious instead of being beneficial to mankind, in abridging the sphere of manual labour; and yet this can never be admitted on any rational theory of improving the condition of humanity. Abstractedly, every such improvement must be an advantage to the community at large, although to some branches of it mischief may ensue by the want of accustomed employment. May not the good be fully enjoyed from improvement in science, without the evils of destitution to individuals whose labour is thereby displaced? This is a most interesting inquiry, and no doubt it is capable of a satisfactory solution. One of the most powerful, and apparently efficient remedies has been proposed in emigration to another soil, thus turning mechanics into agriculturists. It is more than questionable, however, whether, in thus qualifying one mischief, others will not be let in of even greater magnitude. The strength of the country is thus diminished; her best hands removed to a certain extent, and, as far as that goes, the population lessened, as indeed it is professed and intended to be. This, without the

most absolute and extreme necessity for it, is then a bad and an insufficient remedy; for men once lost to their country are not to be replaced, and the colony under our dominion at one period may be our rival or our enemy at another. This has been, and, therefore, may be the case again. But the grand basis on which emigration is expressly founded is that of a redundant population, for whose labour at home no sufficient remuneration is to be had. What are the emigrants to do then when removed? Why, change all their pursuits, and become agricultural instead of mechanic labourers. This is good and natural, and must be productive of food at least for themselves in abundance, and in due course of a surplus that is to lead to independence. Granting all this, the most favourable statement—even more favourable than any that has been yet proved by experiment—the manifest loss to the country of its best subjects remains to be compensated. They are gone, lost to us, and gained, perhaps ere long, to another country. All nations calculate their strength and their resources for peace or war, for wealth or commerce, in the number of their people. Increasing numbers have always been deemed the unequivocal proofs of prosperity, and are appealed to accordingly. It is quite a recent discovery that it is otherwise, and is one certainly as hollow and fallacious as was ever embraced by men of sense and science. I mean not here to go into this question. Taking the

principle of the proposed remedy for my guide—the change from mechanic to agricultural employment of the poor—I shall endeavour to show that the same change, in all its parts, with nearly all its benefits with regard to produce, and with the mighty advantage of keeping the population at home to strengthen the mother country, may be had on easier and cheaper terms to the adventurers. It cannot for an instant be questioned, that there is not land enough in the British Islands, never yet cultivated, to produce food for all the poor mechanics in the kingdom, if all were this very day displaced. It cannot then admit of reasonable doubt, that the very same process adopted here, or very nearly so, in terms as has been proposed for emigrants, would produce very nearly the same effects—that is food; and, ere long, a surplus to the cultivators. I will admit, for the argument only, that there is not equal production and abundance: yet the mighty advantages of improving our own country, keeping its population at home for use, and enjoyment, and strength, is not to be compared to that of greater produce in a remote colony. But if it be proved, which I verily believe it may, that the deserts of Britain may be converted into gardens by the well-directed labours of its now starving poor, what a delightful consideration here arises to the philanthropist and the patriot! This leads to the single point before suggested, of trying to colonize at home, instead of going to foreign and

distant regions to make the same experiment. Let any man look to what has been done in Holland in their poor colonies, and then doubt, if he can, that the same may be done here. Men are not surely condemned to one species of labour that will not maintain a feverish existence, to the exclusion of another that ensures plenty. It is the business of the rich to find out new, or rather in this case, old sources of employment, for men at all times willing, and now more than ever anxious to provide food for themselves and families. In doing this, the wealth of the rich is actually increased—the destitution of poverty actually diminished. These are glorious results. They are certain as glorious—delightful as real!

I shall again pursue this subject, with a specific plan for trying the experiment fairly.

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### LETTER XVIII.

**T**HE subsistence, the comfortable subsistence of human beings must ever demand the attention of the philanthropic mind.

The experiment made under the establishment of the poor colonies of Holland has proved of vital utility as an example to others, besides the immense service rendered the individuals under its protection. Health, content, competence, restored to sickness, misery, and want; and this too, without loss to the benign contributors to so worthy an object.



The Dutch establishment began on a purchase of the soil, which consequently required considerable funds, in addition to the current expenditure for culture. It was assumed, on previous estimates and calculations, that the whole outlay would be recovered or repaid from pauper labour in a period short of seventeen years. The proof, after several years experience, is that a lesser time will suffice.

On this just ground, then, I mean to offer the following hints, as being practical and experimental, and attended with less risk but equal profit: Instead of raising a capital for the purchase of the land, to be used on a plan similar to the poor colonies of Holland, and to be repaid again from the profits of pauper labour, I would rent it for a fixed period, with liberty to purchase it afterwards. Thus say that a 60 years' lease were taken of suitable land at a fair rental, with a clause in the instrument giving liberty to the grantees at any period within 20 years to purchase on that rental, say at 30 years' purchase, then mark the effect of this contract. If the experiment should prove as efficient here as in Holland, then ere the 20 years shall have expired, a fund adequate to the purchase will be realized, and thus come to the same point precisely as if the purchase had been made in the first instance, but with the essential difference, that no such preliminary capital will have been needed. The only difference in a pecuniary point would arise simply

from the amount of interest and rent comparatively for the time, a thing of no real moment. Well, then, if the experiment answer, all the good will have been done without the capital, and the ultimate result the same—the purchase of the land only at the end instead of the beginning of the said 20 years. If the experiment, however, should not succeed here as it has done in Holland, which we cannot suppose to be probable, even then the loss will have been little or nothing. The eventual good then is secured—the contingent evils in a great measure avoided.

Having stated this easy and practicable mode of proceeding thus far, I venture to assert, that it may be applied in every county and in almost every parish in the kingdom, and with advantage to all. Whenever poor mechanics are suddenly, or even gradually, thrown out of employment, here an immediate and certain resource may be had; for agricultural labour of all others requires the least of previous instruction. Every man may handle a spade, therefore every necessitous man may with ease turn his hand to this new pursuit. When machinery has so far improved as to displace in considerable bodies the labouring operatives, there the opportunity arises to direct them at once to another pursuit. They strive in vain to provide sufficient food for themselves and their families at the loom; a better loom has superseded them; their harder, and more constant, and more extended period of labour becomes still less

and less availing, and hopeless, helpless misery and destitution ever surround them with appalling influence. Like a swan against the stream, he makes less progress and tugs harder as he advances to the source, and must at last inevitably yield to its force. There needs no comment here; the facts are sufficiently established in the Report of the Emigration Committee, and the evil is not likely to be remedied by other means than a change of pursuit. But food is always to be had, and only to be had, from the earth; and, surely, whilst there is a single acre of waste and uncultivated land in the kingdom, it were unpardonable remissness not to make it productive. Facts and figures are the best tests of arguments of this kind, and they either upset or establish them at once. Now let us take for example a thousand weavers, such as are described in the Emigration Report, before and since power looms were introduced. These poor men, working early and late, at wages gradually lessening as their labours increase, are in truth unable to exist in any sort of comfort. Increasing labour and lessening income produce inevitably diminished consumption. If only one-fourth (which is underrated) of their food be lessened, there are 250 mouths actually driven out of the market, and supplies to that extent in the small number of 1000 entirely cut off. The producer of food, then, that is, the cultivator, is injured directly in a similar proportion. Now, how does the

manufacturer of clothes stand? Why certainly men will forego clothing sooner than food, and we may fairly conclude, that if the poor be driven from one-fourth of their food, they cannot have more than half their usual quantity of clothing; if so, then 500 suits of clothes out of the 1,000 are in like manner driven out of the market, so long as their direful state exists, and it is, as stated, hopeless. Here then the manufacturer of clothing is sustaining a greater injury than the cultivator of the soil. Food and raiment thus gradually diminished in their consumption, all classes of the community must participate in the injury, when we extend the number of labourers for whom adequate remuneration is not had, or cannot be had in their accustomed pursuits. But it extends further, and tends to beat down the price of all labour, and by the same means, though not perhaps to the same degree, extend the injury to all. Thus instead of 1,000, say five millions are scantily paid, and take only one-fifth of their consumption of food, then there will be one million of mouths driven out of the market. Will any man then for a single instant hesitate to admit the obvious conclusion, that this is injurious to all other classes of the community? The conclusion is inevitable. Well, but the diminution of only one-fifth of the food must inevitably diminish a far greater proportion of the clothing, for he who cannot fill his stomach will be far less solicitous about his back. Say, however,



that only two-fifths of the clothing of the five millions be diminished, here you have two millions of customers driven out of the market; and, let me ask, what man in the kingdom who is a manufacturer is not thereby a sufferer, and a serious sufferer? Let me ask again, what market abroad will be found or preserved that will supply two millions of customers, such as the home population must be, if paid for their labour as they ought to be, and would be if that were better apportioned? I am fully aware of the argument, cheap corn abroad secures customers for our manufactures; but what customers can it secure of commensurate advantage? A cheap corn country cannot be a consumer of dear manufactures; then the manufactures sent to such customers must be cheap also, and then we come to the fair conclusion, that even this apparent advantage of cheap corn is dearly purchased by the lessened price of manufactures, which otherwise would sell at home for more money and with less risk. Food is wealth, population is wealth. Since the manna fell from Heaven in the wilderness, food has been the produce of man's labour; it invariably follows cultivation, and in sufficient abundance for the wants of men. Some parties then must be encouraged to cultivate the earth; and surely it is obvious policy to pay home cultivators rather than foreign, it being beyond question manifest that one class or the other must be so paid. Is it not equally manifest that the change from me-

chanic to agricultural pursuits secures that great object, food, for the present greatly distressed individuals whose incessant labour cannot otherwise secure it? They labour as mechanics for food, and cannot get it; let them labour as cultivators, and they procure more than they can consume.

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#### LETTER XIX.

“**A** COUNTRY may have been over peopled,” says an elegant writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for June, 1829, page 310, “when it had only one million of inhabitants, while, in consequence of improvements in its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, it might not at some subsequent period be over peopled with a population of eight or ten millions. Over population is not, in fact, a consequence merely of the number of inhabitants in a country being great or small; but it is a consequence of their number, whatever it may be, being too great for their supplies in subsistence. We do not think that Ireland is more over peopled now than in 1672, when Sir William Petty made his survey. But the destitution of the inhabitants, or the very limited command possessed by them over the mere necessaries of life, sufficiently proves, that though actually few in number at the period referred to, they were even then too numerous, as compared with the means of

subsistence, to allow of their being adequately supplied with food and conveniencies ; and the destitution in which they still continue involved shows, conclusively, that though the means of subsistence have been very much increased in the interim, the population has increased in a corresponding, or a nearly corresponding proportion, or, in other words, that Ireland is over peopled still."

Taking this confident statement as a sort of text for the following remarks, I would invite my reader's attention to its general tendency. Is it to prove the necessity of emigration for this redundant population? then it proves it for 1672. If in 1672, the then redundant population had been sent out of the country to thin them, we should never have had in 1829 the half of seven millions to deal with in a similar manner. Then—What then? for here really the whole pith and marrow of the question actually rests. Then whatever number may have been left behind, would still have been equally pinched unless they cultivated a sufficiency of the land to secure a greater proportional quantity of food. What hindered them doing so in 1672? What hindered it at any intermediate period? What hinders it now?

These are certainly interesting and very important questions, and any man of common understanding may answer them satisfactorily ; that is, cultivate more land, and more food will follow

as a matter of course. That this has been done since 1672 is as clear as noonday. That it has not been done more abundantly, can scarcely be charged on the poor, who have nothing but their labour to bring to market. The foundation of the aforesaid author's assertion, I wont call it paradox, seems to be a gratuitous assumption of stationary production and increasing population. Whatever period, beginning with 1672 and up to 1829, he will be pleased to select as the best or the worst, though it would appear that they were all bad together, he must agree with me, or differ from himself, in the opinion that the evil was evitable; and for this plain reason, that the capabilities of Ireland have been such as to increase her production to maintain seven times the amount now as then, which seven, by the like means exactly, might have been eight. Now, if all parties, rich and poor, had so inclined and been agreed, seven portions being declared too little, eight among seven would probably have given the most abundant means of gratifying the wants of every individual in that country. Now let us recur to the admitted facts: There was scanty subsistence for the poor in 1672; the population then only one million; then six parts of the lands since cultivated were in their natural state. The then population could have cultivated more in proportion, and would have consequently had always more in proportion to consume. If so, then from 1672 to 1829 the wants



and distresses of Ireland would have been in a great measure unknown, and much political economy undiscovered for the benefit of mankind. General assertions, general axioms, are necessarily open to contradictory conclusion and application, by different readers or writers, according to the variety of their previous opinions and information. Upon undisputed facts this will be frequently the case; upon disputed ones, always.

That population cannot increase without increase of subsistence is a plain proposition, and may be readily admitted; yet it has in every country, at one period or another, done so under peculiar circumstances, when subsistence has for a time been even lessened. Thus, a bad season—two bad seasons in succession—deficient supplies from abroad of the accustomed imports, are all casualties that have occasionally happened, and, no doubt, will occur again. It would be difficult to show that population has ever been checked by reason of such casualties; that is, it would be difficult to show that marriages were prevented by such occurrences; nothing else could be said to affect it. I appeal to every man's experience on this subject. Then what is the tendency of the increase of population? Unquestionably to increase food; that is the inevitable tendency; for no man will starve if he can help it. Thus from 1672 to 1829 the increase has been immense. This increase of food must as inevitably go on now as heretofore, and for exactly the same rea-

sons ; necessity, absolute necessity enforces it, whatever impediments may be attempted to be thrown in the way of it. Impeded, great misery and destitution are unquestionably the result. But why do so ? Who is benefited by the inhuman experiment ? Not a single individual in truth, for so much of the general wealth, that is food, is not called into existence, as the idle, unemployed, and therefore starving poor, could produce. Let us now take another familiar view of this matter. If in 1672 the expedient had been fallen upon of emigrating the redundant population of that day, to prevent their increase, and that it had happily succeeded, what an immense saving would have ensued in our times, in supplying fleets and armies to fight our battles with all Europe !

And if the population of England and Scotland by the same means had been kept down, why it is clear this expense could not have been a hundredth part of what has been paid on the same account. This is all unquestionable ; and our full-fed seven, instead of fourteen millions, would no doubt have fought the harder, as having so much more work to get through. I do imagine this cannot be justly called ludicrous, or unfairly drawn from my text, and yet my readers will perceive that such conclusion must either be admitted as reasonable, or the premises disputed as false.

Let us try it in another respect still—and

still in the familiar and intelligible mode hitherto adopted. The population of 1672 up to 1772, just for one hundred years, though greatly advanced in numbers, must have been far, very far within the capabilities of Ireland for ample subsistence, because Ireland has since produced sufficient to maintain almost double the population of 1772. Now, taking only a twentieth part of the succeeding production, and apply it to the population of 1772, what full stomachs the people must have had since that period to the present time. The misfortune is—"aye, there's the rub," that people still continued to make their appearance in the world who clearly have had nothing to do in it, thus putting theory out of joint, just as it was ripening to perfection. Pursuing this view, however, if population could only have been kept back, or driven back since 1772 only, what happiness would be enjoyed by Ireland now! How? By the greater quantity of food they would have had to eat! But, for here again we must be crossed in the smooth way we were travelling—but, if people did cultivate more since 1772, and population had increased, why then they would most probably have been just where they were in 1672, when not half so numerous. If, however, they had really increased the food beyond the former subsistence, which it is demonstrated might have been done, for it has been actually done, then, pray, what is to prevent it now? I should be actually glad to

have a rational and intelligible reply to this question, and I mean it not offensively. In 1772 there were doubtless immense tracts of country then waste, that have been since taken into cultivation. Are there not in 1829 immense tracts in the same waste state, capable of being brought into cultivation ?

Let us now view the subject in respect of the proposed remedy for the evils of redundant population from 1672 to 1829 ; that is, by emigration. They are to go to a happier country and receive 100 acres of land, for destitution at home and no land at all. Say a man and his family begin their operations on his 100 acres, they find in the actual experiment that a very small portion is more than they can cultivate, and, therefore, at least 80 must wait their increase of numbers to be tilled at all. Then the 80 might as well be in the moon for present purposes—no matter, it is theirs and their successors for generations to come. As population advances in the new country, they naturally take more land into cultivation, and it might not be surprising to find in a certain time both poverty and distress, whenever an intermission of industry took place, either generally or partially ; and, perhaps, the thing is not quite impossible, a redundant population also, before half of the 100 acres were actually brought into cultivation. Like causes produce like effects ; and carelessness, idleness, and vice, as naturally and necessarily



produce distress of some kind or other, as that carefulness, industry, and virtue expel it.

Reverting to the text, it does not appear unreasonable to conclude, that it would not have been politic in 1672 to have got rid of the then redundant population by emigration, for that a sufficiency of food has been produced up to 1772 to maintain a very great increase.—That it would not have been politic in 1772 to have done so, for that a sufficiency of food has since been produced up to 1829 to maintain a vastly increased population.—That it has been quite as well to man our fleets and armies from the said increased numbers, as if population could have been kept down to the standard of 1672 or 1772, though it has been more expensive. But has it not *provided also a much greater number to pay the cost?* and do not the rich increase as well as the poor? So that the process to be adopted abroad may safely be tried at home, for that hitherto it has succeeded, though perhaps often very badly managed and ill-directed; and, therefore, that the policy of emigration must either have been good in 1672, or that it cannot be good in 1829.

Before I conclude, let me ask my readers not to overlook a circumstance of some account in this discussion, especially for a maritime country.—That we have the sea on all sides of us, with a vast number of fishes in it, which, like population, increase wonderfully, and require thinning—but in rather a different way.

## LETTER XX.

THE views I have presumed to offer on the very interesting subject of population, are entirely of a practical nature, and calculated to show that very strange notions exist among political economists in regard to it. I shall pursue the same familiar plan, as the more probable course to unravel the intricacies introduced by large estimates, founded not always upon unquestionable grounds. Human beings cannot be introduced into this world, nor taken out of it, by calculation; when in it, they must be provided for by other means than by figures. Indeed the mighty energies of steam will only serve to cook the dinner, not supply its place. When the question is viewed in its first inception, if it may be so called, that is, the planting of so many human beings in a new country, all men are agreed on the means: it is simply to begin and cultivate the ground—then, as hands increase, to cultivate more—then pursue trades, &c.; occupations necessary to a more comfortable existence, and thus, without other guides, the matter goes on in the most natural, easy, and satisfactory course imaginable. I repeat it, begin thus, and all men are agreed, and the results, that is, abundant supplies, are the reward of such exertions. Now, the inevitable, the expected, and contemplated progress, is from a scanty to a more abun-

dant population—from a scanty to a more abundant production. I say, here all parties are agreed, and no one apprehends evil from it; on the contrary, benefits every way; a thriving colony and increasing numbers.

But for the wisdom of political economists, this delightful progression might go on undisturbed by any fears, undisturbed by any doubts, always and at all times taking into cultivation new lands as they were needed for subsistence of new parties. A stop, however, is to be put to it, for fear of population outstripping supplies long before the time has arrived to prove any such opinion, that is, long before the whole of the lands are taken into cultivation at all; and truly a more efficient way of realizing that misery which is apprehended cannot by any means be resorted to. To avert a remote evil, a present one, embracing all its penalties, is encountered, and this my readers must understand to be wise and provident. That it is practically absurd, no one need doubt, for it is adopted when the necessity for it does not exist. The necessity for it cannot exist till all the land is in actual cultivation; and then, and then only, proved to be deficient.

The error, and indeed it is a vital one, here seems to be bottomed on the settled conviction that production becomes stationary, population progressive, than which a more incorrect and unhappy one never existed. I am not aware that

any one has yet ventured to apply it to the colonies, but it has been acted upon at home. Let us take the example given, and apply it at home. Until a very recent period, indeed, it was never dreamt that the British islands were too small for the British population. Increase of numbers and increase of cultivation, exactly on the principle assumed for a colony, went on quietly and happily, till some superior light began to count heads, and discover that nature must soon be at a stand if they did not stop short and contract the future births within reasonable limitations. This was rather hard on the married men, but still harder on the bachelors: yet what was to be done? The islands would be over peopled, and then immense masses of human beings must be actually starved to death. This very agreeable and satisfactory discovery was certainly made in time, and long enough before all the land was swallowed up by any sort of culture whatever, and the effect of it, if credited, would be certainly to stop the cultivation of any new wastes; nay, as some of the learned doctors say, to drive the poor lands altogether out of culture. This, then, I again repeat, is political economy, and this the way in which apprehended mischief is to be redressed, by inflicting immediately, and that with all practicable diligence, before a new generation has the chance of showing their faces in the world, a far more tremendous calamity. There needs only to be added to this the discovery of a



new mode of driving back human beings, as we drive back acres, into barrenness and sterility.

I have purposely taken the example of a new colony, because, in the mode of proceeding adverted to, no difference of opinion exists with any one. The difference begins, I fancy, when the colony has come up to the condition of the mother country. I imagine this to be so, if there be any consistency in the opinion controverted. Up to that period the new colony may be permitted to thrive without dread or molestation. Indeed, up to that period new and increasing hands are necessary. Well, then, what is this but the most faulty halt upon previous principles and practice that can be made—why halt at all? Why not go on until every acre be brought into cultivation, for the supply of every mouth? There can but be at last the evil you would introduce now—that is, if no further produce were had than the present proportion, and if the land could not be made, by more hands and more manure, still more productive. It is surely a barren mode of reasoning that stops short of so obvious a deduction, that increase of hands and manure naturally and necessarily tend to increase of produce; and it is quite as fair beforehand to rest on such resources for future increase of people, as to infer that no resource at all will be left to them. There is much better ground for this belief and opinion than the contrary, for there is irrefragable proof under our very nose of the fact. Look at the

fields around the metropolis now, and look into the account of the same lands a few centuries back: swamps, woods, and gravel, converted into the most fertile and beautiful meadows in the world. What has been brought about by the slow operation of years, and by degrees, as necessity required, may surely now be done in new wastes in a shorter period, by new hands, better science, and more manure. And is it reasonable or fair to say, *a priori*, this should be stopped or checked, or that lands partially cultivated should not be continued, in order that a fancied evil in future shall be averted now, and by such means? Is there a course better calculated not to avert but to accelerate the evil, and that with the absolute certainty of success (could it be really so tried, for I am confident the good sense of mankind will never permit it)? Can this then be wise and prudent, and for the benefit of any country, any society, any individual in it? Unquestionably not.

If all are agreed in the course of colonization up to the point of production, similar in proportion to that of the British islands, then it were easy to show, before that point were attained, that arguments as futile, as defective, as untrue, might have been used every fifty years for three centuries back, and with an application just as pertinent, and powerful, and convincing, as at the present. In my last Letter this is shown on grounds, I trust, not admitting of much dispute;

and I claim my readers' attention to the very same application now, *mutatis mutandis*, and for the same fifty or a hundred years hence, firmly convinced that they will be no better founded at a future than they have been at a former period, for that production may not only be made to keep pace with, but, if required, to precede population.

But population, though dependent on production sufficient for maintenance, may by improvidence and ill-management be forced from a regular into an irregular channel, injurious alike to all parties. It is a proved fact, that paupers reduced to desperation—for it can be called by no other name—who are unemployed, and not sufficiently subsisted by the parochial authorities, marry for no other reason than to obtain thereby an increase of allowance to enable them actually to live. It is an odd way to qualify an alleged evil, thus unduly and unnecessarily to increase the number of paupers. It is a singular application of the Poor Laws to force an increase of numbers in order to keep down the rates; but the fact is so. Thus in the parish of Great Horwood, Bucks, in reply to Q. 1251, Third Emigration Report, page 144, "These single men that are on the road, or in the gravel pit, paid by the parish 3s. a week, do they do much work?—No, very little; they go away for three or four hours. I have watched them a little time back. There is a road being made near where I live; I have

found them three hours gone to dinner, and two hours to breakfast." "Are they not in the habit of getting married in order to get the allowance?—Yes; when they cannot live any longer as single men, they marry, and go to the overseers for employment and a house." "They get married in the morning, and then go to the overseers for a house?—Yes."

Again: an ill-educated and neglected people rush into early marriage without thought or forecast, and wholly reckless of consequences, thus rapidly increasing the same alleged evil. Let us just try the very obvious test of such facts, and see how it will operate. A man and woman marry improvidently at twenty, and in ten years, perhaps, have as many children. If their marriage had been delayed only five years, then five of the number would never have been brought into existence. If delayed ten years, the whole intermediate number would not have been born. In a regularly civilized state of society, where education is afforded to the poor, habits very different from those of hurtful improvidence are formed. The probability thence arising is not that very early but more prudent marriages would take place, of parties really looking beforehand to the probable means of ensuring some degree of comfort and subsistence for a future family. Being later formed, of necessity the same number of children could not be born, and the habits of the parents would be better



fixed. If ten people married at twenty, another ten at thirty, the probable chances are, that the former would increase population at least three times as much as the latter, and by reason of such improvidence encounter much greater privation. First, from their own want of steady conduct; and, secondly, from the increased numbers to be provided for by more precarious means. Instead of emigration, then, how much better it would be to educate the children of the poor in christian principles, and thus provide a double guard against a too rapid increase of children by improvident marriages on the one hand, and a far happier state of existence for them when prudently united, on the other. It seems to me, that this very obvious fact, of early and improvident, and also forced marriages, among the poor, solves all the difficulties of the question of redundant population. If so, the cure is found in that benign and holy religion which teaches the rich to take charge of the poor, and the poor to be grateful and obedient to their superiors, on whom so much of their comforts necessarily depend. It operates, and in truth must ever operate in all its parts, to the benefit of man here and hereafter; but a stronger feature cannot be presented to us than that, duly exercised, all the advantages of increase of population may be realized with the greatest possible benefit to the poor themselves, thus increasing; and to the rich also, who, by the well-timed and well-paid exer-

tions of the poor, will reap twofold into their own bosoms. This, instead of forcing back population, would only not force it on, but mightily increase its comforts, and displace entirely all the miseries of destitution to every one able and willing to work for his bread. This would restore to us, by man's united and harmonious labours, a new earthly paradise, extensive as our islands, and rivalling in happiness the first paradise of God.

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#### LETTER XXI.

**H**AVING shown in a former Letter that the same pressure upon production of poor and unemployed people was manifested and complained of in Ireland in the time of Sir William Petty as now, it seems but fair to apply the like mode of reasoning and expedients to cure the malady then as now. I beg of my readers to do this in the following evidence, and to do it with the greatest possible gravity and decorum. They have only to imagine Mr. Malthus living a hundred and fifty years ago, and giving testimony before a Committee of the House of Commons at that time exactly as at present.

Q. 3243, Emigration Report—"Under these circumstances (that is, of an admitted fact that there is a great number of labourers for whose labour there is no real demand, and who have no means of subsistence), do not you consider that

their being preserved in existence operates as a tax upon the community?—I think it does; at the same time those that are employed are paid lower, and therefore, in the production of manufactures for foreign sale, it might be true that they might be sold cheaper, and more of them might be produced, but it would be at the expense of great misery to the whole body.

3245. “Do you not also admit, that with mere reference to the wealth of the country the demise of those labourers would not be attended with any loss?—Rather a gain, certainly.

3246. “If, therefore, it can be shown that the removal of those labourers by emigration can be effected for an infinitely less sum than is necessary to maintain them in existence, is it not true that, in a national point of view, it would be a wise measure to remove them, provided that removal was attended with benefit to themselves and families?—No doubt.

3247. “Would you not admit, that if the expense of removing was equal to what might be calculated upon the average of their lives the expense of maintaining them, supposing there was no chance of their services being called for, such expense would be legitimately applied?—Most legitimately.

3248. “*A fortiori*, if it could be shown that the expense was considerably less than that of maintaining them, you would admit the expediency of removing them?—Certainly.

3251. " You have stated, that in Ireland, if lands were to be cleared, and cottages be destroyed, there would, in your opinion, be an effectual remedy afforded for preventing the vacancies being inconveniently filled up?—Yes.

3253. " Do you not consider, that under these circumstances an effectual remedy would be laid for the prevention of a disproportionate population in future?—If at the same time, as suggested with regard to Ireland, the houses of those who emigrated were pulled down, I think then there might be something like an effectual remedy." A very humane expedient!

3254. " Does any other practical remedy present itself to you as desirable of being introduced into this country with respect to the filling up of any vacancies occasioned by emigration?—No other occurs to me, except the one I myself proposed a long while ago, that those that were born after a certain time should not be allowed to have any parish assistance." Benevolent suggestion!

3307, 10, and 13. " Miseries of Ireland owing to the degraded condition of the people, oppression, and ignorance; a work of great time and suffering to alter it: the government called on to make sacrifices; without such sacrifices a change for the better cannot take place, without overlooking the greatest possible misery.

3319. " Population must become stationary if wages of labour are not such as to enable the la-



bourers to command a sufficient quantity of food to support a family.

3320. "The population of Ireland he supposes has not:—still many parts of Ireland that may be further cultivated; that the population will really go on increasing for some time; the check can only be effected by premature mortality, unless it is effected by the produce which may result from education and better habits of respecting themselves.

3323. "Thinks it very expedient at present to introduce emigration on a very large scale from Ireland, if, as he understands, there is an intention on the part of the landlords to make that change in their lands before adverted to.

3324. "Thinks it precisely the case where the legislature ought to interfere, and where a very considerable expenditure would be justified.

3340. "It has been suggested by some persons that emigration is unnecessary, as any redundant portion of the population could be more conveniently, more satisfactorily, and more perpetually located on waste lands in this country; have you ever turned your attention to that subject?—Yes, I should say that I differ entirely from that view of the subject; because, although the tenants that were first employed might be tolerably well off, yet their children would greatly aggravate the evil intended to be remedied, and after a short time there would be a much greater redundancy of population than before." How so, and why?



3341. “ Among other effects of resorting to a soil inferior to any now in cultivation, which is involved in the propositions of cultivating waste lands, would not one be to raise the rents of all landlords throughout Great Britain and Ireland?— I think not; the cultivation of poor lands is not the cause of the rise of rents, the rise of the price of produce compared with the costs of production, which is the cause of the rise of rents, takes place first, and then such rise induces the cultivation of the poorer lands. That is the doctrine I originally stated, and I believe it to be true; it was altered by others afterwards.

3342. “ If the cultivation of poor land is undertaken merely for the purpose of employing the people, must not such a speculation end in failure?—I think it would end in failure, and in aggravating the difficulties arising from overpopulation.

3343. “ What is your opinion of the effect on the lower orders in employing them on public works, with public money?—I think it relieves them for a short time, but leaves them afterwards in a condition worse than before.

3344. “ Have the goodness to explain that operation?—It has a tendency to induce them to marry, and it enables them at first to support their children; but when the work ceases, they are left in a more destitute condition than before. It is always an unfavourable thing for the labouring classes to have a great stimulus for a

time, and then to have that stimulus withdrawn.

3346. "Does the employment of the people actually upon the whole produce any benefit to the labouring classes?—It might for a time no doubt to a particular part of it, but in all probability not to the whole class, or permanently.

3347. "Would not the money expended in employing it be merely a transfer from one occupation and employment to another?—It would chiefly, but perhaps not wholly.

3348. "Are not all these forced modes of employment stimuli to population?—I think they are partial and temporary stimulants, and on that account they are prejudicial.

3349. "Do you consider it possible there could be any thing like pauperism among able-bodied poor, in a country where there was an unlimited quantity of fertile uncultivated land?—No doubt the power of obtaining land that is fertile to any extent is the cause of all others the most decisive in maintaining the labouring classes in a good state.

3350. "Then if our Colonies, where it is admitted there is an unlimited quantity of fertile land, were locally attached to the mother country, there would be at once a remedy afforded for the pauperism now existing?—Yes, for a certain time.

3351. "Until the time arrived when the resources of that fertile land were exhausted?—The exhaustion to the extent of occasioning some

poverty might not be very remote, if the new country were contiguous.

3352. " Admitting that to be case, the only distinction between this case and that of the supposed condition is the separation of that fertile land from the mother country?—Yes ; but this is a very important difference.

3353. " It is an important difference, inasmuch as it renders the means of dispersion so difficult, as to prevent an analogy between the two suppositions?—It prevents the emigration of persons with considerable capitals ; if those provinces were contiguous, a vast number of persons with large capitals would immediately go.

3354. " If it could be shown that the expense involved in emigration, so far from being thrown away, was capable of being replaced, would not pauperism be effectually discouraged in this country, until there was no room for absorbing any redundant population that might exist?—If the emigration could be made as easy in the one case as in the other ; but it appears impossible to make it as easy as if the provinces were contiguous.

3356. " In point of fact, then, it would be an indisposition in the pauper labourer to avail himself of that means of remedy, rather than any difficulty of its being applied, which would prevent the proposition being universally true?—Yes ; on the supposition of the question of expense being set aside.



3366. "Have any means occurred to you of checking the tendency to multiply the number of houses and tenements generally?—I have never particularly considered the subject, but I saw in the Report a suggestion which does not appear to me to be a bad one; that of imposing a tax on the landlord who builds a cottage on his land; I do not know what might be the objection to it, but on general principles I should be inclined to be favourable to it.

3398. "Notwithstanding the strongest artificial checks, is not the natural tendency of population predominant to outstrip the means of subsistence in any country?—No doubt such is the natural tendency of population to increase, that it has the power of outstripping the subsistence of any country.

3399. "And at last the limit to it is the minimum of subsistence by which human life can be maintained?—Unless the reaching of that minimum is prevented by prudence, which it could be in a certain degree in most countries.

3404. "The removal of a portion of the population of Ireland, instead of increasing their tendency to population, might diminish it by improving their moral habits?—It might, certainly, on the supposition of their moral habits being improved." *Then why not improve their moral habits now?*

I contend in fairness that this testimony was just as pertinent 150 years ago as at the present

moment, or at any intermediate period from that time to this, with the difference probably of a potatoe-fed population, for at an early period there were no potatoes in Ireland. At all times the poor labourer seems to have been reduced to a very scanty allowance of every thing, and glad, consequently, to eat what was procurable of any sort, at any time, and on any terms.

But in the regulation of population, that is, the proportion it should bear to production, the moral habits and better education of the lower orders, form at once the cure and the prevention of present and future evils, to which no exception can be taken. I shall not trouble my readers with hypothetical arguments on this point, but go to facts. In the parish of Humbleton, in Rutlandshire, where the allotment system (a small portion of land to every cottager at a fair rent) has been acted on for centuries, and continues to the present time, the poor rate was in 1776, 51*l.*; in 1783, 44*l.*; in 1803, 143*l.*; and in 1815, 132*l.*; on a rental at the latter period of 4,760*l.* a little more than 6*d.* in the pound; whereas at Burwash, in Sussex, for the same periods exactly, and on a rental in 1815 of 5,513*l.*, the rates were 470*l.*, 596*l.*, 1,520*l.*, and 3,391*l.*, being more than 12*s.* in the pound. Again, at Burley on the Hill, in Rutlandshire, for the same periods, and on a rental in 1815 of 4,822*l.*, the rates were 11*l.*, 13*l.*, 67*l.*, and 51*l.*, not 3*d.* in the pound; whereas at West Grinstead, in Sussex,

upon a rental in 1815 of 4,228*l.*, the rates were for the like periods, 417*l.*, 564*l.*, 1,639*l.*, and 2,112*l.* being nearly 10*s.* in the pound. The averages of four parishes in Rutlandshire, Eagleton and Greetham, with those already mentioned, is 9*d.* In four parishes in Sussex, Mayfield and Shipley, including those already mentioned, the average is more than 10*s.* in the pound. In Rutlandshire, the increase of the whole from 1776 to 1815, is 359*l.* on 147*l.*, or 212*l.* In Sussex, the increase of the whole for the like period is 9,554*l.* on 1,848*l.*, or 7,706*l.* The aggregate rentals of the said four parishes in Rutlandshire, in 1815, 14,468*l.*, in Sussex, 22,706*l.*, being, consequently, in the latter more than thirteen times a larger rate on a considerably larger rental; so that whilst there has been an increase of only 212*l.* on a rental of 14,468*l.* in Rutlandshire, there has been an advance of 7,706*l.* on a rental of 22,706*l.* in Sussex. I do not know the relative population of the respective parishes, but from all I have seen and heard of redundancy, I venture to surmise, and with some degree of confidence, that the Sussex parishes are less redundant than those of Rutland. In other words, that in Sussex the number of people compared to the number of acres is smaller than in Rutlandshire, not only in the aggregate, but even in each particular parish.

## LETTER XXII.

I HAVE seen a very interesting correspondence between the Right Hon. R. W. Horton and C. P. Thompson, Esq. M. P. on the subject of the distress among the labouring classes. The pledge given by Mr. Horton to them and to the country is highly honourable to him, and unquestionably good will result from his valuable labours. I think, however, that his views are not free from error, and that of a description tending to involve the subject in needless difficulty. To enable my readers to form a judgment, it will be proper to give the five Resolutions entered on the Journals of the House of Commons on the 4th of June, 1829, on Mr. Horton's motion, I presume, and for the purposes of this Letter considered as his own. They here follow:—

“ Resolved—That a portion of the able-bodied population of the United Kingdom, who are dependent on the wages of labour for their support, are now out of employment, and at the same time a large portion are receiving a rate of wages which is not adequate to that degree of support which it would be desirable for the public interest that they should averagely receive.

“ 2. That an extensive and burdensome contribution is simultaneously made for the support of the poor in the United Kingdom, in various direct and indirect modes.



“ 3. That this House is of opinion that when the labouring population is relatively redundant, that is, when the supply of labour is more than in proportion to the funds applicable for its profitable employment, no improvement whatever can take place in the condition of any particular class, until the proportions of demand and supply are so far restored in that class as to prevent the necessity of any such labourers exchanging their labour for wages only sufficient to secure to them the minimum of subsistence : and that no general improvement can take place until those proportions are still further restored, so as to furnish able-bodied labourers the means of exchanging their labour for wages sufficient for their adequate maintenance.

“ 4. That this improvement can only take place either by the increase of the funds for the profitable employment of labour, or by the compound operation of those two causes.

“ 5. That it is expedient that such measures should be adopted in the next session of parliament as may furnish the most safe and effectual means of producing the desired improvement by a judicious application of both those principles, and at the same time under conditions which will prevent the probability of a recurrence of similar evils ; and also effect a material saving of the national income, instead of producing an increased charge thereon.”

To the first and second I apprehend every

man must give his full and cordial assent. To the third and fourth, it appears to me there are objections of a formidable nature. The former starts by an assumption open to dispute, viz. that when the labouring population is *relatively redundant*—that is, when the supply of labour is more than in proportion to the *funds applicable* for its profitable employment, &c. Now, this relative redundancy on such terms is, in point of fact, untrue. The funds *applicable*, and the funds actually *applied*, or misapplied, in many, very many instances, are not identical, as it would appear by the proposition; the consequence, then, would not ensue, as drawn in the latter part of the Resolution. As the purpose of the following remarks is really to go into the subject on other grounds, I shall not press the objection further.

The fourth, "That improvement can only take place either by the increase of the funds for the profitable employment of labour, or by the diminution of the supply of labour, or by the compound operation of those two causes," is, I think, open to still stronger objection; that is, it limits the subject in much narrower terms than it ought to do, and is therefore even more defective than the third. I think this will be readily admitted, when it is stated that the improvement may take place, not by increasing, but better applying the funds for the profitable employment of labour—not by diminishing, but even increasing this sup-

ply of labour, or by the compound operation of both. This, in truth, is a different proposition ; and both it and the one objected to must depend on facts, not opinions, for a reasonable solution. It is difficult to apply general propositions, drawn apparently from past experience, so as to resolve them into experiment again in a different channel. The endless variety of human affairs and relations perpetually baffle their too limited application, and drive back the theorist to the actual facts of the particular case in hand. Taking for granted the two first propositions, I think the last may be admitted as expedient, by a judicious application, not of both the preceding principles only, but of every principle that will practically tend to effect so beneficial an object. I would observe, that the term "redundant population," as generally defined by Mr. Horton, is not at all peculiar to present times and seasons. It applies to every period of our history, and probably with not less force 500 years ago than at present. I mean to say, that at no one period of our history may it not have been said, and justly said, the population is redundant, if the mere want of regular employment for labourers be the criterion. I chanced to be in Ticehurst Church, Kent, in the summer of 1829, and observed a tablet set up recording a charitable donation to so many poor labourers of the parish who, with all their labour, could not make out a living—that is, in other words, labour underpaid

for subsistence, or superabundant or redundant labour as now stated. This was about 300 years ago. To such a principle of redundancy, then, there seems to be a radical objection, and the question of proposed relief stands as it did nearly, and must be solved on its own merits alone. There appears to be a general consent that the ill-paid or unpaid labourer here can only be adequately provided for by sending him to a distant colony. On this ground most voluminous evidence has been given before the House of Commons some years ago, and yet the evidence by no means drives me into the conclusion drawn. On the contrary, it proves a vast deal too much for emigration merely, but quite sufficient to justify retaining the said labourers at home. Without regard or selection they are to be sent abroad to commence, to most of them, a new pursuit—that is, the cultivation of a new and before untried soil. The produce of it is first to maintain them, and then to furnish the means of repayment of the expense of their location, and, lastly, secure their independence. Be it so ; and all this may be done at home on wastes and commons, equally in a state of nature, and quite as capable of furnishing the supplies wanted. There is no difference of opinion as to the necessity and the means of employing the parties, viz. in agriculture. But, say the advocates for emigration, the land abroad is so good that it is sure to repay the cost ; not so the lands



at home; therefore it is beyond question better to send them off at once. Nay, it has been gravely asserted and assumed, that if Canada were brought to England it would not do. I have nothing to offer against this theory; the person who can embrace and enforce it is beyond the reach of my powers. The question now is, as stated, one of profit and loss in the employment of capital for a safe and not very delayed return. It is clear, to begin the locations abroad, no small expense must be incurred in the shipment of men and materials. This would not be needed at home; then all new supplies of a manufacturing nature must ever be sent from home; this is the assumed use of the colony, to be a good consumer. This also is expensive beyond what an equal supply of goods at home would cost. Again, the produce must, after feeding the settlement, be sent home, which also is more expensive than the produce at home brought to market at home would be. But the increase of population abroad is secured by the great abundance, and in proportion as the colony increases, in proportion also is the advantages to the mother country. This is the most plausible part of the whole argument; but this is open to the objection, sure at some period to ensue, of the colony setting up for itself when sufficiently powerful to throw off the yoke, and then the greater part of the contemplated advantages, all that are exclusive, are lost. No one will listen scarcely to the

same series of events at home, for a new cultivation of new lands for subsistence first, and sale afterwards—of an increase of population exactly in the same way as in the colony, from the increased produce and cultivation. There are too many inhabitants already—this is the reason for sending them off; and yet all history proves that such a course, if advisable now, and for the reasons now assigned, was so advisable for the last 500 years.

It has always appeared to me an unfounded proposition, that emigration in search of new lands was necessary, when at home so many millions of acres were still in their natural state. Surely these must be considered in the state of any other new colony in the world, though admitted to be less productive perhaps at first, yet with the incalculable advantage of having all the needful tools, implements of husbandry, clothes, &c. at hand, and ready on cheaper terms, to be applied or purchased as required. I am fully aware of the alleged reason, “that the foreign lands will pay better for the capital employed,” and there it begins and ends. Yet, with all the abatement attending the foreign—with all the advantages attending the denser population at home, to the country at large, it appears to be palpably advantageous to retain rather than to emigrate the poor. Their custom at home, as consumers, is certain, and that for all their wants. Abroad, not always so, even whilst the colony is

ours. At home they give added strength to the country, in their increased and increasing numbers, as well as of increasing production. Abroad, it is even otherwise before the colony throws off the yoke ; for the evidence of the Emigration Committee is that very many of the new settlers go over to the United States from Canada—thus commerce and colonists are at once lost to both country and colony.

At home the millions of acres of waste lands are converted into millions of acres of productive lands. An immense benefit ; the country thus improved in its inhabitants and its produce, both otherwise lost to it. Now, emigration, one hundred years ago, would have left more, many more millions of acres desolate, and many millions of inhabitants less in Britain, and more in America, or elsewhere. But the question of greater produce abroad, though hitherto admitted, is not therefore proved. I think the Canada Evidence and Returns on this head are such as may not only be equalled, but, I believe, surpassed at home—if equalled only, there is an end of the question. Now, as all are agreed in the course the redundant population are to follow, which is to cultivate lands, instead of weaving cloths or cottons not needed, for that improved machinery does it better and cheaper, the question comes into a very narrow compass, and may be fairly taken to be simply one of home or foreign location, colonies at home, or colonies abroad. The

means of both are very extensive, and almost inexhaustible. Then the funds applicable to labour in a home location, now applied to labour inefficiently, that is, too scanty to maintain them in mechanic labour, may prove adequate to all the necessities of the change, and perhaps more than adequate thereto. Then the labour, now inefficiently bestowed on mechanic employments for the existence, in any tolerable comfort to the parties, indeed actually insufficient for subsistence, thus directed and taken off, what mighty benefits may not naturally result from the measure! The evidence taken before the Emigration Committee is invaluable in many respects. It would appear from it, that take even a comparatively small number of redundant labourers out of the market, and the remainder are, *eo instante*, restored to sufficiency. But those taken off are, *eo instante*, turned to cultivation, and thus, from starving manufacturers are converted into useful consumers of the very cloths and cottons they were before making for little or nothing.

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### LETTER XXIII.

**I**N my last letter, in reference to the change of employment of the labouring classes, from mechanic to agricultural, and the benefit arising



from the deduction of even a comparatively small proportion of superabundant labourers in one pursuit to the remainder in the same pursuit, I took the conclusion thence drawn from the Emigration Report. But the change is attended with another most decided advantage: it converts the parties so taken off into consumers also. Take 5000 manufacturers of cotton for instance, when 4,000 would suffice to do the work, and live comfortably by it. The work of four thus expanded among five would tend to diminish the wages and comforts of each one-fifth. The 5,000 then, thus circumstanced, could not afford to take off as consumers of cottons so much, perhaps, by two-fifths as they would if better paid. But take off one thousand of them to another pursuit, by which they can subsist themselves more abundantly, the benefits are three-fold, and of the most salutary nature. First, the 4,000 are restored to competence for all their natural wants; they then consume more of the cottons than the 5,000 did before. Second, the 1,000 are also consumers of cottons, likewise, in an equal ratio; and, Third, the produce of their agricultural labour furnishes additional food to the whole, that otherwise would not be called into existence. Food must ever be in constant demand, in every place, and at all times and seasons. The consumers here cannot be diminished by any change short of a pestilence or famine. Manufactures are not so constantly in demand, but fluctuate between the

manufacturer and the consumer to a considerable extent, and from various causes. Thus a great manufacturing country makes not for its own population only, but for that of other countries also, to the extent of their demand ; and a constant supply adequate to and not exceeding the demand (that is, consumption, for here it ultimately rests) is the best and most profitable course of trade, alike beneficial to the manufacturer and the consumer. It is subject, however, as has been said, to changes arising from a variety of causes. A country not heretofore mechanic becomes so by degrees, as arts and civilization advance ; then the consequences following necessarily ensue ; not that she consumes less, but manufactures more ; so that the quarter whence, antecedently, the whole of such supplies were taken, has gradually to encounter a more limited sale. Again, the raw material, before taken by the manufacturing country, is now more restricted in its supply, also, by the same operation ; that is, the greater quantity of it being required at home, for home manufacture and consumption. America, for instance, sold her raw material of cotton to England, and England returned it in a manufactured form to supply American consumption. When America began to manufacture cottons for herself, it followed of course that she had as much less raw cotton to sell as she made into cloths at home, and England as much less manufactured cottons to supply as America made

for herself. This, as far as it goes, would render it necessary to limit the making of cotton at home, unless a new market could be opened elsewhere adequate to the diminished consumption of America. If this were not done, it is clear that either lower wages, diminished labour, or direct loss to the manufacturer, must ensue; and it seems equally clear, that the evil could not be lessened, but rather increased by time. The succedaneum for such a change is set forth in colonization, for that a new country cannot for many years be a manufacturing country. Admitting this to the fullest extent of the argument of every friend to such a measure, what does it in reality amount to? That is, what vend can there be in any such country beyond the consumption of it? The inhabitants are not traders more than manufacturers. They are only consumers. Now, take any new colony in this view of it, and the exact value of it amounts to this, that every individual is a consumer, and able to pay for the supplies. Well, then, these are limited to the number of colonists, say 10,000, or 20,000, or 30,000, the limit is the number. It is preposterous to suppose they will take more than they need or consume. Or, if they do this one year, they will consequently need less the next. A thinly-peopled country, then, can never much benefit a manufacturing one: but a very natural question here arises, which is, where do the 10,000, the 20,000, or the 30,000 come from?

If they are sent from the very country supplying them, then at home, exactly so many will have been lost ; so that no other advance is made than that of merely altering their location. Until they increase their number in the course of nature, they will, consequently, be yet but sorry customers. Still, it must be borne in mind that a similar process would have gone on at home. In this view of the question, it is more than doubtful that such a process will supply any thing material in aid of the manufacturing country ; and yet one would be led to infer, from many prevalent opinions on this subject, that colonization was the sure and speedy road to commercial ease and opulence. A man of common sense, whose mind had no previous bias, would naturally say, the more customers the better, and the nearer they are the more advantageous. He would say, consequently, that the most populous countries would be the best for trade, if they would trade with you, the chances of a much greater number of consumers being thus insured. It has been said that manufactures and commerce must ultimately go hand in hand, and the thing is indeed beyond question ; the currents and channels of trade bring us to this conclusion at last. If I send to a depôt merchandize or goods calculated to supply thousands, though that depôt be an island with no more inhabitants than the factory, it is from thence that some others distribute them to consumers. No matter



how many intermediate hands or markets they pass through, such is clearly their natural and inevitable destination at last. For want of bearing this in mind, how many mischiefs have arisen that might have been avoided. The manufacturers in Lancashire have made cottons for America as if she made none for herself; the operatives have been shipped off by hundreds to make cottons for America, in America, and at her expense. This could be no ease in any respect to the remainder here; and why? Because the number so taken off just did in America for better wages what they would have done here for less, and thus rendered exactly as much less cottons needed as were made in America instead of England. Without due regard to this unquestionable result, cottons were manufactured here as if all consumers were increasing rather than diminishing, and surprise has been expressed at the result, which one should suppose no person could beforehand doubt as being inevitable.

The conclusions I would draw then, are simply these; that it is prudent to change mechanic into agricultural labour, as tending directly to increase the consumption and diminish the supply of manufactures; that it is better to do so at home than abroad, because all that is necessary for so doing is more easily attained and supplied; that the strength of the country is thus increased with its produce, and its independence more effectually secured against any casualty. I am

glad to see Mr. Horton remark, "that if it can be shown that the superfluous population, so abstracted, can be disposed of more economically and more advantageously at home than abroad, I shall never be found to press for a moment the remedy of colonial emigration." I am glad to see this, because no one has been a more strenuous advocate for emigration than himself; and that it may be shown to be more advantageous to locate at home than abroad, is, I believe, beyond question, and is capable of the clearest proofs.

All I have hitherto advanced tends to show that it is better to keep them at home, either as it regards the production of more food—the consumption of more manufactures—the better manning of fleets and armies—the better improvement of our country, and thereby also increasing all its blessings. Every one seems to be agreed in the necessity of a change from mechanic to agricultural pursuits; but, say the advocates for emigration, it is cheaper and better to do this abroad, an assertion strongly controverted by those who are in favour of home location. The land abroad is cheaper, that must be admitted; its produce being greater, is not so clear; the materials of all sorts requisite for cultivation are to be sent to the colonists from Britain. But a period is assigned, say seven years, when they are to begin paying for the soil, and thus cover also the expenses incurred in their location. Now,

although there are no lands to be given away in Britain, yet there are millions of acres to be had on a very low rental, and to be purchased at a very low price. If labour, then, is to be burdened abroad to pay for the wastes abroad, may not labour at home be turned to precisely the same account? The cost of sending emigrants abroad in the first instance is, at any rate, saved at home, so also of transporting all their tools, clothes, &c. at all times. This, in the seven years before any return abroad, may in Britain be amply compensated by annual contributions from the labourer here, and, in the end, be actually more productive; all the consumption of all the parties, with all their increase of numbers, are for ever secured to the country at home. It is proved to be not so in Canada, because many go over to the United States. All the outlay at home would be only a small annual rental against the cost of transit abroad. All other things being less here than abroad, say equal, then how stands the account? Waste lands here become productive for a population not otherwise lost to the country; the strength and beauty of the kingdom increased, returns adequate to the rentals, and as much more as to secure the purchase in probably not more than double the time of the foreign location; and it may be thus shown: Take a piece of waste, at a rental of so much per acre, with the power of purchasing in so many years on such rental. Begin with the

smallest, not the largest, allotments that will suffice for constant and full cultivation, and as more may be needed, and not till then, let more be added. This will so far not only diminish expenses ; it secures labour and manure, so that a very few years will make an entire change in the face of the country thus located. Mr. Allen has proved, in his valuable book on Home Colonies, that one acre will suffice to keep five persons, under fair management. With all the benefits of a denser location, then, I have no doubt it will do more ; but what are the delightful results ? The misery of destitution banished at home—the non-consumer and over-wrought mechanic changed into a producer of the very food that is now unattainable. Thus, taken off an overloaded factory, he returns to it for increasing supplies, conferring a benefit where he before increased the evil. Say that the land, instead of being rent free, is 10*s.* per acre, per annum, for twenty years, with the power to purchase it at any intermediate period at that rental, and set this against land in Canada, given to the party for seven years rent free, but which must afterwards be paid for. The rent is for the seven years not more than the cost of transport to an emigrant family in the first instance ; but at home not only may the said rent be repaid in the seven years, but great additions towards a fund for purchasing the land within twenty years, if it be thought advisable so to do. At home are waste



lands and idle people, able and willing to labour, placed together as Nature and the God of Nature seems to have ordained it, for the benefit of both. What is the emigrant to do in his allotted period, that he will do with more certainty than the home colonist? Is he not to pay back from his labour the costs of his location? Is he not to take a series of years to do it? Is not his first cost of location greater? And is it not notorious that he is often lost to the colony and the country by going over to America before the least return is had from him? How many benefits then may be secured at home without risk or possibility of disappointment! How many are sure to be lost abroad, even before the colony sets up for itself!

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#### LETTER XXIV.

IN reference to the Abstract of the Bill headed, in the Morning Post of June 1831, "Annuities chargeable on the Poor Rate," the professed object of which appears to be that of facilitating the means of emigration; assuming, doubtless, that such means will insure the end proposed of relieving the Poor Rates at home, and of preventing their probable increase hereafter. Let us see how it is to operate in the first instance in diminishing the rate. By the 14th clause, a fixed Annuity, for a definite pe-

riod, is to be paid in respect of every man, woman, and child, removed from a parish to Canada, from the period when the said several persons shall have been placed under the charge of the agent for transports for the purpose of embarkation, and shall continue to be paid for the full period of forty years, unless redeemed or compounded for, &c. The annuities are, one pound ten shillings in respect of the man, one pound for the woman, and ten shillings for the child. Thus, then, to transport a man, his wife, and child, an annuity, for forty years, of three pounds, is fixed on the parish. The parties are presumed to be fit for labour, and likely to live long; but it is considered inexpedient that they should be maintained at others' cost in England. Be it so, but what is the effect of this new rate to ship them off? A forty years annuity of three pounds, in present payment, at four per cent.; at least 20 years purchase, or sixty pounds, which is to save the eventual charges of the parties here on the rates during their lives. Is not this assuming a great deal too much? Is it, then, so entirely hopeless that they will ever get work again? Is it therefore wise or provident to act on a basis so highly improbable as perpetual destitution to them? Can no return whatever be had here against the abovementioned loss? Both the people and the 60% are lost to the country, and this is encountered to ease the more precarious burden of temporary rates, as circumstances may

call for them. It does appear, then, that the fixed loss is likely far to overbalance the eventual loss. From the latter, returns of labour may and must at some period be deducted. The former is clearly deprived even of the chance of any such return. The power of redeeming this annuity is of no signification to the question; it is still a loss without return. Again, the fixed loss is not relieved by the death of all the parties: the eventual loss is, by that of any one of them. So that to avert eventual loss, which may be relieved by the labour or even death of the parties, a permanent one is incurred, of invariable amount, for forty years. The policy of this is more than questionable on the scheme of emigration. I am fully aware of the answer given by the friends of such a measure, who look to the benefit of the colony at the expense of the mother country. If, however, the rates were pledged in the same manner to employ the paupers in the self same way at home as abroad, the question would then assume a very different aspect. It would not then be one of unmixed loss and unmitigated evil, for all the reasonable chances seem to be the other way. The labour on waste lands at home renders them productive, and the means are provided of locating the paupers, furnishing all their implements, and supplies of every sort, at infinitely less cost. There is immediately a certain return, and the parties are preserved to their country. Say the

return is less abundant at first, it is more certain at last. Say it is less profitable as a money investment, the profit is all saved on the spot where it is most needed. Diminished rate is, in one sense, profit. Increased population and diminished rate is the surest wealth and strength of any country. This secures both; the other lessens both. The one augments the produce, and beauty, and fertility, of the mother country; the other does not, in fact, leave them as they were, but lessens the produce and the population at home, while the cost is greater. But if the money arising from the mortgaged rates be expended at home in locations on our own wastes, the whole sum so expended is bettering the condition of both pauper and country. It does good to others; nothing is lost; it returns in various channels to those who raised it. A consideration of some importance arises on the subject generally, and it is this;—would emigration provide a remedy for all, admitting it, for instance, to be one? Would it, I ask, provide a remedy for all who may be presumed to be fit objects for it? If a constant and sufficient quantity of tonnage be not always to be had, of location when transported, of materials, &c. &c. why then it may turn out to be only a partial and confined relief, leaving the bulk of the paupers at home just where they were. If so—and I have been well assured this is the case where the experiment has been tried—then it is easy to point out the very



ruinous consequences that will attend it. First, the fixed rate for those emigrated, in addition to the rates payable for paupers left behind. If no efficient relief be had, the fixed rate, in addition to the eventual, may create quite as much pauperism as it relieves, and indeed more, because the eventual is subject to temporary alleviation, the other to none whatever for forty years to come. Then nothing so effectually stops the progress of production at home, for the labourers who would effect it are removed, and yet pauperism, by reason of non-production, or actual want thence arising, must of necessity, if not increased, remain at least stationary, with the same unhappy tendency to press on subsistence as before, with the fixed rate in addition to the probably increasing eventual rate. Every step in emigration tends to this unhappy issue; every step the other way tends to relieve the mischief. What are the lands in Canada worth now, that are to be so located? Nothing. What is to make them of any value? Human labour. What are the wastes of the British island worth in their natural state? Nothing comparatively. What is to render them valuable? Human labour. While population has increased, millions of acres have been taken into cultivation which a hundred years ago were barren; and is not the land of vastly greater value? Why is not every waste now cultivated? In truth, because there are not hands sufficient nor nearly sufficient to do it.

Why not begin then as far as they will go? Will not this improve the country? Can any one doubt it? Does any one doubt it? It is impossible to doubt it. The only question has been one of profit and loss; and when it is clear that population, produce, and improvement of the soil, inevitably go together when so directed, at any rate all loss in respect of poor rates must be thereby diminished, and this is profit of a most valuable and extensive nature.

The 18th clause of the Bill has reference to home employment, and is therefore unexceptionable. In short, if the Bill had reference to home instead of foreign location only, every true friend of his country would give it his unqualified approbation.

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#### LETTER XXV.

**T**H**ERE** are three things in great abundance in this country at present, viz.—waste land, waste labour, and waste or unproductive capital. All are relatively injurious—one positively so. The man able and willing to work for his bread, and who cannot get employment or wages sufficient to maintain him, is in a deplorable state; he is in an unnatural state, and there is no necessity for it. This is a positive evil. Extend this situation to numbers, which is the fact, it becomes alarmingly detrimental to the general good. Any

mode of relief almost is better than such a state. Waste land is relatively injurious, as containing the capability of production, but not called into action. So also unemployed capital. It is of still less value than waste land. Excepting in its capability when employed, it is nought. Therefore it is relatively injurious to keep it idle. The natural and obvious inference to be drawn from these preceding remarks is this, that if these three things were united, both positive and relative evils would be banished. They would be banished, moreover, not to return. They never could return until a needless separation was again unhappily made to the decided injury of each. But there are insuperable difficulties it seems in the way. The land belongs to William, the capital to Thomas, and poor Jack, who has neither, if he be not an Irishman, belongs to the parish. Well, but the parish is bound to subsist him or find him work. It does neither effectually. Jack is a burden to be thrown off or got rid of on any terms, or at any time that opportunity serves. He is an incumbrance, taking something from the common stock, and giving nothing back to it. Idle, and scantily fed and clothed, he is too frequently led into crime. If the world treat him as a nuisance, he very soon considers himself licensed to retaliate, and the consequences are only what may be reasonably anticipated. Jack has no better principle, nor has he had a better education than his overseer ; yet

the latter, in his plenary administration, is reasonable enough to expect good and exemplary conduct from him ; that is, he looks for a crop without having tilled the land or sown the grain. This evil, however, is said to be without remedy ; and it is so said on the single ground that waste land which would employ Jack's waste labour, by the application of a very little of the waste capital, would not pay for it. This is the sole objection ; there is no other. If it would pay the experiment would be tried. Thus augur the friends of emigration. Thus reasons the landowner, the cultivator, and the capitalist. Let us examine the grounds of the objection, because it may be shown, perhaps, not only that they are wholly baseless, but that the same reasoning would apply to cases and circumstances altogether different. Waste land produces in this state comparatively nothing ; waste labour and capital absolutely nothing. Try figures, ten acres, ten labourers, and ten pounds, all idle ; the same ten acres, ten labourers, and ten pounds, all employed. It need not be shown, I trust, that the only loss which can take place here is in the capital. The labourers and the land were lost before. Well, but ten pounds will go a very little way in supporting ten labourers till they can support themselves. True ; but the same ten pounds would have been lost otherwise altogether without any return at all, that is, unemployed, or employed only in keeping the labour-



ers idle a longer time. Now the land cannot be the worse for being cultivated. It is undoubted that it must be made better. The produce, if only potatoes, must go some way to support the labourers the very first season. It may suffice for the whole. But it seems quite clear that more capital will be needed, and equally so, that no other loss hitherto is incurred—not less doubtful that the land is improved in value; still it is not so productive as to induce a capitalist to lay out his money. The acres and the labourers evidently go on improving, and the second years' produce considerably better than the first. This cannot be otherwise. What are the consequences? Why, assuredly, that less capital will be needed the second year, if any at all, in addition to the first—for the labourers will have made capital to a certain extent for themselves. But the third year will do more—the fourth again more—and more every year, till probably the whole of the money originally expended, and without having been so expended, useless, shall be returned with increase. Then, in time, if we are not in too great a hurry, capital so invested may answer very well, looking no further than to a simple profit and loss account. And is not this in many respects similar to the process in Canada and elsewhere, with the emigrants exported as being supernumeraries here? Their labour abroad is all they bring to market. 'Tis all they have—'tis all they need, if means be afforded to employ

it. Is it not precisely the same here? Still it is a question, who will advance the capital? And why has not the experiment been tried? Because, it may be said, there is a doubt of its being profitable. May be so; but until the experiment be tried, the doubt may remain, and no advance is made towards the solution either way. This then proves nothing but the untried opinion of the parties competent to the undertaking. No further inference can be fairly drawn than that they are unwilling to try, and that the experiment, if tried, would fail. How many familiar instances are on record of ingenious projectors being ruined in speculations that have ultimately succeeded to the utmost extent of all their previous calculations. The projector ruined, not by reason of any failure of sound reasoning and principles, but of capital to carry the scheme through. The cost of a thirty mile rail-road, for instance, when thirty-one miles were needed, would be every shilling thrown away till the remaining mile was completed. Finish that, and the most ample remuneration is the result. Every shilling expended in mining is a dead loss till we come to the ore sought after. Get at that, and a fortune is made. The basis, then, on which all estimates of profit in the employment of capital rests, must embrace all the parts of the scheme—all the probable contingencies that may arise to thwart it, or to be got over, and the time in which it (the profit) is to be returned.

Every scheme thus rests on its own merits, and needs a new application of principles on which all should and would be agreed. It is a common practice, I believe, in taking land on lease, for the tenant if he have a little capital (and without it, by the way, he cannot succeed) to embark it on his land without much hesitation, or fear of the result. Does he, then, it may be asked, get his money so expended, or even a sufficient return for it, the first season? It were preposterous to expect it: then he too must wait another, and may be another year for his returns. Will it be fair thence to argue that it is a failure; that it wont answer? His plan is to make it answer in the long run, that is, for the term of his lease, and to go on with increased produce and diminished expenditure. So precisely may it be in the case assumed, only the period of remuneration may be a little longer delayed, but in the end not less certain. It has been shown that the risk is only in one of the three requisites—the capital; and it is quite clear that, without employment, it is also utterly valueless. But pursue the matter a little more into detail. The idle ten pounds thus employed, might have been otherwise idle all the time. Unquestionably then the good done, and the evils banished, are unmixed. It is, however, assuming far more than is needed for the argument, that the capital should have continued idle. Idle at present it is in abundance. Employed it may thus be with the moral and physical certainty of

a return, sooner or later, amply sufficient to cover the risk.

What may be applied to ten acres, ten labourers, and ten pounds, may be applied to twenty where needed; so that idleness, the root of all evil, may be not only banished, *ipso facto*, but the miseries of destitution and want entirely ended. This process, simple and obvious as it certainly is, if all parties were willing, is the one that has hitherto, with a tardy pace it is true, been enforced upon the country. The increasing population has required increased production. It must ever require it; there is no standing still, nor ought there to be. Production is only stationary when men are unable or unwilling to cultivate more land. Population is not stationary neither, and must of necessity as it increases require more food. This argument has been taken up by some persons as if it were a fact that production is stationary and population progressive, and that, consequently, population presses on production. It is very true that it does so, and has always done so, and always will do so; but it is only the natural pressure that forces man to till the earth and subdue it, for thus, and thence only, are his wants to be supplied. In no other way whatever can man produce food, excepting from the land or the waters. Is it not then as clear as the sun, that this rational, obvious, and natural course should be pursued? Cultivate more land, for more people. This only



restores the equilibrium. Leave it short, and there must ensue misery and want in an increasing, a perpetually increasing ratio. There is a capability in two years of providing more food in this country than every mouth in it could consume in three. Such an overplus is not needed, therefore it would not pay probably: but that extreme would banish all the miseries of destitution, and what does any capital used in any way whatever do more? Capital, however, banishes the miseries of comparatively the few: this would leave none for any. The capitalist would lose some of his interest; the remainder would go further. He would have a lessened income, but certainly increased comforts. Enforced contribution to the idle poor would cease. The employed and industrious poor would feed him, clothe him, and lodge him on easier terms. Individual enjoyment amid general want (if enjoyment could exist under such circumstances), may be retained by going on as we have done. General enjoyment, and no individual want, vastly increased by the proposed change. But the land is not in sufficient abundance—the islands not large enough—the danger is pressing, the idle population must be exported to another soil. Let us try a gross estimate. It is quite sufficient for the argument. The evidence is from the Emigration Committee Report. In the British islands there are forty-six millions and a half of acres of land in cultivation, and nearly

thirty-one millions of acres uncultivated; one half of the latter and more is stated to be unprofitable. Now, without any advance in the art of cultivation, without any sort of change of any previous habit, however improvident or ill-judged, it is abundantly clear that at least a third more of inhabitants may be provided for, and by no other means whatever but the bringing into culture the now waste acres to the extent of only half of the thirty-one millions. This is so obvious, that any argument to enforce it would rather perplex the subject. It is purely arithmetical. But it has been proved that one acre will maintain five. If so, then there is a beginning to advancing comfort, no assignable limit to it. All centres here—labour, land, and capital to be united. The struggle for mastery without union will increase; it must of necessity increase. By union, the struggle is not only ended, but incalculable benefits the immediate, the inevitable result.

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#### LETTER XXVI.

**F**OOD, that indispensable necessary for human subsistence, can only be had in sufficient abundance to supply all our wants from the cultivation of the soil. Happily, as the latter increases, so also does the former, but in a still greater ratio. Food, far beyond the wants of the cultivator, re-

wards his labours and enables him to supply others from his superabundant stores. Of this no one can doubt, for every day's experience shows it to be well-founded. What then can be more rational, more expedient, more necessary, than to provide for unemployed hands that surest of all labour, agricultural, on lands not before cultivated. For this salutary purpose, a well-regulated emigration, to Canada for instance, is proposed, because in Canada there is great abundance of waste land never yet touched by human hands. The parties are to be located there rent free for so many years—well; they are to be provided with food and implements till the season and their labours shall have rendered further supplies unnecessary—good; they are to be then by degrees consumers of manufactures of the mother country—better still; they are to increase and multiply on this location, and people the new country, so as to bring more of it into cultivation—a further advance in happiness: thus, then, misery and want are to be for ever banished, and peace and plenty introduced in their stead. Now, what is there to be said in contradiction to this fair, and reasonable, and beneficial arrangement, which is so clearly advantageous to the destitute parties who are to be the operatives on the occasion. Besides, the sending them from home, it is argued, clears the way at home of so much incumbrance, opens the accustomed channels of labour for the remainder here, that

must also relieve them in an equal degree. For such admirable objects, who would not be found to subscribe his mite? What philanthropist would hesitate for an instant to lend it his support? But if the investment of capital in the humane attempt is also likely to be restored, where can the man be found who would not give his utmost encouragement to the scheme? All that is needed is merely the necessary funds to export the paupers, carry them into the interior, feed them for a twelvemonth, provide them with working materials, and then set them fairly afloat—nothing else; and for this, a cessation in future of all rates, taxes, and assessments whatsoever, in respect of them—advantages so decided and apparent, that he who runs may read, and see the full force of them.

I am not aware that the emigrants will ask more than is here conceded to them, if so much. However, if any thing be now omitted in the enumeration of blessings so clearly adhering to the measure, I will take them all, and then look a little more narrowly into the matter before giving them more than my qualified assent. The parties to be located are to do in Canada what they have not done here, viz. cultivate waste lands. Is it because there are no waste lands *here* to be cultivated? If so, why to be sure what can be better than to send them off with all practicable speed? But if there be waste lands here yet untilled, it is clear the necessity for



sending them *there* does not exist, and, if not necessary, then perhaps it is not expedient; if not expedient to export them, it may be so to employ them in precisely the same way here as there, for it is necessary in either case to feed them. But if they can here bring into existence, by the self-same process as in Canada, abundance of food, it seems odd, certainly, that necessity, expediency, the obvious means of carrying on the same process, should for an instant be untried here, when the terms of so doing are all so much less troublesome and expensive. They will labour here as there—they will increase here as there—they will be consumers of manufactures here as there—and they will be surely preserved to their country here; whereas they may be partially or wholly lost there, and for ever. “In the multitude of the people is the King’s honour, but in the want of people is the destruction of the Prince.” (Prov. c. xiv. v. 28.) Then till the whole of the waste lands in Britain are thus brought into cultivation, the only actual difference between the locations is the saving here of all costs of transit. Yes, there is another. In Canada the lands are granted for a certain time, free of rent; whereas in England they must be paid for or rented. But the costs of transit will amply furnish means to do this, and confer a benefit at the same time on the owner of the soil here, in securing better tillage, better rents, lessened rates. Then it is neither expedient, nor

necessary, nor profitable, yet to export pauper labourers. It is, however, expedient, and necessary, and profitable, so to employ them here, as I shall proceed to show:—An idle man, able and willing to work, must be fed from some store or other, for he cannot be suffered to starve to death. How nearly he is to be legally driven to the confines of the grave, is not the subject of my present inquiry. It is expedient then to put him in a way of creating a store for himself. His labour on land will do so. It will do more; for “in all labour there is profit.” Prov. c. xiv. v. 23. “Much food is in the tillage of the poor.” Prov. c. xiii. v. 23. He will create a surplus far beyond what he can consume. Thus two things are gained; food in abundance for him, and somewhat over for others. It is of absolute necessity to produce the one—of evident expediency to have the other. He then ceases to take food from any one; on the contrary, he gives it to numbers. Now, if I am to be told that he will come into competition with more regular cultivators, although I have a distinct reply to it, the only one now needed is, that in Canada, or as an emigrant, he would do precisely the same. It is then expedient, because necessary, that he should be thus employed, and it is profitable, because all that is thus called into existence would otherwise be lost, and it is of essential value. It is sufficiently manifest from what has been said, that the bearings of this question are stated so

that no one can mistake them. Go through as many incidents as may be thought proper, in the probable effects of the two locations, the same line of argument applies throughout. If this were all, a case is shown that leaves little room for doubt in the unbiassed mind. But I proceed further, for the subject is of vital importance. Increase of people is increase of strength and wealth to any country: increase of food is as clear a consequence of the former as that one and one make two. When both go on relatively to the wants of the parties, what can be more delightful! If food be not created in such a proportion, then distress and misery must ensue, and can in fact never be otherwise alleviated. Some one must cultivate to enable others to eat. It is so plain a truism that increase of mouths requires increase of food, and that increase of food must arise from increase of cultivation, that the only wonder is, how any man can for an instant mistake it! But for the recent discoveries that increase of hands is pregnant with danger and mischief, the merest dreamer on earth never could have doubted the propriety of cultivating the earth for subsistence, and that exactly in proportion as it was needed. Why doubt it now? Because, say the wise ones, population presses on subsistence, and if it be not stopped in time, will lead to inevitable misery, far beyond what the world has ever yet known. To avert future misery and want, then, present misery and

want are to meet with all due encouragement and patronage. This will check the growth of an already redundant population, and if we only persevere, the plagues, pestilencies, and famines of a future age may be all averted by crowding them so unseasonably into this. So that to avoid eventual calamity hereafter, be sure to grasp actual calamity now, with all the vigour of enthusiastic devotion to a favorite theory. This truly is a very sensible and notable course, and highly consolatory and improving to a sensitive and feeling heart. It is really difficult gravely to discuss so very absurd, hollow, and unreasonable a view of the subject. On what does it rest its unhallowed base—the proposition that population is ever pressing on subsistence! Granted, population always has and always will press on subsistence, else, probably, men would not be found to labour at all. But if they till the earth and subdue it, they may multiply and replenish it without any dread of the evil consequences thence arising; but if they do not till the earth and subdue it, then truly all the horrors of future want may be experienced next year. Pressure of population on subsistence! Why did not this begin the very day Adam and Eve were driven out of Paradise, and has it not continued ever since? Is there any day of any week, of any month, of any year, that this pressure does not exist, or has not existed since the creation? Is it any new discovery that men must eat? That food does not



grow spontaneously out of the ground? And that, consequently, they must dig for it? Who can, in the dotage of a false and ridiculous philosophy, ever dream of any other course of human events or proceedings? When did it ever fail? How can it possibly do so? Oh yes, when the people shall have increased beyond the means of the land supplying all their wants. When will that be? God knows: I say God knows, not in the usual meaning of the phrase, to express doubt or uncertainty, but in its true and literal meaning; and with reverence be it spoken, for to Him all chance is direction, all contingencies known from the beginning. The natural and obvious course he has pointed out to his creatures of being fruitful and subduing the earth, must be the only salutary and reasonable course for them to pursue: men have but to obey and prosper.

The very pressure of what is called a redundant population is Nature's mode, probably, of enforcing a remedy, by increasing the cultivation. Look back on our island five hundred years ago, with, probably, not a third of the now population: consequently, not a third of its produce, its beauty, its happiness, its fertility, its glory! Look around to the hundreds of mansions, the millions of new inhabitants, and the fruits of their increased labours now, and what a contrast! What is to stop the increasing blessing? Why is it to be impeded? Subsis-

tence is not stationary, and population progressive; on the contrary, with reasonable care and attention it far exceeds, and may always be made to exceed and to precede population. It is not with agriculture as with manufactures, that production, by the aid of machinery, may outstrip the demand, four, or five, or six fold; but it is as certain, that fresh hands on fresh lands will do more than suffice for every want, as any demonstration of *Euclid*.—"He that wont work neither should he eat," says St. Paul, "but he who is ready and willing to do so, who has the title to prevent it?"

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#### LETTER XXVII.

**A**N experienced hunter, when the scent is lost, tries back, and often regains it: another rushes forward, and loses the game. If the argument of increase be a good one prospectively, it cannot be a fallacious one retrospectively. If in so many years the population doubles, and this upon evidence said to prove the proposition, in the like periods, then, tracing back, we should arrive at very curious facts, no less true and instructive, and valuable in argument, than the former. This course ought to establish the correctness of the former, or, what must be painful and humiliating to a theorist, demolish the very

base on which he erects his airy fabric. Let us begin with the British islands, and try back, and, to do ample justice to the subject, assume the largest assigned number now inhabiting them, say even twenty-five millions. According to very approved speculations, and very confidently asserted tables, population has doubled, and will double every twenty-five years; then 25 millions in 1830 must have been only  $12\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1805, only  $6\frac{1}{4}$  millions in 1780. They must have been at  $3\frac{1}{8}$  millions in 1755, little more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1730; they must have been under a million in 1705, and so on, till we have scarce a man left in 1605.

But the ratio is geometrical, not arithmetical. I fear this will not much mend the matter in *retrograding*, whatever may be the effects prospectively, and that the rule is equally fallacious and ill-founded, and will end in proving the perfect absurdity of any such limitation to the operations of nature, or the grand architect of the whole.

As amusing speculations, men may calculate chances as they do games; but one duty is imperative, namely, to provide for the mouths to whom the ALMIGHTY is pleased to give the blessing of existence. He has pointed out the means—He has established the laws. Here is neither mystery nor difficulty. It is simply, till the earth and subdue it, and He will give the increase. Before quitting the ratios of increase by trying backwards, and after several attempts to assi-

milate them with prominent facts, the double at a ratio of 330 years, instead of 25, is absolutely nearer the mark. Thus, start with 25 millions in 1830; this would give  $12\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1500;  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in 1170; better than  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in 840; more than one million in 510; and so on.

Dr. A. Smith says, that in Great Britain, and most European countries, they (the inhabitants) are not supposed to double in less than 500 years.

From the preceding modes of trying the scale of increase in the population, my sole object is to show that the law thereof is neither so fixed, nor general, nor defined, as speculative men imagine; and that, consequently, the dismal forbodings arising out of conclusions rashly or imperfectly drawn, are ill-founded. That subsistence must ever keep pace with population, no man in his senses can doubt or dispute. That population must ever press on subsistence is equally clear; but this, as I have said, is no new discovery. Such has been the case, as a lawyer would say, ever since the creation, "wanting ten days." Again: increase of population is said to be increase of competition with those already in existence; an egregious error: as if subsistence was stationary, and could not be increased by new cultivators. The new comers are competitors, it is true, for food, but not with the existing population to take any of their share of it from them. On the contrary, they are compe-



titors with the barren acres, not yet cultivated, nor needed before the birth of the parties, to get their additional subsistence thence, and thence only, as I have shown in a former Letter. The course of nature is so plain, so well-founded, so secure, that one regrets it should ever be puzzled by false estimates and alarms; and the course of nature is for mankind to be fruitful and multiply, to plenish the earth and subdue it. This never failed—it never can fail. No other course can, in truth, be pursued; for in the teeth of all the estimates and prognostications, increase of people *forces* increase of cultivation. Increase of cultivation supplies every want. It does even more; but it does not *force* population. Then why omit now, and at all times whatever, without any sort of exception whatever, to cultivate new lands for new mouths, at least up to the full demands of the parties. Here all is clear gain—the new people to the country—the barren acres to the state of production—the miseries of want avoided—the blessing of plenty to supply their place. That this is real, and not theoretical, we have only to try back again. Britain with half her present population, was also without half her present production; and yet the pressure of population on subsistence was then precisely the same that it is now, if not in many cases still more severe, not, as is demonstrated, by any penalty or penury of nature, but arising only from the ignorance, the unskilfulness, or the

ignorance of man.\* Population then, as it increases, increases production. Does production, therefore, re-act, and increase population? No, it only supplies the existing wants. Its tendency is, in truth, to retard rather than accelerate population. The most prolific are not the full, but the scantily fed portion of the people, as experience shows to our daily observation. But say even that it did not retard if it do not accelerate population, that is quite sufficient for the present argument. It disposes then at once of the most inhuman expedient of starving the poor to repress their numbers. If the poor were better off, better paid, better educated, they would not increase so fast, for they would then be less imprudent, more careful in settling in the world too early, more attentive to religious and moral duties, more happy, more useful to themselves and others. Having a little property in the fruits of their honest labour and industry, they would have more respect for the property of their superiors, consequently be less disposed to injure that in others which to them had become valuable. These motives to virtuous and good conduct are all wanting to the reckless pauper of the day, who, leaning on parochial aid, for want

\* Vide Charters of James I. and Charles I., granted in 1621 and 24, published by Ridgway, each asserting a then *thronged, numerous, and dense population*, of which it was advisable to send many abroad, trade being also so *much diminished in its returns*.

of sufficient employment or subsistence, marries early and improvidently to better his condition, by thus increasing his legal demand on the overseer. The marriage of such subjects to an extent of only 5000, may, in ten years or less, double their numbers; whereas, but for their pressing necessities, they might have remained ten years longer single, and then have formed connections every way suitable to better hopes and principles. Here would be a check then essentially beneficial to every one, for it would also check all inordinate desires. In this course, bettering the condition of the poor by better education and better employment in the way nature has pointed out, every step is an advance towards moral perfection and happiness. It is always secure, always useful, and cannot then fail to be acceptable to Him who, from his throne, beholds all the dwellers upon earth. By thus conforming to his laws, may we not look for his blessing? Neglect them, is he not therefore urged to punish? Can a more effectual punishment be devised than that of apprehended uncontrollable increase of human beings, all tending to a crisis of misery, that scanty food and increased demands upon it must, if true, inevitably produce? Can man control the laws of nature, or stop the coming tide? No; but he may, by simply conforming to the same general laws, turn the otherwise desolating flood into a fertilizing stream, and reap blessings greater in extent than the miseries he thereby averts.

Mr. Curwen thinks, and I think so too, that there is not drawn from the earth a fifth part of the produce that might be obtained by a more perfect system of agriculture ; by a general inclosure of waste lands ; and by a proper economy in the feeding of stock.

Before closing this Letter, I shall advert to a fact already ascertained. A piece of waste land (eight acres) on the brow of a hill at Brighton, was inclosed about twelve years ago. The last year's produce by spade husbandry was such that the eight acres yielded more than 10*l.* profit each, after paying every expense. The cost of labour was 190*l.*, manure, 25*l.*, seeds, 16*l.* to 17*l.*, and the produce 337*l.* Here then there was a sum (190*l.*) sufficient to employ seven labourers, at 10*s.* a week, all the year round, and, allowing 20*l.* for rent, 10*l.* per acre clear after all.

In my judgment, far more than half the 31 millions of waste acres in the British islands, never yet tilled, are as good, if not most of them better, than the land alluded to.

This Letter was written in October, 1830. The result of a subsequent season is nearly similar, viz.—Labour, 206*l.*, manure, not quite 12*l.*, seeds 17*l.*, and the produce 326*l.* More manure, I think, would have given a much larger proportionate profit.



## LETTER XXVIII.

**T**HE labouring classes of every country demand the attention of the State ; for unless they are protected and encouraged, it is utterly impossible to insure either public tranquillity or domestic safety. They form, numerically, the great body of the whole population. They are the main producers of all consumable articles ; without them we should be destitute alike of food and clothing, or even a house to shelter us from the storm ; they are the makers of the whole. The labourer then is worthy of his hire ; and the hire ought, at least, to secure him subsistence and a home. The original structure of our Poor Laws effected this great object, first, by providing employment for those poor persons able and willing to work for their bread, who were occasionally idle, and thereby to secure it for them ; secondly, in extending protection to the aged and the impotent, whose labour is at an end. The latter were a fit burden on civil society ; the former fit and proper objects of its most attentive consideration.

I have been led into this train of reflection by the injudicious departure from those prime objects of the old law, and the evils consequent thereon. But, though it is not my intention to propose a new statute, or a reverting to the old one, in exclusion of all others, the object of this

address is really and truly to excite to the practice that originally worked so well.

No man in England, or indeed in the British islands, need be unemployed one hour ; for when all other avenues to beneficial exertions are apparently filled up, the waste acres of the country are always a certain resource against absolute want. The waste labour of the country, applied to the waste land of the country, requires only temporary aid to insure production. The waste labour of the country, not applied to the waste land of the country, leaves to the labourer nothing but unmixed misery ; for it is assumed by some persons, that no market whatever for such labour exists at home, and that, consequently, the thus redundant members of the community should be sent abroad to the colonies, to labour there in a better soil. In applying such labour to the soil, then, all are agreed. I have invariably combated emigration, as being injurious to the mother country, by preventing its further improvement and produce, and, if possible, the increase of its population. In all respects whatever the remedy proposed is identical with that I advocate, the sole exception being that of a foreign instead of a home location, where the remedy can be more speedily and safely applied. To give a little change to the argument, I would take this probable view of the two locations, and thence continue to draw inferences, thereby strengthened, in favour of home colonization.

Admitting the land in Canada, then, to be rich and fertile—that at home, poor and barren, as great a difference, I think, as can be required, let us trace, step by step, the probable progress of the two sets of colonists at home and abroad. To make the barren acres here productive, will require constant labour and manure upon a comparatively small surface, but it will yearly improve in production, and ere long be brought up to the state of long reclaimed lands, and, consequently, be of greatly increased value. Beginning with a low rental, and a long lease, the rental will consequently remain stationary, whilst the produce of the original waste goes on increasing. It works thus: the labourers, first maintained from another store, afforded the means of culture, and, applying their strength to the rugged soil, they effectually subdue it. Year by year it improves; year by year the cost of their maintenance thus diminishes, till at last they do this for themselves, and have something to spare for others. Nothing more, therefore, is needed for them. Even the rental is provided for, and no further expense incurred. But their surplus produce not only effects all this, but the country is mightily improved, their condition also rendered comfortable, as it ought to be. They become consumers at home of all the manufactures needed for their particular condition; and thus, from having been a mere dead weight on the community, they confer benefits of the most sa-

lutary kind upon it. Now, the Canada colonist begins without a rental : he is to pay for the land hereafter, in so many years. Here is a decided advantage ; he commences in a fertile soil, and year by year he exhausts it more and more ; for he can have no other manure than what his farm yields, and the necessity for using or saving it does not at first exist. He is, therefore, improvident, for if one spot fails, another, fresh and untried, is at hand, to begin again in the same course. His term of years for trial, however, expires, and then he must pay for the previous indulgence ; that he can do so is matter of *opinion* only—when he does so is the *proof*. The experiment cannot be said to be fairly tried till this be done. He begins to pay, then, when his produce begins to lessen, and the claims on it, perhaps, to increase. His burden is then the greatest when apparent means to meet it are diminished, and, in point of situation and ability to pay, he may not be greatly different from the home colonist. The latter has been gradually bettering his location at home ; the former, rather deteriorating his abroad. The latter never lost to his country, nor his country to him ; the former an alien, never more to return to it—an incipient enemy when opportunity serves to throw off the yoke. The latter cherished by and cherishing his native soil, made more beautiful, more delightful, more productive, by his labour, with all the high feeling of a Briton unconquered by poverty or



wretchedness, and with every local association not only unbroken but strengthened. The former has the last link of social union with his first and best home broken, the prospects not improved nor improving, and the association of former kindred and feeling usurped by those arising from more pressing wants—more scanty means of meeting them. I deem all this probable in regard to the former—quite certain as to the latter. No fact is less questionable, than that land, to yield its full increase, must be fed and thoroughly subdued, for that constant cropping without doing so will soon exhaust and impoverish the richest soil. What a prodigious difference, then, hence arises! Home rendered richer, stronger, more productive, more populous, and the country more delightful! All its manufactures, its consumption, vastly increased. Then what impedes it? Simply, the non-application of waste labour to waste land, by a better application of the poor-rate. Apply the rates, or rather a portion of them, in this manner, and you gradually displace the pauperism of those who are able and willing to work, and gradually, and certainly, diminish the rates themselves, thus securing the prosperity of the country on a basis that never can be shaken. It may be asked, what specific plan is proposed to meet the evil stated. I answer, let any parish (Mary-lebone for instance) out of its rates take, for an experiment, fifty or one hundred acres of waste

land on lease for a long term. Upon the land so taken let an excess of labourers be employed in spade husbandry, and an excess of manure be applied to the soil. In using the word excess, I mean it merely as contradistinguished from the paucity of labour and manure usually employed in taking in new lands, when done, as it is called, for profit. The more labour and the more manure that can be actually used will, I doubt not, and, indeed, can prove, in the end be the most profitable. The rental, necessarily low on a waste for a long term, is the only risk to the parish. Every particle of manure and labour bestowed on the land betters its condition. Food, to a certain extent, is produced in a year, and, as before said, every year it increases. Now, as it regards all the labourers employed, they will be first partially, and thus ultimately taken off the rates; that is, they will secure their own maintenance, and a great deal more. They will also provide that food now paid for to maintain the other paupers, and thus diminish the rate again. If this process be found to work as I have stated, the experiment will be decisive. If not—for I will even take the most improbable case in the world, and one that I am confident cannot happen, viz. that the experiment shall be a failure—will there be then any difficulty in assigning over the lease, with an improved soil, for the rental of its barren state? If it be worth 5s. an acre barren, it must be worth more broken up and

manured. But the failure is an impossibility, if the thing be tried with common discretion. To come to figures: say 100 acres, at even 10s. an acre, or 50% a year, what is that out of the immense fund of the parish alluded to? Say this goes on for five years, here is a total loss in rent then of only 250%. Will any man in his senses assert that 100 acres of waste land, well dug up, well manured for the said five years, will not produce double, treble, quadruple the amount of the rent? Aye, and a great deal more. Where then is the risk? Where the loss? I say, mark the clear gain. And again, *ex uno disce omnes*, may not every parish in the kingdom do the same thing? Where the allotment system prevails, as has been already shown, the poor rates have increased little, or, at least, nothing material, for a century past. Where it does not, they have, on the contrary, increased from hundreds to thousands in half the time.

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#### LETTER XXIX.

I HAVE endeavoured to take a familiar view of the important subject of population, and shall continue to do so—first, on account of the extreme difficulty of constructing tables applicable to it, which depend less on the laws of nature after marriage, than on the volition of the parties who enter

into that sacred contract ; second, because in the very foundation on which the tables are to be constructed, and have been constructed, scarcely any two doctors are agreed. On one hand we have prospects presented to the mind of such impending fecundity that the theatre of the world will evidently be ere long too limited to contain the actors on it. Comedy and farce are soon to be banished, never to return ; and tragedy, the tragedy of actual life, substituted for ever in their place. On the other hand, the increase is hailed as a blessing, if the new comers only increase with it the cultivation of the soil, and render that productive which never produced before. To qualify the former increasing evil, as it is called, all the preventive checks are eulogized as beneficial. To sustain the latter all encouragement is to be given to the comforts of the poor, the grand breeders for the state. From the high favour shown by Mr. Malthus to old maids, it is quite evident that the sisterhood are the real guardian angels of the country, before whose revered heads all the matrons who have had the presumption to give heroes and protectors to their country must bow. Yet it is but fair to add, that the choice must have been made when they were young maids. The picture is made so alluring that I much fear the consequences may be such as the reverend gentleman never contemplated. Let us only suppose, that all the young maidens in the British Isles, emulous alike for the honour of the



ancient sisterhood and of their country's welfare, should combine and agree together not to marry for only twenty years to come. Let us look at this race of antiquity, and behold its probable results, and then tremble for the consequences. If in twenty-five years, on the present depraved system, population doubles, what would be the effects of this glorious devotion of the British fair? 'Tis clear not only that the double would be stopped most effectually, but, mark the satisfactory conclusion, one half of the present numbers would die off in that time, and thus clear the popular atmosphere for centuries to come. I tremble as I write lest our fair country-women should really try the experiment; for not only would the preventive check be complete as to increase, but what broken hearts, suicides, and despairing swains would there not be in the other sex, to sweep at once the overflowing mass from the earth! It may be urged, perhaps, that the thing is not very likely—that such a combination never yet existed, and therefore that this experiment will not be tried. Very true, and all who are governed by the past current of human events may thus argue. But now we are justified in supposing any case, however improbable, and reasoning from it with all the vigour and freshness of remark that formerly waited only as a handmaiden on truth. If it be said I take an extreme case, I allow it; are there not extreme cases on the other side? Tax

me with most improbable events ; admitted, this will serve then to counteract equally improbable events on the side of redundancy. If we go to extremes on the part of increase, let us try them on the diminishing scale, and then behold the reasonableness, shall I say, or the absurdity of both. It is an old, a trite, and well founded maxim, *in medio tutissimus ibis*, and it is very much the way of the world now, as it ever has been, not to run on long in either extreme. The young maids, I dare say, are in no very great danger of becoming old ones, notwithstanding the bounty ; and the swains will doubtless urge, as they have ever done successfully, the folly and danger of such a course. The world then may wag on as heretofore, and not incur the risk of over-population on the one hand, or a total stagnation of it on the other. Whatever the numbers may now be, in fifty years more than two-thirds of them will disappear to make way for others ; and new generations as they arise push the old ones off, as the custom has been ever since the flood. I admit in serious mood that the laws of nature regarding increase, when the parties are united, go on with a very regular and ascertainable pace, barring accidents and contingencies. But the periods of union between the sexes is entirely a matter of volition and arrangement, except with *parish paupers*. Early or later marriages will accelerate or retard population, without the intervention of any other cause

whatever. This prime consideration is not capable of estimation with any degree of certainty, under any form of society regularly constituted, still less so in a state not thoroughly civilized. A million marrying at 20 or 25 may make a difference, on this account only, of four millions; that is, four millions may be born between 20 and 25, who, if the one million had waited till 25, would not have had any existence at all.

A million marrying at 20 or at 30 may make twice the difference. This may be called, and I admit it, an extreme case again. But who is to estimate with any tolerable degree of accuracy the actual number of the millions who are to marry at any of the intermediate periods? There are no tables of sufficient accuracy and extent, nor indeed can there be, to enable any one, by bringing the whole together, to do more than guess at a ratio; and as so many calculators, eminent in their way, arrive at conclusions so materially different the one from the other, it proves, if it prove any thing at all, that the subject is very imperfectly ascertained, and not capable of being subjected to any specific rules.

From all that is past I draw only commonplace inferences; that there is no danger of increase of population beyond production—that increase of people properly applied increases production—that every advance is an advantage in the essential strength and resources of the country—that happiness and comfort await them

in an improved and improving soil—that nature points out the course, and it is a violation of her laws to retard it—that here in our native land every experiment may be safely tried to improve it—that here now, and at all times, is a refuge for the distressed; a sanctuary for the oppressed; a home, a delightful home to all who are worthy of the blessing.

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### LETTER XXX.

**I**T is an admitted and proved fact, that there are many millions of acres in our fertile islands that have remained in a state of nature since the flood. I infer, then, as quite of course, that there is a redundancy of such acres, and do so on the settled application of the term to unemployed or waste labour. Human beings unemployed, consequently unproductive, living upon a store to which nothing on their parts is contributed, are said to be redundant. Thus, then, the acres unoccupied, consequently not rendered productive, are also redundant. This, however, must be limited to relative non-production in both cases, for the idle labourer may occasionally fall in with a job, and untilled land occasionally furnish a scanty meal to a sheep.

It is an admitted and a proved fact, that machinery drives manual labour to a very great extent



out of the market, making such labour thereby redundant. Why are the redundant acres suffered to remain in their natural state, and not rendered productive? Because there is evidently a want of hands applied to them. This is the sole reason; there is no other. If there had not been a population, for example, of more than ten millions in this country, many more millions of acres would, consequently, and for no other reason, have still remained, like the acres alluded to, in a state of nature. Then if more hands existed to be applied as heretofore to the now uncultivated lands, the consequences would be, as heretofore, abundance of employment for both—abundance of food for the labourers—abundant wealth now lost to the country.

Machinery has justly superseded manual labour, because machinery does that better and cheaper than any manual labour could perform. It produces more abundantly for all—it is more beneficial to all—it is cheaper for all: no one can except to it but he who thereby, and for a time only, loses his bread. If no other resource were left him, still, even in that extreme case, the benefits would vastly overbalance the evils incident thereto, because for one thus injured one hundred would derive advantage. To maintain him out of the public purse would even be better than to drive machinery out of the market in order to employ him again. To maintain him actually idle and at his full wages would be bet-

ter, because the vast preponderance of benefit would far exceed the cost for the whole term of his life, were such a preposterous course imperative. But that this is all imaginary I proceed to show, on grounds that appear to be impregnable. If the weaver, for instance, were, like his machine, incapable of other application, then he, being displaced by a superior instrument, must exist on the common stock, and contribute nothing to it for life. If the weaver, however, unlike his machine, can do any other acts of manual labour, where manual labour is not yet superseded by machinery, then any exercise of his powers would be better than sheer idleness ; for any exercise whatever would produce something. Say that the common stock is still to be charged with his maintenance, yet the burden is lessened by every exertion of his faculties in another pursuit. His redundancy is absorbed gradually in the general mass of labour, and by degrees ceases, for that his labour in other pursuits becomes useful and is needed, and pays for his maintenance. The foregoing statement leads to this grand inference and application—the waste labour to the waste land ; this lessens the actual redundancy of each ; it increases the production of both ; it thereby promotes the interests of all. Still, when we shall have gone through the various relations of machinery to manual labour, tending as the former necessarily and properly does to displace the latter, by doing better and cheaper what

the latter cannot so well accomplish—still, I say, the man so displaced, not being himself a *machine*, can turn his hand to another pursuit and dig the land, whence only subsistence is to be derived, and create it from the acres that never before were cultivated. Redundant acres, redundant labour, no machinery here but that of the spade, the hoe, and the rake; and luxury of bread, for which before the mechanic laboured in vain. Before, he was an unhappy competitor with equally unhappy associates, working in vain against a stream that grew stronger as their strength failed them. Now, taken off at once from the miserable conflict, to compete with barrenness and render it fruitful for every one—redundancy of acres diminishing; redundancy of labour diminishing; redundancy of produce substituted happily in their place. If we go carefully over the series again, it would appear that the only permanent redundancy, and that the least injurious, will be of the acres, which cannot be fully occupied for ages to come. The now redundant labour applied to them ceases, *ipso facto*, to be redundant. The redundant mechanic, competing now in vain with a machine, applying his strength to the acres, ceases to be useless, and is no longer redundant. All injurious competitions are thus ended; all useful ones thus encouraged. Has not this, by the way, been the course, or something very like it, only that the advances of science have been slower heretofore than at pre-

sent, ever since the islands were peopled? Have not the redundant acres gradually been displaced, and rendered productive by what would otherwise have been redundant labour? Does any man doubt of this, or can it be doubted for one moment by any one who turns his attention to this subject? All those who seem to argue against it in effect prove it, for the whole burden of their song is to do that elsewhere which I contend is best done here; that is, colonize on a new territory, as if we had none here to operate upon in the self-same way. Then, strictly speaking, there is, or rather need be, no redundancy here but of the barren acres. They will never cease to be barren or unproductive till labour is applied to them. Nothing hinders, but, on the contrary, circumstances strongly invite, the immediate application of redundant labour to the redundant soil. The injurious redundancy is thus, and thus only, but for ever, ended, the redundancy of labour. The redundancy of the acres remain, lessened in number it is true, but still far exceeding all the power that can be applied thereto for ages to come. Nay more, the same process nearly, *mutatis mutandis*, may be applied to the water as to the land, to the seas as to the islands; so that the full bounties and blessings of Providence laid open to our daily view, need but the hand of industry and good sense applied thereto to be amply and thankfully enjoyed.



## LETTER XXXI.

I HAVE now before me, for the first time, an extract from a letter of the Right Honourable W. Horton (now Sir Robert) to the Editor of the "Globe," on which I mean to offer a few comments. In the first place, let the point at issue be stated in his own clear and forcible manner :—

"The great advantage of emigration arises from the double benefit which it renders to those who leave their country, and to those who remain at home. The expense of maintaining pauperism at home being in great measure saved by the occasional process of converting it into independence abroad, the employers of labour will be both able and willing to pay improved wages to those remaining labourers whose services are really wanted. How is the home colonization to effect this double benefit? By what law can those home colonists be ultimately prevented from entering into competition with those very labourers from whom the partizans of home colonization propose, in the first instance, to separate them, for the mutual benefit of both classes? I trust you will concur with me, as to the necessity of satisfactory answers being made to these queries."

I think that satisfactory answers can be given to these queries, and also, that it is reasonable and proper to give them. Then it will be for

Sir Robert to show the liberality and fairness of his mind in closing with the argument, or of proving, and no one can do it better, that I am still mistaken, and that his views are, consequently, still entitled to the pre-eminence. I have unfeigned respect for both the head and heart of the Right Hon. Gentleman, and most sincerely wish he were in his place, his proper place, in parliament, to put the question—

“Why the returns of able-bodied labourers and artizans settled in each parish, as in the opinion of the overseers and select vestry, exceed the number required for all purposes of agricultural, manufacturing, or other labour in the parish, during the year, taken as a whole, making allowance for the variation of seasons, and distinguishing those who have been employed in agriculture from those employed in manufacture or otherwise?”

But to the prior queries. It is assumed that the expense of maintaining pauperism at home is in great measure saved by the occasional process of converting it into independence abroad. If this were correct, as applied solely to emigration, and not also as to home colonies, the question might be said to be set at rest. If, however, it be ill-founded, as applied to the former, and not so as to the latter, then, consequently, a very different conclusion may be fairly drawn from the real facts. To be perfectly understood, it is necessary to look strictly to the alleged course. To

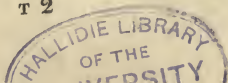
emigrate a pauper, his wife and child, then, a sum is to be raised on the security of the poor-rate, of say 3*l.* per annum, for 40 years; thus making the pauper, his wife and child, whether in Canada, at the bottom of the sea, or in their graves, it matters not, burdensome to the parish for 40 years at the aforesaid rate. This becomes a fixed lesser rate, in the place of an eventual larger rate, from which almost any change at home might relieve the parish. By the fixed rate, both the pauper and the money so raised, are lost to their country for ever. But the eventual rate is so much larger, that, without a change, it may be said in the end, the fixed may be the less onerous. This must be anticipated, or here again there would be no question. But the attentive reader will observe, that it is from this that my purpose is to afford more immediate relief. Again, the loss to the country is only in the cost, not of the individuals also. On these grounds, then, it is not admitted that by the means set forth the expense of maintaining pauperism is in great measure saved. But pauperism is thereby converted into independence abroad. There, again, it appears to me, is a fallacy to a certain extent. I am prepared to admit the most beneficial change to the pauper himself (a change, by the way, equally open to him here, with fewer drawbacks); but until the period has elapsed for his repayment, in the shape of rent and produce for the land allotted him, after the seven

years wherein he is allowed to go free, the experiment can only be said to be in progress; it is not ultimately ascertained or proved. Let us allow, however, that it shall in some cases succeed; it is demonstrated that it can never do so in very many others, who, before rent-day, abandon their locations and go over to another country, I mean the United States of America. There are, then, two essential abatements to this statement of saving expense in the support of pauperism at home; it may not be saved: of converting pauperism abroad into independence; it may not be so: in very many cases it never can be so. Sir Robert then assumes, the way being cleared in the manner stated, that a double benefit will result from the measure—that to the parties sent abroad, and the one next under notice, “the employers of labour will be both able and willing to pay improved wages to those remaining labourers whose services are really wanted.” This is grounded on the presumption that the same quantity of produce is to be raised at home as before, and that there being fewer hands to do it they will consequently be better employed, and better paid. If so, no exception can be fairly taken to the proposition. If not, then we get into the difficulty again of a new redundancy, caused by the direct process of intended relief. I shall be quite explicit. The independent colonists of Canada must pay their way with produce—that produce, surplus to them, would be also



surplus here, if the foregoing presumption were strictly correct. That is, the labour here being sufficient for the produce here, the introduction of more produce must inevitably lessen the production here, and, consequently, the hands so employed here. I cannot see how a rational doubt can exist in any mind if this fact be so; and if it be not so, then how is the Canada producer to pay his way? Oh, but he may sell to some other country! What!—when corn is imported will it be of a stranger in preference to a colonist who thus, and thus only, pays his debt? Then the more extensive the process of emigration, the more numerous also, in this view of the subject, will the claimants for it become. To stop one small leak in the sinking vessel we thus open two larger ones. I see clearly the apparent opening here for the same observations being made on the effect of a home colony. Of that, however, hereafter.

I have questioned the double benefit supposed to arise from emigration, and shall endeavour now to answer the queries before mentioned. It is my purpose, moreover, to show three distinct advantages as arising naturally and necessarily in home contradistinguished from foreign colonization. The first two are similar to those stated by Sir Robert, but freed from the abatements already mentioned; the last, peculiar and distinct—the improvement of the strength of the country by retaining the population at home to increase



the produce and resources of home. I presume it will be admitted, that in the British islands there are millions of acres that have never been yet brought into tillage. This, in truth, cannot be questioned.

Upon some of these acres, then, the home colony is to be located, nearly in the same way as in Canada, with this difference—which, however, is essential—that the land is to be rented or paid for yearly, in produce, by the colonists themselves. Here, it will be said, arises a competition with the settled producer, the same as that before objected to, although the difference is immense. First, in its being the produce of the country, consequently adding to, instead of taking from its resources. Secondly, it is needed for a larger population, the colonists themselves being included. Thirdly, it is also produced more gradually, consequently, in every way interfering less with the settled labour, or the settled consumption of the country, which by all such means may reasonably be supposed to increase. The reverse nearly of these several results attends the other. The process and progress contemplated then of the home colony is this :—To apply extra labour and manure to a comparatively small surface, to force by such certain means immediate production. To extend the operation to a larger surface, as the lands are improved, applying on all occasions, and with unremitting attention, every particle of manure to keep up and feed the

reclaimed soil, calculating that the more produce, the more manure; and the more manure, to a certain extent, the more produce again. This is stated incidentally, to show the gradual and certain progress of the land from bad to good; for in the colonies abroad the change is rather from better to worse; so that in a few years, the one improving, the other deteriorating, the equalizing point is soon passed at home, and then the race is fairly won. To insure this beneficial effect, perhaps two or three times the quantity of labour and manure may be required at first that will afterwards suffice to keep up the cultivation to a point equal to land now in tillage. If one-half, then one-half will be permanently provided for; if one-third only, then two-thirds will be freed for a similar course with the fresh acres yet untilled. Now this process combines in it the same advantages exactly as those of the emigrant colonist, only that more labour is absorbed upon a much smaller allotment. Each feeds himself out of a store of his own acquiring, and ceasing to partake of that of others. No competition exists so far, but with the waste acres, to make them productive. If we go no further, it is manifest that at home the separate provision of waste labour is more distinct from the other general labour market than abroad, and less likely to compete with accustomed produce, for that more labour is needed and less surplus acquired. The home colonist will never return of *necessity* to a labour

market wherein he is not needed, unless it be assumed, which is preposterous, that he turns his back on plenty to embrace want—quits his lands that provide for him, to till those which cannot yield him so much comfort. If, however, so perverse a choice be contemplated, he who thus chooses makes a vacant place for another not before located, so that the mischief is cured.

At home, then, the colonist is taken out of the labour market as abroad ; he is located as abroad, at less cost, the expense of transit being clearly saved ; he produces, as abroad, for his own wants, though more slowly, not the less securely ; he competes not with other labour then in a way to be better paid, because he is at least as well, if not better off, in a location gradually improving under his care, and, when improved, still requiring constant labour to maintain the colony as distinctly as before. Both classes then are equally benefited. The law of separation is equally powerful and operative at home as abroad, until the period in future times may arrive at which all are intermingled, not in competition of opposing interests, but in union of all interests in keeping up, with a larger population, a larger proportional produce. The grand results, however, the marked difference, the incalculable benefits, are the increasing numbers, and consequent strength of the nation. Here there cannot be a moment's hesitation how to decide, unless it be supposed that a half is greater or better than



a whole—ten millions better than twenty. But I will not offer an insult to the understanding by saying one word more on this head.

Having given distinct replies to the queries, let me now offer a few cursory remarks, bearing on all parts of the question. If Britain were really over full of inhabitants, redundant in population, in the more extended and more obvious sense of the word, that is, had more than the island could maintain, then, by all means, send the supernumeraries abroad. I take it, however, that would be needless, for who could then retain them at home? It would be impossible. The British islands, however, not being redundant in that extended sense of the word, why expatriate a single man? It is to people a new country. Well, but why not people the old first? Is England, for instance, filled up to the exact point of perfection, so that it is expedient to begin a course like that of peopling Canada to the same point? I suspect Sir Robert is not prepared to say he would go a single step in Canada or elsewhere, beyond the present standard of England, but only up to it. Now observe, if this be the basis, was there not a basis somewhat very like it 500 years ago? England was neither half so populous, and decidedly not half so productive. The same pressure on subsistence, the same redundancy, the same want of room and of good land, apparently existed; I say apparently, for to suppose it real were mere mockery and

madness.\* Then, by going on from that time to this, how infinitely richer, and finer, and stronger, and greater a country is she become! Call England a colony still, only that she is left to her own resources and increase, without accession of people from another country. Is not England still an immense way behind her full population, her full production, her full resources? Is there really a doubt here? 'Tis only in the *modus operandi*; the capabilities are demonstrable. Then this fine colony, which has for centuries thrown off every slavish yoke, every degrading incumbrance on her laws, her liberties, her religion—this fine colony, I say, stands pre-eminently the asylum of the oppressed, the guardian of civilization, the beacon of the world! Is she to be torn of her sons, to scatter fragments of her spoils in the woods and the wilds of a foreign land? Is she to be shorn of her native lustre, to spend her energies in remote regions, neglecting the greater wealth hidden in her own bosom? Forbid it reason—forbid it patriotism! Let the land we live in be the land we delight in; for, after all our weary wanderings, there is no place like home.

England is a colony not yet filled up—a country in progress, not yet arrived at its perfection—a partial garden, not yet made an entire garden. Every step in this progress is as exhilarating in prospect as it is in reality; and in this happy course ages may roll on ere the vision be fully realized.

\* Vide note, page 186.

## LETTER XXXII.

**T**HE first object in planting a colony is to raise subsistence from the untried soil, to erect houses to shelter the colonists, and to fence off their possessions from the ravages of wild animals or untamed savages. Every society begins thus, and it is from the stores so raised that all the luxuries and refinements of polished life are by degrees secured. Before the natural wants and necessities of mankind are supplied, it is quite clear that the more artificial ones of civilization cannot be attended to, nor will they probably arise until a more advanced period.

Mechanic arts naturally follow the agricultural—the fine arts the mechanical—all are nevertheless founded on the certain and regular productions of the first, and can never be separated from it.

In an entirely new colony there are peculiar advantages now attending its establishment, for all the agricultural skill of the parent stock, the mechanic improvements, the manufactured necessities, are at its immediate command; without going through the otherwise tardy course of progressive improvement, from a state of nature to a state of civilization. Still, with such alliances and means to boot, the grand and more general pursuit of a new colony must be agricultural. This will go on till the arts of the parent

state are by degrees needed to be cultivated in the colony; that is, by its approaching to the condition of the mother country in her resources and population. The latter increasing, the cultivation increasing, more spare hands for other pursuits not agricultural naturally arise, and thus find leisure, and opportunity, and means to do that which was before better done for them by the parent state. Of this progress there seems to be scarcely any doubt, and, presuming it to be admitted, arguments may be thence deduced for home colonization in preference to any other. Let us take a piece of waste land any where in England, Scotland, or Ireland, then locate on it as many individuals or more than would be needed in the richer soils abroad, and set them to work precisely in the same way and with even lesser advantages, for they should pay a portion of their produce for rent; what are the probable effects of this location? The parties will lean on the parent state as integral members of it for all the supplies, machines, and manufactures, as abroad. In process of time, if requisite, some may become manufacturers themselves, and sooner probably than abroad, and with greater certainty of success. The produce of their labours, adding of course to the resources of the state, will be consumed where produced by a greater number of mouths. Contrarywise the foreign supplies of similiar parties. Then the strength of the country is gradually increased—the resources with it—the



consumption with the preceding two, and nothing apparently to impede the beneficial progress. Science, applied with marvellous effect to the mechanic arts, may be directed with no less advantage, perhaps, to the better cultivation of the soil. The time for it seems to have arrived—the relief of pressing difficulties to be had with more certainty in such a course than in any other—or, reverting in short to first principles, that appear to have been forgotten for a time in the blaze of manufacturing and commercial prosperity. All production, of every description, whether agricultural or mechanic, is intended for consumers. Between the first person who makes or raises and the last who consumes or uses the commodity, there may be many intermediate hands; but without consumers it must remain somewhere stationary, and therefore useless. Whenever that takes place it seems to prove the excess of manufactured or agricultural productions, as the case may be, and thus requires the hand of experience to adjust the due balance. A mechanic, for instance, in a pursuit that will not yield him food, or the means of buying it, which is the same thing, may with probably half the labour on land procure it in abundance for all his wants, and something over. Take him then from the needless or inefficient labour to the productive, and the probable tone of supply and consumption is so far restored. An over-production of food, should it be the other way, is an evil of a much lighter nature

than that of an over-production of manufactures. It is probable that a general change from mechanic to agricultural labour would in a very short time work a surprising alteration in the country at large. This seems to be clear to the foreign, it is demonstrative to the home colonist.

A consideration of another description, however, demands attention, and it greatly concerns every true patriot to avert an evil of the nature I shall point out. Supposing a war likely to break out with any neighbouring country, and that a material portion of the food for general consumption is imported, would it not be a great aggravation of the evil to have the supplies cut off when most needed? It might happen that an exporter of corn was the enemy to be encountered. If so, two things run together, both equally adverse to the interests of the country. The supplies of the enemy are withheld, which increases his store, then superabundant, when most wanted—ours diminished at the very time, were it possible, that they should be increased. It is obvious, that so far as this may extend the evils are unqualified. But the colony abroad comes in aid of our necessities, and an extra supply is thence to be had. Perhaps not. If a small one it cannot; if a large one, it may not be prepared, or may then withhold it for some advantages of its own, that nothing but our necessities could enforce. It is in times of difficulty, and pressure too, that the yoke is thrown

off, and the want of timely providence at home, prevents the assistance that otherwise would not be refused. The home colonists, on the contrary, in such an event, furnish all that is wanted. They assist likewise in providing men. Two such essential particulars as more men and more supplies concurring, what a mighty difference hence arises! The men are ready, the supplies are ready, and both in increased number and amount. In this view of the subject there cannot be two opinions. Another material consideration is, that a country increasing in power and resources, being thereby fitter for war, is more likely to be at peace. Supposing that a man, a very wise man, 500 years ago, could see no necessity for taking in any more land than was at that time in tillage—that it would never pay—that there was no necessity for it, or that the supernumeraries had better be exported, he might have had influence perhaps over some minds to persuade them that he was right. Necessity, however, stronger than his arguments, enforced by increase of people an increased cultivation; and, now that we have seen the effects of it, we may venture to think he was wrong, and that in the millions of since cultivated acres, supplying the increased millions of inhabitants, it had been just as well as if both had been lost to their country. Is this supposition at all altered now? If so, in what respects? Where lies the difference? I should like to see a fair estimate made

by an emigrator on this particular. He could not deny that increase of population required increase of food, for the burden of his song is, "Drive them away, there is not enough here." He could not deny that food was only to be procured by the cultivation of the soil, for this is again the burden of his song, "Cultivate in Canada, or any where but at home." Then he could not fairly deny that the same parties he would send away might cultivate here, and might produce food here only for some time not in equal abundance. Admitting this, nothing is lost to the argument of the home colonists—nothing gained by the other. Time would soon, as it has done, equalize both in the better means of improvement at home, and the more easy access to every requisite for it. But the trade of the colonies is something, and that is to compensate largely for all costs attending them. It is exactly limited to the numbers actually located. It is easy to count heads, and they by the way are all, or nearly all taken from the market at home. They are as nothing to the trade with other foreign countries, and still less in comparison with that at home. Trade, to be greatly beneficial, must be carried on with the most thickly-peopled countries. No vend for our manufactures is equal to their home consumption—none nearer to it than the nearest populous neighbour who will traffic with us. On this head, however, there can be no question, though there appear to have



been great mistakes—great omissions—great misconceptions. Were facts only at all times clearly placed before us, the deduction from them would be much less difficult. I am fully aware of the frightful monsters conjured up to terrify the mind in the increasing population of the country. May there not, by an easy process, be a corresponding increase of animal life for the sustenance of the increasing population? Unquestionably, and with increased comforts too! If younger cattle, younger mutton, younger fowls, &c. were used, I calculate they would increase quite as fast as the wild Irish. One year only saved or lessened in the life of each would give probably an increase of a third to the animal food of the country.

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### LETTER XXXIII.

I SHALL in this Letter advert to the poor labourers, whose cause now meets with more attention in parliament and out of it, and take up the subject in reference to capital expended, or to be usefully expended for their relief. Many very able men are of opinion that *capital* cannot be so profitably employed at home as abroad in setting waste labour to waste land, and on that ground, principally, combat the measure of home colonization. Let us inquire into the subject,

and ask, what is this capital which is to be so charily doled out? Is it not strictly, and in all its parts, the fruits of human labour and industry? It appears to be so, whatever shape it may assume when accumulated. The fruit of labour, then, it is convertible into labour again; stop its progress or employment, and all goes wrong; give facilities to its circulation or use, all goes right. In this view of capital, it follows, that labour, or the power to labour, is the poor man's capital; and that the accumulation or previous fruit of labour forms that of the rich. By both, however, it must be employed, to be useful to either. Idle, the rich man would live on the previous store, and continually diminish it; idle, the poor man must starve, or live on the bounty of the rich—he has no store to fall back upon. Then the labour market is, in truth, the market for capital also, unless it be assumed that it never can do more than supply the current wants of mankind. Yet, had it not done more, there would have been no wealth, no surplus, no other capital, in short, but that of current labour for current consumption. Does not this view of the subject lead to the direct conclusion, that locking up the poor man's capital, his labour, must be infinitely more injurious than locking up any other? All the aggregated capital now existing in the world may be destroyed; yet if the labour capital only be left in vigorous exercise, the former can be replaced as it had been created,

and will be daily in a course of being replaced, without an overwhelming mischief to mankind. Destroy, however, the labour capital of only a tenth part of the labourers, for a very short time, and the immediate as well as the remote evils exceed all previous calculation. Let us here pause, and coolly consider this, for it is of vital importance. Begin a new colony, labour is the commodity that is to be employed beneficially for all wants and wishes. The capital is in constant exercise, because constantly needed, and constantly produces superabundance. Continue an old colony, or treat home as a colony, the same course will assuredly produce the same effects. In the former, however, there is no stop to the exercise of labour by conflicting vested rights in the soil; there the land, here the labourers; no hindrance. The progress is naturally and truly from supply of necessaries to supply of comforts—from supply of comforts to supply of luxuries—from natural and real wants to those of art and refinement. This seems to be unquestionable whilst the capital of labour is continually employed. Only employ the capital, and the profits, or in other words, the benefits are certain. All capital thus employed, particularly that of labour, is advantageous—all unemployed, for the time, useless. But the great difference between the poor and the rich capitalist is, that the latter in spending a portion of his, when idle falls back on the remainder, till the whole is expended, or

invested again. The poor man, on the contrary, having nothing to fall back upon, becomes a pauper in a single day. Take, abstractedly, the unemployed capital of both parties, and mark the operation. The rich, falling back on his capital for subsistence, therefore, gradually diminishing it, but he must also diminish it yet more to subsist the poor man too, who, having none to fall back upon is, *eo instante*, dependent. Here, then, is a double infliction of evil, with not a single qualifying circumstance attending it, and which, were it long to continue, would tend to the dissolution of all the bonds of civil society. The evil is one, moreover, that admits of no other remedy whatever, but the employment again of both capitals.

The poor man's capital, his labour, again in exercise, relieves, not only the evils of subsisting on the accumulated capital of the other, it places him in a situation of competence, with the reasonable chance of acquiring more than sufficient for his natural wants. The rich man's is freed from the double loss already described, and is once more rendered fruitful and accumulative. What hinders the same course being pursued at home as abroad? The channels for employing both capitals are equally open, though at first, perhaps, not equally productive. Abroad the land may be given to new occupants, at home it must be rented. Abroad less of the capital will, perhaps, go further; in other words, less labour may suf-



fice to raise more produce. At home, consequently, more labour will be needed for less immediate produce. If the question of home or foreign colonization rested on the mere experiment of immediate returns, then in the one case, that of foreign location, they would on *the spot* be greater. If, however, we take a more comprehensive view of the probable effects of each on the parties, the colonies, and the mother country, it assumes a very different aspect. Admit, for instance, that the labour market here is overstocked, then he who cannot employ his capital of labour, for want of means so to do, is sent abroad from a state of hopeless misery and destitution, to what?—The means of exercising his capital as he would have done here, if labour were not in excess? Far from it, though it would have been only fair to those left behind. He is, on the contrary, placed, *instantly*, in a state of entire independence, by the gift of a landed estate, and the means to work it till it shall subsist him. To the capital of his labour then, here is added a capital of land; to the capital of land, another of money, to enable him to work it till he can secure the first harvest. Why, is not this an advance far beyond that of any farmer in this country: and may not such a competitor turn him too, as well as his labourer, out of the market ere long? I mistake greatly, if this be not the tendency of it. All the home colonist contends for is, to give such facilities for the em-

ployment of the capital of labour, that it shall be ever in use—never idle. He does not ask for the gift of land here to poor labourers, for such a boon would place them above, and not on a par with the market from which they are now excluded. It is only asked, to have portions of waste land let off to the poor on reasonable terms, that they may apply their capital of labour unceasingly to the improvement of them, and the production of their food. To the capital of labour, then, a capital of money, equal to the wants of the parties until the land yielded them subsistence, is all that is required. It is evident, that more capital of labour will be needed and absorbed here than abroad, for the land may be admitted to be less fertile and productive at first. Then, so far, it is a more efficient and better remedy. It is evident that the loss will not comprise the expense of transit to a foreign country; it is clear that labourers, if so retained, will increase the strength of the country, so also its produce. The more capital of labour being thus required and absorbed, the less direct loss of accumulated capital in maintaining the paupers idle. The one capital, that of labour, more fully employed, will take less from the other capital of accumulation, and free so much of it for other purposes—at any rate from direct loss. No right is here destroyed, for the land is to be taken at a fair rent. No injurious advance is here made in the state of the labour market, the new parties occupying only a

new and more extended market on the same terms as the other; therefore, for the benefit of both, the present labour market is freed from a useless burden, the new one rendered proportionally productive. But, I ask, can the expensive remedy of giving estates to such parties abroad go on for any considerable period; because, if not, we shall be like spendthrifts, without a patrimony when it shall be most needed. It is clear, I think, that at no great distance of time the gifts must be circumscribed, or altogether cease to be made. In either case, the advantages will be lessened; the inducements to emigrate lessened; the remedy consequently more limited. But this will take place, according to the emigrator's views, at a time when the pressure at home will be still greater. This may be fairly argued on recognized principles of population increasing to a market for it, and that such expensive donations make that market. It is time, however, that I drew this Letter to a close, and shall do so with the following summary:

Emigration offers the poor labourer a considerable portion of land in Canada, rent free; the necessary means to enable him to cultivate it, and subsistence also, for a period, till he can get his bread from his estate.

Home colonization makes no such liberal offer, but only that the means shall be afforded to bring the poor man's capital of labour into constant use.

The expenses of emigration are greater at first to locate parties, for they have to be conveyed by sea to their respective stations.

Home colonization is evidently less at first, for all such expenses of transit are saved.

The produce in the foreign soil is at first greater, for it is the produce of good and fertile land.

The produce at home so much less at first, as the difference arising between good and indifferent land.

The produce abroad will be procured also with less proportionate labour—at home with greater.

The produce abroad probably diminishing, by exhausting the land.

The produce at home probably increasing, by the necessity of manuring and improving it.

The produce abroad will probably find its way here, in exchange, perhaps, for our manufactures, though neither absolutely certain.

The produce at home will have a similar destination, without any doubt whatever.

The produce imported, one should think, must injure the labour market of produce here, and then, if so, increase the evil emigration professes to remedy.

The produce raised here being needed for parties who raise it here as consumers, no injury whatever hence arises, but the contrary.

The former beats down, or tends to beat down, the labour market at home.



The latter, on the contrary, assists it, by increasing its just and legitimate bounds ; that is, the increase to the wants of the population so retained, not an increase to a much less extended market, the emigrators being deducted.

With regard to the investment of capital in the experiment of waste land, and whether it will or will not answer, I would invite my reader's attention more particularly to the following ascertained facts. First, as to the eight acres near Brighton, on which there was an expenditure in 1829 of 190*l.*, and a return of 337*l.*, leaving full 10*l.* an acre profit, after allowing for rent 20*l.* a year ; and in the year 1830, of 206*l.* expended, and 326*l.* returned, leaving nearly the same surplus. No one, I think, will hesitate in the admission that the investment answered. And, secondly, on a more considerable number of acres, in the county of Sussex, in grass last year, and in this in tillage by poor cottagers, in small allotments, the difference in the value of the produce is at least 12*l.* 10*s.*, and from that to 17*l.* 10*s.* per acre, and is shown thus :—The rental 1*l.* 10*s.*, to either grazier or cultivator, the assumed profit or value in the former about 20*s.* more, making 2*l.* 10*s.* together. The estimated value of the latter, from 15*l.* to 20*l.* per acre. Now, the expense of labour must be deducted from the latter, say three weeks, at 12*s.* a week, and a week more to weed, &c., and another week to get in the crops ; this would come to 3*l.* the

outside, for I apprehend four weeks would more than suffice for the whole. But, take a deduction of 4*l.* 10*s.* per acre, including rent, and we have a profit upon investment of 10*l.* 10*s.* per acre in the case of 15*l.* worth of produce, and 15*l.* 10*s.* in that of 20*l.* per acre. Let us take, however, a greater outlay for a person who employs labourers, and pays them out of capital of accumulation ; say 5*l.* per acre, and a lesser return, though it would be difficult to say for what good reason, the labourers being well paid. However, take a return of only from 12*l.* to 18*l.* per acre, then we have from 7*l.* to 13*l.* per acre clear, even in this way. Mr. Curwen in his enlightened and valuable experiments bears out my hypothetical assumption as to the capability of great increase in the produce of the earth, by more skilful culture, and more individual labour, and more manure bestowed on it. He thinks that the capability is, or was, when he published his book, at about five times the then actual amount. If this be correct, and I see no reason whatever to doubt it, then what a field of speculation is here opened for both capitalist and cultivator. But in this speculation every step is secure, every advance beneficial alike to capital, to labour, and to land. It is, as I have often said, a beginning to the amelioration of all our evils ; but the glorious end no man can foresee, no mind can penetrate.

How then can capital be more usefully employed than by setting the waste capital of labour

here at work on the waste lands here, to render them productive?

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#### LETTER XXXIV.

**I**N my last, the subject of capital was considered as applied to useful purposes, or, on the contrary, not applied at all. It was shown how much more injurious the non-employment of the capital of the poor, labour, was, than the stagnation of any other. I proceed now to advert to some particulars that may make the propriety of employing the capital of labour on waste lands more apparent.

It is generally assumed, and often said, that it wont pay, and experiments, it must be admitted, have been made that appear to justify this opinion. It is only, however, in appearance; for it may be shown that there was no reasonable chance of such experiments ending in any thing but failure, conducted as some of them have been. For instance, a considerable number of acres of waste land have been ploughed up and treated pretty much in the way of already reclaimed lands, and have yielded little more than the seed that has been sown on them. Why, to be sure, this can never pay any one, for what is to pay is the extra produce, after securing the seed again. Here is labour applied to an extended surface, similar to what is done on a like surface already in tillage,

and the results, as may be expected, a surplus in the latter case that does pay, the land having been made better many years before probably, but in the former case nothing at all commensurate with the cost. In this way it never can pay, for, year after year, it will be little better, and the cost so much the more, or thus nearly equal capital will be constantly thrown away to no useful purpose. But if the same quantity of labour had been applied to one-third of the number of acres, so as to thoroughly work and manure them, then only one-third of the seed would have been needed, and, probably, nay certainly, a much larger increase than from the whole of the other. If so, then the way is so far cleared that the seed is not only reproduced, but a surplus, commensurate in some degree with the cost of labour. This will go on also, for the same process again will be attended with even greater advantage, in the greater amount of manure arising from the land itself to enrich it again. In a short time, the process going on thus, the produce increases, the labour lessens, but only to a certain point. Probably a third, or may be a half, may be dispensed with in a few years, when the land shall have been, as the process will insure it, brought up to an equal state with other land that has been long in tillage. Observe the difference in the employment of the two capitals. The one on an extended surface, and treated pretty much as long reclaimed lands are, yields



nothing comparatively beyond the seed sown, and that also a larger quantity. The other, a much less extended surface, treated, being waste, with much more attention than long reclaimed lands, as requiring it, and yielding, consequently, much more largely in a much less quantity of seed, besides laying the sure foundation for future improvement from its own resources. The principle admitted, the case is altered, and it will be found, I apprehend, that capital so invested will pay, and that very well too, if parties are not in too great a hurry. Mr. Coke is probably a good authority on this point.

I have shown the benefits of this constant employment of the capital of labour, for, if idle, that it, *ipso facto*, breaks in upon the capital of accumulation. In other words, the rich must maintain the poor, or provide for them the means of supporting themselves. There is really no choice here—it is inevitable. The first and leading principle of our Poor Laws goes directly to this object, and it should never be departed from. Waste labour, then, applied to waste land, both in excess, must produce the most beneficial results. Let us compare this with a practice stated by Mr. Richardson in his *Proposed Change in the Poor Laws*, a pamphlet recently published, and see the prodigious difference to all parties.

He tells us, that of eight parishes in Norfolk, as at present managed in reference to the maintenance of paupers only, there are in the first

48½ (*vide* the pamphlet, as he therein accounts for this mode of stating the number) able-bodied labourers and 56 children to be employed: the parish valued at 832*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*, containing 1,500 acres, and the rate 444*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Of this, he says, there was paid to able-bodied labourers out of employment on the roads and in *meat money* the sum of 224*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* But, it is added, the sum actually required to mend the roads was only 25*l.* a year. Here we have then nearly 200*l.* thrown away as to any useful return from their capital of labour, that must, and does come out of the accumulated capital of others; that is, from the rate so improvidently applied. Now, no one, I should imagine, with such a fact before him, could for an instant doubt that the 200*l.* laid out in labour upon waste land, would not have been vastly preferable to extra road mending. Supposing the twenty acres allowed to be taken by parishes (an odd restriction, by the way), would not the labour of these paupers and their children have produced subsistence for the whole? Aye, and a great deal more. In one year, then, they would have lessened the rate materially, and in a very short time rendered it unnecessary, barring sickness and accidents. Well, but the second parish, like the first, had 48½ men and 17 children to be employed: the parish the same in extent as the first, and valued at 1,300*l.*; the rate 712*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*, of which 486*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* were paid as before, with the same sum of 25*l.* also being ac-

tually required for road making. Here, then, we have 461*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* literally thrown away. In the third parish, there were 25 men and 10 children to be employed; the parish 650 acres, and valued at 167*l.* 10*s.*; rate 111*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*, of which 69*l.* 18*s.* were paid as before, but the actual road mending required only 5*l.*, so that 64*l.* 18*s.* of this heavy, though small rate, was also lost to the parish. The fourth parish had 36 men and 40 children to be employed: the parish 948 acres, and valued at 714*l.*; rate 366*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*, of which 219*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* were paid as before, the road mending again only requiring 8*l.*, so that 211*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* were lost. In the fifth parish, 94 men and 65 children, as before: the parish 2,000 acres, valued at 921*l.*, and the rate 800*l.*, of which 358*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* were paid as before, the road requiring only 30*l.*, leaving, consequently, a dead loss of 328*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*! In the sixth parish, 49 men and 34 children were unemployed: the parish 2,034 acres, valued at 1,400*l.*; the rate 922*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*, of which 682*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* were paid as before, the roads requiring the same as the last; here then is a wasteful loss of 652*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*!!! In the seventh parish, 86 men and 60 children were as before: the parish 4,833 acres, valued at 2,727*l.*, and the rate 1,609*l.* 13*s.*, of which 1,000*l.* were expended as before, but the roads required only 70*l.* a year, so that 930*l.* were thus also lost. In the eighth, 60 men and 54 children were as before: the parish 1,550

acres, valued at 1,210*l.*, and the rate 857*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.*, of which 317*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* were spent as above, but the roads required only 20*l.*, so that nearly 300*l.* were again lost to the public, and, in effect, to the paupers also, deprived as they were of the means of employing their capital of labour usefully. I do not deem any remark necessary on the facts stated, but only as to the worthy author's proposal to alter the Poor Laws. The evil does not here exist so much in the laws as in the strange mis-application of them. Is there aught in them to prevent any one or all of the eight parishes alluded to from employing their surplus poor labour on lands in the parishes, the poorest that can be had, to the extent of twenty acres at least? Certainly not. If only twenty acres were, however, so taken and appropriated in each, what is the difference? Most unquestionably food to at least the extent of the sum now paid for it. Would not this, then, alone diminish the rate? Giving a return for it is, in effect, diminishing it. Now it has been proved that by good husbandry one acre will maintain five, then, of consequence, one hundred may be provided with all natural wants by their own capital of labour employed on the twenty acres. I think nothing more need be added on this head.

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## LETTER XXXV.

**T**HE advocates for home colonization are bound, it is said, to show that the economy of the funds so applied, and the happiness of the parties so disposed of, would be greater, in all probability, than what actual experience has shown to be the case in the emigration of 1823 and 1825. Now, if the advocates of the former measure were so bound, is it not fair towards them that equal facilities for trying the experiment should have been first given? The emigrator has his experience to refer to. The home colonist has not only had no similar means of verifying his plans, but is taunted with entertaining fallacious views for want of them. He can still, however, stand his ground, and still show, I think, that his mode is the preferable one. On the subject of population one material question goes far with him, to which he invites particular attention. It is this:—Are the British islands stronger, better, more flourishing, more abundant in resources of all sorts, with a population of 24 millions or with one of 12? The next question is arising out of the former:—Are the said islands able to maintain 24 millions? No one can doubt the latter, for this fact is proved. Who then can reply otherwise than yes to the former, the latter fact being proved? Very well; so far no harm is done. Then it would have been very injudicious with a

population of 12 millions to have emigrated a single man of them ; and yet, as I have frequently said, the same arguments for emigration, if good now, were quite as cogent then, as by reference to history may be easily shown and seen.

It is assumed that the increasing population from the 12 to the 24 millions have taken in and cultivated many millions of waste acres, many millions of them inferior soils. There can be little doubt that they have. There is absolute certainty of it. Did these acres pay for the culture? Do they pay now? Why are they not driven out of tillage? The reply is, probably, that they are of such absolute necessity now to supply food for the 24 millions, that not one of them can be spared. Nay, they may be now, with constant tillage, very far from inferior soils, and can any one doubt of it? Then they did pay for taking in—they have paid since—they pay now. Notwithstanding this self-evident truth, it is asserted, that paupers colonized on an inferior soil would not occasion an increasing demand for the manufactures of the country, except, says a learned gentleman, “ in the *improbable supposition* that those persons would produce more than the expense of their subsistence.” It may be safely argued, that even then subsistence thus acquired is no small gain, for it takes nothing whatever from any other store, but, on the contrary, adds so much to the general resources of the country. I shall merely advert to

the assumed improbable supposition. Is it then really improbable that tilling waste land will not improve it? The foundation is laid on this single, gratuitous, and most unphilosophical assumption. If it does improve the inferior soil, however, what hinders this progress from inferior to superior by similar means and constant manuring? Rich soils may be soon deteriorated by exhaustion if not manured; and poor ones, by feeding and culture, made to exceed them. Has this been or not been the case in the progress hitherto of the population, from the 12 to the 24 millions, and the millions of inferior acres made good by their increased labour? Having looked back, to see the natural and necessary operation of increased hands increasing the cultivated land of the country, let us look forward, in like manner, and we shall probably see no more pressing necessity for thinning or stopping either than there was before. What stronger reason, I ask, is there now for it, than when the population was at half its present amount? With half the population, there would be only half the culture. But there is less waste land left to subsist them. True; but is there not only still enough, but a superabundance that can never, and will never otherwise be cultivated at all? What is it left for? Why not cultivate it also? The wastes yet uncultivated will maintain, if brought up only to the extent of the land now in tillage, an equal number of people with the whole amount of the

British population. Surely, then, it is beginning a great deal too soon to stop short at a point when not more than half the productive powers of our native land are brought into exercise—according to Mr. Curwen not more than a fifth. The wastes never can be cultivated without an increased population; but then, also, the lands will yield subsistence, ample subsistence, for the increase. It may be asked, and I do ask, as I have done before, is there any one acre of the very best and highest cultivated land in the empire that may not be increased in its productive powers? I believe not. Science, properly so called, has not yet been applied to agriculture, as it has been to machinery and the arts, and it is unknown what new resources may not be found in a better mode of culture than any hitherto adopted. The difference, however, is immense between the waste acre and the cultivated one. Take a familiar instance, in the rental for land cultivated and uncultivated. In one part of the empire land may be rented for two-pence an acre; in another for 40*l.*; the former in the north, the latter at Bayswater. The difference here is in a ratio of 1 to 4,800; that is, the one acre at Bayswater is become 4,800 times more valuable than the waste acre in the north. I am fully aware of the difference of situation and climate, but such is the fact. But even in the north, not a great many miles from the waste, I have known land let for 8*l.* an acre, and this dif-



ference is as 1 to 960 ; that is, the cultivated is 960 times more valuable than the waste acre. What is it that prevents the waste being made equally valuable with the other ? Simply, the want of hands.

If the lands at present in cultivation were not really and properly kept up to the standard of production now acquired, what would be the consequence ? Why, most assuredly, that they would deteriorate and become waste again if entirely neglected. What prevents this ? The quantity of labour bestowed upon them. Apply the same course, the same principles, and with fresh hands, to the lands not reclaimed. Why, to be sure, it is inevitable that the same results will ultimately ensue, for the same general laws govern each, and will continue to do so until the whole frame of nature be altered or broken up. If, as I have said, the lands now in culture, without constant attention, will go back, what is the probability with regard to the colonies, where so much is so lavishly given to the new settlers ? Why, that the necessity not existing, as it does here, to keep them up, the probability is, they will deteriorate, and that new pieces will be broke up as the others are growing worse.

Nay, this which I had assumed as the probable fact, is the real one too, as the following evidence proves. " Let any traveller," says Dr. Cooper, " look over the agriculture of our parent state, and not a fallow is to be seen. Ex-

amine the agriculture of our own country (America), and it is hardly an exaggeration to say, that as many weeds are raised in our cultivated lands as ears of wheat, because they imagine that capital laid out in new land pays better than capital laid out on old." I had assumed it on the common principle that men will labour as little as they can, when the means of subsistence may be had on easier terms in one mode than in the other. But mark the ultimate and certain consequence of such a course. By degrees this colony becomes worse. By degrees, at home, a contrary course being necessary, the soil improves. Here is a constant progression from the two-pence an acre to the 8*l.* an acre, or the 40*l.* an acre; that is, from 1 to 960, or 4,800. When the same experiment, or any thing approaching it, is tried at home that has been tried abroad, then, and then only, can it be fairly asked of the home colonist to show the certain advantages of it. He, however, never asked for gratuitous grants of land, the capital for location and subsistence on such grants, but, simply, the fair opportunity of bringing the poor man's capital of labour into constant use, for his own, and, also, the decided benefit of the country at large. Thus, united by birth and occupation to his native soil, he is, in truth, a defender who may be securely trusted in time of need. Thus occupied, he is the best customer also for her manufactures. In truth, every interest is hereby blended in one

happy union that must render Britain, as she has hitherto been, the envy and the bulwark of the civilized world.

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### LETTER XXXVI.

SEEING the prodigious increase that well-bestowed labour gives to the value of land, it may not be amiss to advert more particularly to this part of the subject. Human labour gives the increase, but has science accompanied it so that her limit to production is ascertained? I have said no; nor does it appear to me possible, *a priori*, to do so. The progress from a state of barrenness to fertility is one also of increase to the food of the land itself; that is, the more produce, so also the more manure—the more manure, so also the more produce again to a certain extent. The economy of nature is such, that what is noxious and offensive to animal life is not so to the vegetable: and that well-directed industry applies the principle so as to feed both in greater abundance and perfection. Now, are there not at home extensive sources of useful and very beneficial employment for the poor, in thus combining the two operations, beginning at the point of sterility and gradually progressing to that of unlimited production? What masses of now noxious wealth are contained in the drains and sewers of the metropolis! How easily convertible to the most

salutary purposes ! The nuisance above ground is the fertilizing food below it. It is more ; the seeds of pestilent diseases are also smothered effectually, and for ever, by the same means ; and now that the alarm of cholera is abroad, is not new force given to the argument ? The sweepings of our streets, now better attended to than heretofore, are also thus carried to the fields to enrich them ; but what prodigious waste still exists, pestilential alike to air and water, that might be removed by well-directed labour to the greatest advantage on the contiguous lands. So also I have witnessed at Brighton, and the sea coast in other quarters, immense quantities of sea-weed thrown upon the beach in a single storm. I have also seen it all suffered to be swept back again, or to rot and become a nuisance on the shingles. Would it not be a useful labour to the poor to rake it with all speed out of the high-water mark, and then take it away by degrees for use as occasion served ? No better manure can be used indeed, though there is a prejudice against it on the coast, as being of little value.

So also of all the filth and refuse from the fisheries ; suffered to pollute the air, instead of being collected to fertilize the soil. In truth, there is no end to hints of this kind, and every man of observation will at once see the prodigious waste in this particular, in almost any quarter to which he turns his attention. That this has not hitherto received sufficient notice, is owing, in my



opinion, to the pressure of necessity by increase of hands not having yet led to it. The barren land, the wasted manure, the unemployed labourer—why not brought together? The rich and the poor alike benefit by the course, and it is difficult to say which of them the most. The waste and filth of London would, better directed, be the wealth and beauty of the country; and would not London itself be greatly improved by having its impurities regularly taken off, its river constantly cleansed, its air consequently purified? But to effect such beneficial objects, labour, in much greater abundance than heretofore must be applied. The following scheme, as a practical measure, is offered to my reader's consideration. It may, and I doubt not will, produce good whenever tried. It cannot, I think, altogether fail.

Take any portion of waste or uncultivated land, for instance, intended to be located or occupied by pauper tenants, say of four, or five, or six acres, or more, so as to make a convenient field; then let off this field from a half to a whole acre, to each poor person who can and will fully dig it up and cultivate it. The tenants of the whole to fence in the whole, but not the intermediate divisions.

Such tenants, after the first year or two, to pay in produce or money as follows:—If in produce, then one-third of the net produce; if in money, then only one-fourth of the net value of the pro-

duce of each year. The value to be fixed or ascertained by the lessor's agent or steward. None of the straw or refuse to be taken off the land, and no part of the allotment to remain untilled. In either case of the removal of straw or refuse, or not tilling the whole of the allotment within the year, the tenure to be at an end.

The fences to be made and kept up by the tenants, in the proportions and places to be pointed out by the lessor, his agent, or steward.

The tenure to be for three years certain : and so on from three years to three years, until notice to quit be given on either side.

No building to be erected by the tenants on the allotments, nor removed when erected, without the consent of the lessor.

A mode of cultivation to be occasionally furnished to each tenant, but leaving to him the option to vary it, should he think fit.

As the capital of labour is the only one the poor man possesses, the quantity of land to be let to him, should be such only, and no more, as he can fully cultivate by his own exertions. More would be useless, and less insufficient to fully employ his capital. As his family increased, however, more might be let to him, but still to be governed by the same principle : The labour always exercised, the land wholly cultivated by it. In a case of this sort supposing the land near a town or a river, then the sources of manure are more easily come at ; and the operation

of destroying nuisances, and converting them into benefits may well be carried on.

It is by means of a minute attention to the feeding of the land, that the poor colonists of Holland, reclaimed the barren soil of their location. If poor people were taught to pay minute attention to this material subject; the improvement of their allotments would be secured beyond all doubt. They should never allow of any thing being lost, from the pig-sty to the ashes of the fire, from the pickle to the wash tub, from the bones and offal of every description, to carrion of all sorts, whether of birds, animals, or fish; but to put all on or into the land, where alone they can be useful, and every where else noxious and unwholesome. It appears to me, that allotments such as I have pointed out, are more likely to be beneficial being disseminated throughout the whole country, than by collecting a colony of great numbers into any one place. The separate application is easier, and the parties better known. It is more agreeable to their natural wants and feelings. It is less expensive, inas-much as an establishment, a separate establishment, I mean, of an extended nature is saved; and it interferes less with the laws and usages of society. In all my letters the subject has been taken up as applying waste labour to waste land only; but it might be extended to that of fisheries with almost equal benefit; for our coasts in every direction abound in wealth of another descrip-

tion, that needs but the hand of labour to become equally productive and advantageous.

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### CONCLUSION.

**AFTER** all that has been stated throughout the previous Letters, I shall now offer some closing remarks in the nature of a summary of the whole.

It has been admitted that population presses on subsistence ; but it has ever done so, and will ever do so, and is, therefore, no new discovery. Without such pressure, man would, probably, not labour at all ; and that it is Nature's mode of enforcing exertion—but what then? Subsistence, the fruit of labour, is had in greater abundance, the greater the number of cultivators, and that, consequently, population and subsistence may go hand in hand ; or subsistence may very easily be made to precede population.

It has been shown that overwhelming distress has existed amongst the manufacturing poor, such as never could have been supposed possible or endurable in a civilized country. That the professed remedy for so enormous an evil was not likely to be effective, since the numbers taken off by emigration to America, to manufacture for America, would necessarily pre-occupy an equal supply of cottons theretofore sent from England. That it was a mere change of position, favourable,



no doubt, to the poor operatives who went thither at better wages, but not at all conducive to the welfare of those left behind, who would still labour on a lessened supply of cottons from America, for a lessened market in America, and, therefore, with no better hope of advance than before. Whatever the portions of the previous supply America needed, so much of it as these emigrants made there would, consequently, affect the supply of raw cottons to this country, and of manufactured cottons exported.) The idea, then, that the expulsion of so many parties would relieve the market at home was fallacious, and had the still further disadvantageous tendency of increasing manufactures in America, and, consequently, of shutting out by degrees what would otherwise be supplied from England.

It has been shown that increase of population forces increase of cultivation, and that increase of cultivation supplies every want, but does not force population, and, therefore, it may be asked, why omit the cultivation of waste land, for the supernumeraries that require food? Here all is clear gain—the new people to the country—the barren acres to the state of production—the miseries of want avoided—the blessings of plenty supplying their place.

It has been shown that the mortgage of the Poor Rate, in order to raise money for emigrating a portion of the paupers, was incurring a certain permanent rate for 40 years, to get rid of an eventual

greater rate, relievable, *instanter*, by either the death or employment of the paupers, and thus both money and men were therefore lost to their country. The inference was also drawn that the very evil itself, to be remedied, might thus be increased, and this by the imported produce of the parties so emigrated, in displacing or preventing an equal production at home, and incurring the probable chance of new rates for new paupers, in addition to the fixed rates for those sent abroad. That a contrary course, as to location, though the same in pursuit, that is, agricultural, at home, would abate both evils, and increase the resources of the country in population and produce at the same time.

It has been shown that where the allotment system had prevailed, as in some of our inland counties, the Poor Rates were of comparatively small amount, and had not been much increased of late years; whereas, for want of it, as in Sussex, for example, and in other parts, the rates had advanced from hundreds to thousands within a very few years, and with fearful and increasing rapidity.

It has been shown that rates have been applied for road mending and meat money, to a most ruinous extent; whereas the actual worth of the labour necessary was comparatively trifling, thus proving the existence of a capital actually thrown away, instead of being usefully employed in redressing the mischief.

It has been shown that waste land, where an apparently immoderate expenditure of labour and manure had been bestowed on it, had yielded a profit after all of ten pounds an acre, and that without an excess of labour and manure, it would not even pay back the seed sown on it.

It was not shown in the case of the expulsion of thirty-six persons from six acres in Ireland, what rent in labour, or otherwise, they could or would have paid for continuing tenants, which, however, was absolutely necessary to ascertain the precise advantages of the measure, merely as it regarded returns, but the evils inflicted on them, and, through them, on the country generally, were unqualified; whereas, doubling the quantity of land to them might not only have averted the whole, but have also produced the most salutary effects to each.

It has been shown that the emigrant interfered most injuriously with the labour market at home, by being placed above, and not upon a par with all the ordinary competitors for labour here, so that he, as an independent landed proprietor, would probably drive the small farmer out of the market here as well as his labourer; whereas the labourer here, being only furnished with the opportunity of employing his capital of labour on waste land here, would thereby extend only, but neither injure nor interfere with the usual market.

It has been shown that the wastes at home can never be rendered productive without an increased population, and that many millions of acres would now have been waste also, but for an increasing population within the last century. That nothing has been hitherto lost by the increase of both; but, contrarywise, the strength, and beauty, and resources of the country, all thereby improved.

It has been shown that the same arguments for emigration now, were equally good, *mutatis mutandis*, at almost any prior period of our history, and referring to history for the verification thereof.

It has been shown that the increasing population is not a subject of minute previous estimate, because the ground of it is of too changeable and precarious a nature, depending solely on the volition of the parties who enter into the married state at an earlier or later period of life—an early marriage accelerating, and a late one retarding the increase. That it was not a fact that starving the poor lessened their numbers, but the reverse; and that a more abundant provision for them, made them more provident, more useful, more happy, and less prolific, by its tendency to delay, instead of accelerating marriage.

It has been shown that the remedy for the dreadful evil of unemployed paupers is at hand, and of very easy application, not by altering,



but merely by carrying the original Poor Laws into effect, in every parish in the kingdom, and that no other effectual remedy exists.

It has been shown that not only is the landed interest eased of an intolerable load by such means, but the manufacturer is also benefited in at least an equal degree; thus converting the pauper cultivators into consumers also, a matter by no means so secure abroad, where the men, the money to export them, and their custom, may be, and often are, all lost by their going over to another country.

It has been shown that trade, to be beneficial to any considerable extent, should be carried on with a thickly-peopled country, and that, consequently, a new colony would afford but small advantage for many years to come; and that the numbers being taken moreover from the mother country, took away as many customers as it secured, but with decided disadvantage to the parent state.

It has been shown that employment of the capital of labour, employed also the capital of accumulation, to the mutual advantage of each; whereas the non-employment of the capital of labour, also broke in upon the capital of accumulation, and took from it a portion for the maintenance of men in idleness;—that the progress one way was, therefore, highly beneficial to all; the other way most injurious to all.

It has been shown that all capital of accumulation is the result of human labour, and if destroyed, so that the capital of labour only be left in full exercise, it would, as theretofore, be reproduced; whereas, if the capital of accumulation were retained, and the capital of labour to a large extent impeded, or destroyed for any length of time, the evils were of the most appalling and overwhelming description, subversive even of all the bonds of civil society.

The difference between emigration and colonization has been pointed out, and insisted on, as being a total separation from the mother country and her interests in the former case, and so far injurious—as drawing the bonds that unite us to her stronger in the other, and making her the hive to contain all our stores, and thus far beneficial.

It has been shown that land has been, and may be, increased in its value five thousand fold, by the labour of man; and that without such labour the best will deteriorate; that no assignable limit to its productive powers is yet known—what encouragement, then, to proceed, and how certain the results if we only persevere.

If I shall have succeeded to impress on the minds of my readers, the immense benefits resulting from home, as opposed to foreign location for the poor. If I shall have proved the practical nature of these views, and the speedy cure thence

arising of so many calamities; I shall indeed rejoice, and feel amply rewarded. It is however highly important and most satisfactory to know, that, wherever the experiment has been tried, it has never yet in any one instance, within my knowledge, been found to fail.



THE END.









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