

AN OUTLINE

OF THE VARIOUS

SOCIAL SYSTEMS & COMMUNITIES

WHICH HAVE BEEN

FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF

CO-OPERATION.

By Mr. Hennell

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY THE AUTHOR
OF "THE PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY."

LONDON:

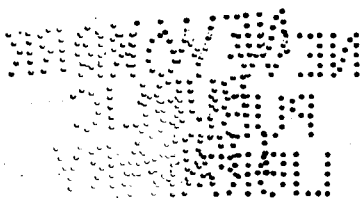
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

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PREFACE.

THE present sketch was written by the late MARY HENNELL, of Hackney, and first appeared as an Appendix to a work entitled "The Philosophy of Necessity," published in 1841. Its object was to add force to certain arguments in favour of the organization of industry, by proving that such is no new doctrine, fresh-created in the brains of some of our modern visionaries, but one which has had its enlightened advocates in all ages and almost in every clime. No pains or research were spared in the collection of evidence relative to the history and adoption of this principle, and the compilation was considered so complete in itself, and to possess so much independent interest, that a wish was frequently expressed to see it published separately. The Author of the above-mentioned work has now much pleasure in answering to that call, by re-issuing it in a cheaper and more accessible form.

The writer died of consumption in March, 1843, and the publication of this little work in her own

name, is felt to be only a just tribute to her memory by him for whom she compiled it, and who for years had been a witness to her untiring zeal and energy in the cause of truth, and in the promotion of every object which appeared to her strong intellect to lead to the advancement and happiness of mankind.

By rapidly glancing over, in an Introduction, those appalling evils consequent upon our present social system, for which there would seem to be no permanent and efficient remedy but the organization of our immense powers of production, the writer's aim has been to place prominently forward the interest and importance of a survey like the present, which concisely shows what has already been effected in various ages and countries towards carrying out the principle of Co-operation.

April 23, 1844.

SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND COMMUNITIES.

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INTRODUCTION.

“In the youth of a State,” says Lord Bacon, “arms do flourish; in the middle age of a State, learning; and then both of them together for a time: in the declining age of a State, mechanical arts and merchandise.” Proud and eminent as is the position of Britain at the present time, at the head of the wealth and civilization of the world, there is quite enough in the internal condition of the country to make us pause and ask whether the policy we have been pursuing for the last half century is sound, or whether the present reign of commerce and of the mechanical arts does not really point to a *declining age*? The late long-continued and widely-spread distress we know is commonly regarded as a mere temporary derangement of commerce, which will be less liable to recur according as we are willing to adopt a sound commercial policy and to give free and unfettered scope to the capital and industry of the country. Most men have their recipe, all sufficient, for our continued welfare and prosperity, and look upon our present position as only the commencement of a career of unparalleled greatness: there are those, however, who think that, even if we would maintain our position, we must change our policy, and who see

in the revelations which have been made respecting the condition of our labouring population, serious cause for alarm, if not the elements of a decline and fall.

The late distress has not been without its compensation if it has only tended to call the attention of politicians and philanthropists of all parties and opinions to the subject. Much valuable statistical information has been collected upon this 'Condition of England question,' and volumes and essays innumerable have been written upon the National Distress, its Causes and Remedies, and the inferences drawn by most of the writers may be sound as far as they go; nevertheless we fear that the remedies suggested would be but partial in their operation, producing only temporary improvement, and that twenty or thirty years hence may find us in a worse position than at present.

But Britain is omnipotent, her capital, colonies, and intelligence unbounded;—where then lies the danger? In the absence of moral and religious principle, and in the cold, dead, calculating, business-like selfishness which accompanies that intelligence, and in the condition of the working classes who constitute the great majority of the people. Take the evidence of Mr. S. Laing, jun., in his "Prize Essay." He says, "We now proceed to recapitulate briefly the result at which we have arrived in the preceding inquiry. The main fact which strikes us is the existence of a vast mass of extreme destitution and abject degradation, by the side of enormous wealth, rapid material progress, national greatness and security, and all the usual symptoms of a flourishing civilization. On examining more minutely the details furnished by recent evidence and

statistical returns, we find this destitution and degradation to be at the same time more intense and more extensive than could have been believed possible. In all our large cities and populous manufacturing districts a very large proportion of the population are living either without any certain means of subsistence, or upon wages utterly inadequate to maintain a decent existence, while among those whose earnings are sufficient to support them in respectability, thousands are reduced by intemperance, improvidence, and the vices resulting from ignorance and the absence of moral and religious principle, to the standard of the starving beggar and prostitute. This squalid mass of misery, fostered by neglect, multiplying by its own inherent tendency, and swollen by the continual influx of Irish immigrants, rural labourers in search of employment, and manufacturing operatives reduced to poverty by strikes, improvements in machinery, and vicissitudes in trade, advances continually; and, although ravaged by the typhus fever, or decimated by a frightful mortality, encroaches more and more on the boundaries of civilization, threatening to sweep away the whole fabric of society in a deluge of barbarism. Nor is the evil confined to towns; on the contrary, we find an appalling amount of pauperism in many of the rural districts, and have distinct evidence that the bulk of the agricultural population are barely able to support families, and utterly unable to provide against sickness, old age, and fluctuations in employment. Among the other classes of the labouring population we find less physical want, but too frequently gross and heathen ignorance, intemperance, improvidence, and a dangerous feeling

of exasperation against the higher classes. On the whole, we have seen reason to believe that not less than a fifth or sixth part of the total population exist in a state of destitution and want, depending, in a great measure, either on public or private charity, or on criminal resources, for a part of their support, while another numerous class are just able to maintain themselves on the brink of this gulf of pauperism, while enjoying health and strength, and in full employment, with the certainty of falling back into it with the first accident which renders their daily labour no longer a marketable commodity. * * * The labouring population, ground down in the unequal conflict between capital and labour, and demoralized alike by the neglect and by the example of the upper classes, have taken the only effectual method of revenging themselves, that of multiplying their numbers and threatening society with an increasing mass of misery and want. Distress, spreading more and more widely, is invading fresh classes, and with each recurring paroxysm of trade and period of commercial depression, is threatening to engulf those who have hitherto escaped its ravages. Society, awakening from the dreams of a new golden age to be realized by mechanical inventions, march of intellect, accumulation of capital, and sound political economy, finds itself compelled by a terrible necessity to abandon the system of *laissez-faire*, and to embark in a struggle for life or death with the elements of disorganization and ruin."

We do not think this picture can be said to be exaggerated by those who have carefully examined the

evidence upon which it is founded, and who have seen the results of the investigation of the various Parliamentary Commissioners into the condition of the people employed in certain departments of industry, and into the general sanitary condition of our working population. It is not our intention to dwell upon such well-known evidence, but to examine into the causes of this distress, and to endeavour to show the necessarily partial character of the remedies ordinarily proposed, and to which the nation is now trusting.

The population of Great Britain is about eighteen millions. The average rate of increase of the whole population is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. Taking the census of 1831, with the ordinary rate of increase added, the inhabitants may be divided into

Occupiers of land, employing and not employing Labourers	409,260
Capitalists, Bankers, Professional, and other educated men	246,530
Employed in Retail Trade, or in Handi- craft, as Masters or Workmen . . .	1,333,837
Labourers and Operatives employed in Agriculture and Manufactures . . .	3,135,299.*

And again, "the returns of the Income Tax in 1812, showed in Great Britain

127,000 persons with an income from £50 to £200	
22,000	200 to 1000
3,000	1000 to 5000
600	above 5000
<hr/> 152,600 persons in all, possessing an income above	

* Porter's Progress of the Nation, sec. 1, p. 53.

£50 a-year; or 600,000 souls dependent upon persons in that situation. Of these the great majority unquestionably derived their incomes from professions or trades, and not from realized property. To so small a number is the immense wealth of Britain confined. The number is now greatly increased, but probably does not exceed 300,000. Mr. Colquhoun calculates the number of persons who can live without daily labour, that is, of independent fortune, at 47,000, and their families at 234,000; or, including bankers, merchants, and others, who unite industrial profits to the returns of property, 60,000, and their families 300,000. On the other hand there are 3,440,000 heads of families, and, 16,800,000 persons living on their daily labour. The paupers, criminals, and vagrants, alone, are 1,800,000." Colquhoun, 107, 111, and Baron de Stael, 54.*

"These facts," says Mr. Alison, (from whose work on Population we have quoted the above,) "are deserving the most serious consideration. They indicate a state of society, which is, to say the least, extremely alarming, and which, in ancient times, would have been the sure forerunner of national decline."

These statements slightly differ, but they furnish

* Additional evidence of the exceedingly small number of wealthy persons at the present time is furnished by the returns of the assessed taxes, which show only 26,861 private four-wheeled carriages, 108,090 male servants, and 32,404 persons charged for armorial bearings. The returns of the national debt for 1839, show that out of 280,869 persons entitled to dividends, only 4,523 receive between £200 and £300 per annum; 2,759 receive £300 to £500; 1,337 receive £500 to £1,000; 384 receive £1,000 to £2,000; 192 receive sums exceeding £2,000.

abundant evidence that at least three-fourths of our whole population are dependent upon *wages* alone for a subsistence. Now, upon what will the condition of the great body of the people, of this numerous class who live by the wages of labour, depend? What say the Political Economists? "In the greater number of cases," says Mill,* "especially in the more improved stages of society, the labourer is one person, the owner of the capital another. The labourer has neither raw materials nor tools. These requisites are provided for him by the capitalist. For making this provision the capitalist of course expects a reward. As the commodity, which was produced by the shoemaker, when the capital was his own, belonged wholly to himself, and constituted the whole of his reward, both as labourer and capitalist, so, in this case, the commodity belongs to the labourer and capitalist together. When prepared, the commodity, or the value of it, is to be shared between them. The reward to both must be derived from the commodity, and the reward of both makes up the whole of the commodity. Instead, however, of waiting till the commodity is produced, and abiding all the delay and uncertainties of the market in which the value of it is realized, it has been found to suit much better the convenience of the labourers to receive their share in advance. The shape under which it has been most convenient for all parties that they should receive it, is that of wages. When that share of the commodity which belongs to the labourer has been all received in the shape of wages,

* Elements of Political Economy.

the commodity itself belongs to the capitalist, he having in reality, bought the share of the labourer and paid for it in advance."

What is it, however, that determines the workman's share of that which has thus become joint produce? The demand for such labour, and the supply,—i. e. the work to be done and the number of hands to do it. "Let us begin by supposing," says Mr. Mill, "that there is a certain number of capitalists, with a certain quantity of food, raw materials, and instruments, or machinery; that there is also a certain number of labourers; and that the proportion in which the commodities produced are divided between them, has fixed itself at some particular point.

"Let us next suppose, that the labourers have increased in number one-half, without any increase in the quantity of capital. There is the same quantity of the requisites for the employment of labour; that is, of food, tools, and materials, as there was before; but for every 100 labourers there are now 150. There will be fifty men, therefore, in danger of being left out of employment. To prevent their being left out of employment they have but one resource; they must endeavour to supplant those who have forestalled the employment; that is, they must offer to work for a smaller reward—wages, therefore, decline."

"If we suppose, on the other hand, that the quantity of capital has increased while the number of labourers remain the same, the effect will be reversed. The capitalists have a greater quantity than before of the means of employment, of capital in short, from which they wish to derive advantage. To derive this

advantage they must have more labourers. To obtain them, they have but one resource, to offer higher wages. But the masters by whom the labourers are now employed are in the same predicament, and will of course offer higher, to induce them to remain. This competition is unavoidable, and the necessary effect of it is a rise of wages."

"From this law, clearly understood, it is easy to trace the circumstances which, in any country, determine the condition of the great body of the people. If that condition is easy and comfortable, all that is necessary to keep it so is to make capital increase as fast as population; or on the other hand, to prevent population from increasing faster than capital. If that condition is not easy and comfortable, it can only be made so by one of two methods; either by quickening the rate at which capital increases, or retarding the rate at which population increases; augmenting, in short, the ratio which the means of employing the people bear to the number of people."

"If it were the natural tendency of capital to increase faster than population, there would be no difficulty in preserving a prosperous condition of the people. If, on the other hand, it were the natural tendency of population to increase faster than capital, the difficulty would be very great; there would be a perpetual tendency in wages to fall; the progressive fall of wages would produce a greater and a greater degree of poverty among the people, attended with its inevitable consequences, misery and vice. As poverty and its consequent misery increased, mortality would also increase. Of a numerous family born, a certain number only,

from want of the means of well-being, would be reared. By whatever proportion the population tended to increase faster than capital, such a proportion of those that were born would die: the ratio of increase in capital and population would then remain the same, and the fall of wages would proceed no farther. .

“That population has a tendency to increase faster than, in most places, capital has actually increased, is proved, incontestibly, by the condition of the people in most parts of the globe. In almost all countries the condition of the great body of the people is poor and miserable. This would have been impossible if capital had increased faster than population. In that case wages must have risen, and high wages would have placed the labourer above the miseries of want.”

“This general misery of mankind is a fact which can be accounted for upon one only of two suppositions: either that there is a natural tendency in population to increase faster than capital, or that capital has, by some means, been prevented from increasing so fast as it has a tendency to increase. This, therefore, is an inquiry of the highest importance.”

It is doubtless true that competition decides the share of the labourer, i. e. his rate of wages, and so great is the tendency for the supply of labour to increase faster than the demand for it, and so fluctuating is the demand even in the most prosperous times, that in all cases in which the labourer is dependent upon wages alone, his average means of living seldom rise above the extreme point of civilized subsistence. Not only does the evidence collected in both the agricultural and manufacturing districts prove this, but also, that

the tendency is constantly to sink wages even below the point of anything that may be called civilized subsistence, and to produce the appalling results already quoted from Mr. Laing, to which we shall only add a few facts in confirmation. The weak in body or mind are unable to bear up in the struggle for mere subsistence; they give up the effort, and fall upon the country for support: thus the paupers relieved in 1842 were 1,429,356, at a cost of £4,911,498. Not only these, but the morally weak also live upon their country in another way, for there is evidence to show that our criminal and vagrant population constitute at least another million. "The following analysis of the population of Leeds, given by E. Baker, Esq., in the *Sanitary Reports*, and quoted by Mr. Laing, will furnish instructive information as to the general state of society and composition of the population of a manufacturing town:—

Persons having sedentary occupations ...	1,586
Persons having perambulatory occupations	967
Professions	292
Merchants	427
Persons working in mines	130
General out-door labour and handicraft ...	3,988
In-door labour and handicraft	13,455
Dyers	665
In trade	2,799
Not in business	1,905
Persons under fifteen years of age without occupations	31,056
Other persons without occupations	21,990
Persons employed in manufacture	8,363
Total	87,613

“This document shows one most remarkable fact—that in the great manufacturing town of Leeds considerably more than *a third of the whole adult population* have no regular occupation. Imagine the condition of a poor family, in a large town, without regular employment. How do they exist? By occasional job-work, by sending their children to factories, or into the streets to beg, by hawking petty articles for sale, by casual charity—especially of those who are only one degree better off than themselves. With such resources can we wonder that no cellar or lodging-house is too unhealthy or disgusting to fail in finding nightly its twenty or thirty occupants? Can we wonder that pilfering and prostitution are habitually resorted to as means of eking out a wretched existence? Deficient as we are in the means of ascertaining the occupations and modes of living of the mass of our town population, there is still sufficient evidence to show that the same state of things exists in other large cities which we have seen in Leeds.”*

“In Manchester, Dr. Kay gives nearly a similar description of a large district; and in Liverpool we have seen that at least a fifth of the whole population are distributed between the cellars and lodging-houses. In Birmingham, which is, in many respects, very superior to the average of manufacturing towns, we have seen that 374 lodging-houses are devoted to the reception of a loose population of Irish and mendicants, and that 228 houses are known as the resort of thieves,

* In 1836, a Committee of the Liverpool Corporation reported the number of criminals in that town alone to be above 30,520, and their annual earnings by crime more than £734,240.

with an average number of twelve thieves resorting daily to each house. In the metropolis, large districts, such as St. Giles's, are inhabited by a population who have no settled occupation, and who subsist by the resources above described. The total number of persons taken into custody by the Metropolitan Police in the year 1839, was 65,965, or, deducting 21,269 cases of drunkenness, 44,696, of which 14,315 were for larceny and other offences against property without violence, 3,154 prostitutes, 3,780 vagrants, and 11,370 disorderly and suspicious characters. These facts appear to establish incontestibly the result, that a large proportion of the dense masses of population crowded together in the low districts of our large towns have absolutely no regular and recognized occupations, and live, as it were, as outlaws upon society."

The following account of Glasgow may help to show that increase of trade, commonly called prosperity, will not alone remedy the evils consequent upon the competition to which the working classes are subjected. "The city of Glasgow," says Mr. Alison, vol. 2, p. 87, "exhibits so extraordinary an example, during the last fifty years, of the progress of population, opulence, and all the external symptoms of prosperity, and at the same time of the utter inadequacy of all these resources to keep pace either with the moral or spiritual wants of the people, or provide adequate funds for the alleviation of their distresses, that it is deserving of particular consideration."

"It appears from Dr. Ackland's admirable Statistics of Glasgow, that Population, Custom-House Duties, Harbour Dues, and Post Office Revenue of the City,

have stood, in the undermentioned years, as follows :—

Years.	Population.	Custom-House Duties.			Harbour Dues.			Post Office.
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
1770 ..	31,000				149	0	10	... 33,771
1801 ...	83,769 ...	3,124			in 1812,	3,319	16	1 ... 23,328
1831 ...	202,426 ...	72,053	17	4	... 20,296	18	5	.. 35,642
1839 ...	290,000 ...	468,974	12	2	... 45,287	16	10	... 47,527

“ This prodigious increase is perhaps unprecedented in any other country in Europe during the same or perhaps any other period.”

“ Glasgow exhibits,” says the able and indefatigable Dr. Cowan, “ a frightful state of mortality, unequalled, perhaps, in any city in Britain. The prevalence of fever presents obstacles to the promotion of social improvement among the lower classes, and is productive of an amount of human misery credible only to those who have witnessed it.” (Cowan’s Vital Statistics of Glasgow, p. 14.) The extraordinary progress of mortality, which has, as already shown, declined from one in forty-one in 1823, to one in twenty-four in 1837, while the annual average mortality in London is about one in thirty-six, and over all England one in fifty-one, affords too melancholy a confirmation of this observation. And the following is the account given of the Glasgow poor, by a very intelligent observer, Mr. Symonds, the Government Commissioner for examining into the condition of the hand-loom weavers :—“ The wynds in Glasgow comprise a fluctuating population of from 15,000 to 30,000 persons. This quarter consists of a labyrinth of lanes, out of which numberless entrances lead into small square courts, each with a dung-hill reeking in the centre. Revolting as was the outward appearance of these places, I was little

prepared for the filth and destitution within. In some of these lodging rooms, (visited at night,) we found a whole lair of human beings littered along the floor, sometimes fifteen or twenty, some clothed and some naked; men, women, and children, huddled promiscuously together. Their bed consisted of a layer of musty straw, intermixed with rags. There was generally little or no furniture in these places; the sole article of comfort was a fire. Thieving and prostitution constitute the main sources of the revenue of this population. No pains seem to be taken to purge this Augean pandemonium; this nucleus of crime, filth and pestilence, existing in the centre of the second city of the empire. These wynds constitute the St. Giles of Glasgow; but I owe an apology to the metropolitan pandemonium for the comparison. A very extensive inspection of the lowest districts of other places, both here and on the Continent, never presented anything one-half so bad, either in intensity of pestilence, physical and moral, or in extent proportioned to the population." *Arts and Artizans at Home and Abroad*, p. 116.

Again, Mr. Alison says, vol. 1, p. 290, "Of all the effects which the progress of civilization produces, there is none so deplorable as the degradation of the human character which arises from the habits of the manufacturing classes. The assemblage of large bodies of men in one place; the close confinement to which they are subjected; the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes at an early period of life; and the debasement of intellect which arises from uniformity of occupation, all conspire to degrade and corrupt mankind. Persons unacquainted with the manners of the lower orders in

the great manufacturing cities of Britain, can form no adequate conception of the habits which prevail among them. In Glasgow, at this moment, (1840,) there are 3010 public-houses among 290,000 persons included in 58,000 families; being nearly one public-house for every 20 families. The number of inhabited houses is about 30,000, so that every tenth house is appropriated to the sale of spirits; a proportion unexampled, it is believed, in any other city of the globe. This number has risen from 1600 since the year 1821, though not more than 140,000 souls have been, during the same period, added to the population. Seasons of adversity lead to no improvement in the habits of these workmen; the recurrence of prosperity brings with it the usual attendants of profligacy and intemperance. Ten or twenty thousand workmen more or less intoxicated every Saturday, and for the most of Sunday; every farthing which can be spared is too often converted into ardent spirits. The same individuals who, a year before, were reduced to pawn their last shreds of furniture to procure subsistence, recklessly throw away the surplus earnings of more prosperous times in the lowest debauchery. The warnings of religion, the dictates of prudence, the means of instruction, the lessons of adversity, are alike overwhelmed by the passion for momentary gratification. It seems the peculiar effect of such debasing employments, to render the condition of men precarious at the same time that it makes their habits irregular: to subject them at once to the most trying fluctuations of condition, and the most fatal improvidence of character."

The character of the Glasgow weavers, which once

stood deservedly high, has been sadly deteriorated. In the admirable report of the suburban Burgh of Calton, presented to the British Association by Mr. Rutherglen, a Magistrate of that Burgh, we find the following remarks:—

“From personal experience,” says the Secretary to the Glasgow Statistical Society, “as well as from the information of others intimately acquainted with the subject, the writer is able to state, that the religious, moral, and intellectual condition of the weavers was long of a very high grade; and even yet the writer is of the opinion that the elder portion of them ranks higher in these respects than any other class of tradesmen. But as poverty prevents many of them from attending public worship, and still more, from educating their children, there cannot be a doubt that their character is fast deteriorating, and that their children will be in a still more deplorable condition. There is a series of crimes, or, as they are more gently called, embezzlements, carried on both in the city of Glasgow and suburban districts, to an alarming extent, and which are attended with very baneful effects, and indeed it is impossible to form an idea of the amount of property, in pig and scrap iron, nails, brass, &c., stolen in this way. A gentleman who has had much experience in the tracing of these cases, has given it as his opinion, that at the Broomielaw, and on its way for shipment, five hundred tons of pig iron alone are pilfered; and he calculates that in the above articles upwards of four thousand pounds value passes into the hands of these delinquents yearly, without even a chance of their being punished. Another of these

class of embezzlements is that well known under the name of the *bowl weft* system, generally carried on by weavers, winders, and others employed by manufacturers, and consists of the embezzlement of cotton yarns, silks, &c., which are sold to a small class of manufacturers, who, in consequence of purchasing this material at a greatly reduced price, get up their stuffs at a cost that enables them to undersell the honest manufacturer; and indeed, in hundreds of cases he has to compete with the low-priced goods made from the material pilfered from his own warehouse, or embezzled by his own out-door workers; and it is to be regretted, that this class of *corks* should always find, even among respectable merchants, a ready market for their goods. A gentleman who employs somewhere about 2000 out-door workers, and admits that his calculation is moderate, allows one penny each man per day as his loss from this system;—it is believed from fifty thousand to sixty thousand pounds per annum would not cover the value of articles pilfered in this way within the Parliamentary bounds of this city.” (Dr. A. C. Taylor’s *Moral Economy of Large Towns.*)

This we regard as a natural consequence where men are reduced, even in a good time of trade, very nearly to the lowest rate of wages at which they can live, and in bad and fluctuating times are driven below this rate, so that they are compelled either to beg, steal, or go to the workhouse. There may be circumstances peculiar to Glasgow which in that city aggravate the naturally demoralizing tendency of poverty and misery; such as the vast accumulation of idle and dissolute persons from the Highlands and other parts of Scot-

land, and the great influx of the Irish poor: nevertheless, the statistics of other large manufacturing towns show that with only a few characteristic differences, Glasgow furnishes a fair illustration of the operation of the manufacturing system upon the condition of the great majority of the people. Its tendency, as there represented, is to the enormous accumulation of wealth among the few, and the vast increase in the numbers of the many, whom the low rate of wages keep always poor and liable to the appalling distress such as the last few years have witnessed. There is no doubt another side to the picture, and even in Glasgow might be pointed out a great number of provident, industrious operatives, whose condition is far above that of the same class in Scotland a hundred years ago; but there is reason to fear that these form the exception, and that whenever vast numbers of the working classes are crowded together in large towns—tied down for the greater part of their lives to one unintellectual employment—the majority will always be ignorant, reckless, and immoral.

Mr. Laing says “the, destitution and misery, of whose extreme condition we have endeavoured to trace a faithful picture, has already swallowed up a great mass of our labouring population, and is rapidly encroaching upon a still larger mass, who are approximating more and more towards it, and whose condition is becoming every day more and more precarious. In short, with the exception of a comparatively small number of skilled labourers and artizans, there is too much reason to fear that if the causes which have operated for the last fifty, and with increased force for

the last fifteen or twenty years, be allowed to operate unchecked for a few years more, the great bulk of the labouring population of England will be reduced to a condition which leaves no alternative between a violent and bloody revolution, shattering the whole existing frame-work of society to pieces, or a permanent degradation of the population to a state of abject and heart-broken resignation to misery, which almost reduces the human being to a level with the brute."

The constant supply of labour beyond the demand is a fact requiring explanation. That "population presses upon the means of subsistence," is a common phrase with the politicians of the present day, to account for all cases of general or particular distress; and it is very true, as it is only a wise way of saying that people are starving for the want of something to eat; but by many it is intended to express the Malthusian doctrine that "there is a *natural* tendency in population to increase faster than capital, and that forcible means employed to make capital increase faster than its natural tendency, would not produce desirable effects." If all were placed in a state of physical comfort, if the natural checks upon population, of want, misery, and crime were withdrawn, numbers, it is imagined, would soon overflow beyond all power of capital to provide for them. This is founded upon the supposition that land would give less and less return to the labour and capital bestowed upon it, so that the much-increased population would necessarily be reduced to great poverty and distress, and ultimately starve. The hypothesis of Mr. Malthus is, that population has a tendency to increase in geometrical, while subsistence can only be

made to increase in arithmetical progression ; but this we think has been again and again shown to be opposed to fact. Mr. Alison, in his late work on Population, says "there is no instance in the history of the world of a country being peopled to its utmost limits, or of the multiplication of the species being checked by the impossibility of extracting an increased produce from the soil ;" and that "the true question on which mankind is really interested is very different : that the main point in civilized society is not what are the productive powers of nature in the soil, but what are the means that the human race has *for getting at these powers*, and rendering them available for general happiness."* In his able work he has, we think, demonstrated that "the true relation between population and subsistence is that of *cause* and *effect* ; that the labour of man's hands is, by the eternal law of nature, adequate to much more than his own support ; that this superiority of the powers of production over those of population, is a fundamental law of his existence, which never fails him in any period of his progress, and that, so far from this superiority becoming less in the later stages of society, it is constantly becoming greater, and that it is owing to that excess that the accumulation of wealth, arts, commerce, and manufactures owe their existence."†

It is calculated by Mr. Porter that in the *present*

* Vol. 2, p. 473.

† Mr. Alison calculates that the United Kingdom might be made to keep 180,000,000 human beings, and that if the whole world were only peopled in the proportion of the British Isles at the present time, it would contain 6,600,000,000 inhabitants,—at least eight times its present population.

state of British agriculture it requires the labour of nineteen families to produce 1160 quarters of all kinds of grain, i. e., each family would produce about sixty-one quarters, which would suffice for the subsistence of fifteen families. Thus one family of agriculturists could support fifteen families of manufacturers, and the power of steam and machinery, as applicable to manufactures in this country, has been computed to be equal to 600,000,000 men; one man by the aid of steam being able to do the work that it required 250 men to accomplish fifty years ago. If such be the case, we must, we think, abandon the hypothesis "that there is a *natural* tendency in population to increase faster than capital." That capital has, by some means, been prevented from increasing so fast as it has the tendency, there can be no doubt; but an inquiry into the causes which have prevented its increase does not appear so momentous at the present time as the question by what means may that which is produced be more equally divided amongst us; since we think it must be admitted that it has not been from the want of capital in the *British Isles* that the people have suffered a dearth of employment. In Great Britain wealth flows freely in all directions in which there is even the appearance of a profitable investment. The immense sums raised during the war, the subsidies granted to any country in the world that can offer good interest and reasonable security, the money lately expended on railways, are evidence of this.* If we traverse the

* Since the year 1820, upwards of £60,000,000 of British capital has been invested in foreign loans, foreign mining companies, and other joint-stock adventures. The Canada loan, at 3½

kingdom from one end to the other, we shall not find a single department of industry in which production has been impeded from the want of capital. The theories of Political Economists on this point may be true as abstract principles, that is, they would be true if certain conditions, at present impossible, really existed; but under the actual circumstances of the world, and the arrangements of commerce, a result the very reverse of what they predicate takes place. Thus they say, "that if it were the natural tendency of capital to increase faster than population, there would be no difficulty in preserving a prosperous condition of the people:" and yet the times of peace and of the greatest commercial prosperity would seem to lead, as a direct consequence, to times of great distress. Under present circumstances, when every operation of production and interchange is clogged by some natural or artificial restriction, in proportion as capital increases, the difficulty of finding a profitable investment increases also. So, with reference to the assumed constant rise of wages with the increase of capital, we know that this rise does not take place, but the tendency seems to be in an inverse order both as regards capital and labour; for with increase of capital comes increase of competition among manufacturers, and the facts would really appear to prove, not the position

per cent., was taken at £109, and the 3 per cents. have since risen to £98. Laing, jun.

In about six years 1,700 miles of railway have been completed at a cost of £54,000,000. Report of Railway Department, 1842.

The average amount of capital which pays legacy duty *in each year* exceeds £40,000,000; in 1843, in Great Britain it was £43,393,142.

which according to the Political Economists ought to be true, but that increase of capital bears the same relation to *profit* as increased numbers among the workmen to wages: so that particular countries might become filled with produce of which no one should be at liberty to make use. Thus, capital is plentiful, production is great, and the competition among manufacturers is great in proportion;—profits are necessarily low, and the manufacturer cannot purchase. The rate of interest which determines the income of the capitalist depends upon the profits of trade and is consequently low, and the capitalist, therefore, cannot purchase. The profits of the manufacturer being low, he endeavours to live by reducing still lower the wages of the artizan, with whom to purchase is still more out of the question, and thus it is that universal abundance coexists with individual want.* Moreover,

* We have perhaps not yet sufficiently considered that steam engines consume little else besides coal, and that if we could do all our work by steam we must be content to lose the home market at least; and “with the millions no longer able to live, how can the units keep living? It is too clear the nation itself is on the way to suicidal death. Shall we say then, the world has retrograded in its talent of apportioning wages to work, in late days? The world had always a talent of that sort, better or worse. Time was when the mere *handworker* needed not announce his claim to the world by Manchester Insurrections! The world, with its wealth of nations, Supply-and-Demand and such like, has of late days been terribly inattentive to that question of work and wages. We will not say, the poor world has retrograded even here: we will say rather, the world has been rushing on with such fiery animation to get work and even more work done, it has had no time to think of dividing the wages; and has merely left them to be scrambled for by the law of the stronger, law of Supply-and-Demand, law of *Laissez-faire*, and other idle laws and un-laws,—saying, in its dire haste to get the work done, That is well enough!”

“And now the world will have to pause a little, and take up

production, although great, falls far short of what it might be ; for the manufacturer only produces so long as he can do so to a profit, and profit depends upon the scarcity, not the increased quantity of an article. With the increased quantity of goods in a market profits fall ; with a still further increase comes a loss, and production of course ceases, although two-thirds of the population may be in need of such produce. Ricardo, Say, and Mill, have denied the possibility of a glut in the general market of production, on the ground that demand and supply must be co-equal and co-extensive ; for no man will produce that which he does not want himself, unless to purchase with it what he does want from others ; and this, his want, is equal

that other side of the problem, and in right earnest strive for some solution of that. For it has become pressing. What is the use of your spun shirts ? They hang there by the million unsaleable ; and here, by the million, are diligent bare backs that can get no hold of them. Shirts are useful for covering human backs ; useless otherwise, an unbearable mockery otherwise. You have fallen terribly behind with that side of the problem ! Manchester Insurrections, French Revolutions, and thousandfold phenomena, great and small, announce loudly that you must bring it forward a little again. Never till now, in the history of an Earth which to this hour nowhere refuses to grow corn if you will plough it, to yield shirts if you will spin and weave in it, did the mere manual two-handed worker, (however it might fare with other workers,) cry in vain for such 'wages' as *he* means by "fair wages," namely, food and warmth ! The Godlike could not and cannot be paid ; but the Earthly always could. Gurth, a mere swine-herd, born thrall of Cedric the Saxon, tended pigs in the wood, and did get some parings of the pork. Why, the four-footed worker has already *got* all that this two-handed one is clamouring for ! How often must I remind you ? There is not a horse in England, able and willing to work, but *has* due food and lodging ; and goes about sleek-coated, satisfied in heart." Carlyle's "Past and Present," p. 27.

to the means he brings with him to satisfy it : this is the case with every produce, therefore demand and supply are co-extensive, for every man's demand must be limited by his supply. And yet it would be very difficult to convince the manufacturers of Paisley and Glasgow, of Manchester and Leeds, that over-production is impossible : however strong the reasoning, they would think the fact still stronger. Supply and demand are undoubtedly co-extensive, if by demand be meant the mere want of commodities ; but the *ability to purchase* must accompany this want, in order to make supply and demand keep pace together. The Economists hold that supply and demand have an equal tendency to find their level with water, it being of no importance that in the operation whole towns are ruined and whole countries half-starved. We are quite willing to concede that the principle laid down by the Political Economists ought to be true,—that they are true in the abstract ; but they are altogether inapplicable to our present circumstances. If the powers of production were as great in all other countries as in our own, and a plan of exchange were devised by which an increased quantity of goods in one department could always be exchanged for an increased quantity or equivalent value of commodities required by the party producing them : that is, if it were made as easy to sell as to buy ; if trade were perfectly free in all countries ; if all restrictions upon commercial intercourse with the whole world were removed ; if railways intersected all its lands, and steam-ships traversed all its seas ; if the facility of communication with all countries equalled that between our own coun-

ties :—then, perhaps, their truths might be true in practice.*

To illustrate this subject, let us suppose that in some central situation in Great Britain a general and national emporium were established, to which every one could go and exchange whatever he produced for whatever other commodity he wanted; that an equitable standard of value was agreed upon, and that goods were produced so plentifully and in such proportions that all the necessaries of life and most of the luxuries were always to be found there; in this case, it is evident that wages would always rise as capital or the means of production increased; that there could be no such thing as over-production, since every one would produce in proportion only as he stood in need of the produce of others; and that in fact, there would be no difficulty in preserving a prosperous condition of the country, so long as such a plan of exchange could be maintained. Suppose, however, that the value of goods was determined by the cost and labour bestowed in production, and that it was resolved to release a certain privileged class—the corn producers—from half the required cost and labour. This might be done in two ways; either by allowing them to bring half the

* “It is evident that in many branches of production we have outrun the *effective* demand, that is to say, the demand of consumers *able and willing* to pay a price for our commodities, which will leave fair profits and wages to the producers. We are obliged to force sales and stimulate consumption by undue cheapness, in order to get our warehouses emptied. * * * The theory of unlimited competition and production has no chance of success, unless some second Watt can invent a steam power for multiplying consumers.” Laing’s Prize Essay, p. 135.

quantity of corn for the same return in produce, or the same quantity of corn for double produce. The effect of the first method would be—if the quantity of corn had been previously apportioned to the wants of the people—that half the people must go without bread, or the whole be furnished with only half the quantity: the effect of the second method would be, that having to give a larger amount of what they brought to market in exchange for the bread which they could not dispense with, they must forego the receipt of some other articles. Let it be supposed, therefore, that they all agreed to give up stockings and shawls, the parties that furnished these articles would find on bringing them to market that they were no longer disposable commodities; there would consequently be a glut of stockings and shawls, i. e. a large production of stockings and shawls for which there was no market; and the parties who produced them must starve or immediately turn their hands to some other employment. Or if, instead of this special privilege to the corn producers, the labour employed in growing the corn were by any means increased, or if a bad season caused a less return to the same amount of labour; if the grain had to be conveyed to market over bad roads and through expensive turnpikes, instead of by water or railways—the effect would be the same—there would be less corn received for the same amount of manufactures. Again, if a part of the population hitherto employed in growing corn were to change their employment for weaving cotton; there would then be too much cotton and too little corn; or if cotton goods were produced in the expectation of exchanging them

for certain other goods which unforeseen circumstances had prevented from arriving, there must be a quantity of cotton left on hand, and disastrous consequences would ensue to the workman. In fact, if any of the numerous channels through which it was customary to receive the vast variety of commodities required were to be blocked up, by infectious disease, or popular commotion, or the bad and unsafe state of the roads, difficulties would immediately arise, and the conditions that were at first assumed, viz., that each should receive in exchange for that which he produced an equal value of whatever he required, would not be fulfilled. If also the standard of value by which the contract for the raw material of manufacture was entered into, differed by being higher than that by which the article manufactured would be measured, the transaction would be a losing one, and enough might not, perhaps, be received in exchange to pay for the raw material and labour. Unless all were equally industrious, all equally intelligent, and all supplied with equal capital, the conditions could not be secured; for if one individual could produce in an hour what it would take another, from the want of equal industry, intelligence, or machinery, a day to produce, it would be impossible to fix a just standard of value, and consequently, derangements would be caused in the system. In fact, if such a receptacle for goods were established in this country, and put under the control of a board of trade, it is very evident that the nicest policy would be required for its management, and that even in so confined a space it would be difficult almost to an impossibility so to adjust supply and demand that there

should not constantly be too great a supply of some articles and too little of others. And yet this perfect adjustment of supply and demand is expected to take place in the widely extended market of the world, aided and directed only by the blind impulse of individual self-interest!

The above may be said feebly to represent what is actually going on in the commercial world. A market in which each person shall be able to exchange whatever he can produce for an equal value of whatever he requires; in which it shall be as easy to sell as to buy, is the abstraction which most of the economists expect will be realized by perfect freedom of trade, which, when attained, will beautifully exemplify the truth of their propositions. We are very far, however, from the realization of such a desirable state of things at present. The instances of a perfectly free exchange of one commodity with another may be said rather to form the exception than the rule. An artificial scarcity of the first necessary of life,—bread,—is created and maintained for the supposed benefit of the landed interest: the price of sugar is doubled for the sake of the West India interest: our trade with the 100 millions in India does not exceed from four to six millions annually, because the East India interest must be attended to. In fact, on all sides we are compelled to be satisfied with lessened quantities and inferior qualities for the supposed protection of individual interests. Each has his hand in his neighbour's pocket, and fancies himself so much the richer by all that he can take from thence instead of out of his own. The wheels of commerce are clogged and impeded; in every direction

we meet restrictions, monopolies, and prohibitions. It little avails us that our own powers of production increase, and we can manufacture a much larger quantity of goods with the same amount of labour, if other countries do not make equal advances; since they can only be our customers in proportion to the amount of produce that they can give us in exchange; neither would it benefit us if other nations produce largely, if either natural or artificial obstacles prevented their goods from being brought to market. The Russian and Polish peasant feeds his pigs with his corn, because it will not pay the expense of its transport over the imperfect roads of those districts to the market of consumers; and the farmer of Ohio, although the road is open, is prevented by a heavy duty from exchanging his corn for our manufactures. The power of machinery increases, 50,000 persons are added every year to London, 9,000 to Glasgow, 8,000 to Manchester, and the population increases in other parts of the country in nearly equal proportions, and we require, therefore, constantly extending markets: and yet, those that have been hitherto open to us are perpetually closing, or we are driven from them by competition. At one time our largest customer becomes bankrupt—as America in 1836 and 1839:—another goes to war; another commences manufacturing for itself what hitherto it has required from us;—another imports our machinery and competes with us in our own market. *Laissez-faire* is deemed the best policy, and the enormous powers of production work blindly on; but with the constant recurrence of such disturbing causes it is quite impossible that Supply and Demand can ever

adapt themselves to each other, or that Capital can increase according to its natural tendency ; and thus flow in most of the evils incident to our present condition. "In almost all countries," says Mill, "the condition of the great body of the people is poor and miserable," and we may now plainly see the cause. It is no natural limit to the power of production—for each man could produce much more than he could consume ; neither is it the want of capital to set them to work ; but the want of the power of exchanging that which they produce, for that which they require. The mass of the people are dependent entirely upon the sale of their labour, the demand for which is subject to constant checks besides its being continually superseded by machinery ; added to which the competition which is almost always going on amongst themselves for the sale of their labour, reduces their wages at times to the least rate that will enable them to subsist, and is sufficient to keep them always poor. The supply of labour, and the demand for it, determine the rate of wages, and the increase of the number of the working classes and the increasing power of machinery always cause the supply to exceed the demand. The causes that tend to raise wages are fluctuating and of short continuance, whilst those that tend to depress them are constant and unvarying. Our coal, our application of steam-power, our machinery, our enterprise and industrious habits, our insular situation, with the advantages it affords to commerce, may support our manufacturing supremacy, which, while it lasts, may create great wealth in the country, and make our merchants and manufacturers abundantly

rich ; it may also raise rents and double the income of the fund-holders ; but it does little for the great body of the people, whom it keeps so near to the starving point that a disastrous season, raising the price of agricultural produce, cuts them off as consumers of our manufactures,* and a temporary want of employment drives them to the parish as their only refuge.† So that

* A rise of 20s. per quarter in corn takes about 2s. per week from each family of five persons of the working classes, as it is a tolerably correct calculation that each person consumes—or would consume, if it were afforded—a quarter of wheat per annum. The high price of other agricultural produce will make a difference of at least 1s. 2d. per week more ; so that, in times of plenty, each family has, on the average, 3s. 2d. per week more to spend upon manufactures than in times of scarcity. To illustrate the great importance of this fact, let it be supposed that the sixteen millions comprising the families of the working classes are enabled to purchase an additional pair of stockings per annum ; this at once gives Leicester sixteen million pairs more to produce : the profit upon this additional trade is reflected upon other towns and is felt throughout the kingdom ; and so of other articles of manufacture. “ There cannot be a doubt,” says Mr. Alison, “ that fine seasons, from the cheap rate of provisions, put above thirty or forty millions a-year at the disposal of the consuming classes of society, nine-tenths at least of which is laid out in the purchase of manufactures. It may safely be affirmed, that one fine autumnal month would at once bring round the manufactures of this country, from the lowest state of depression to comparative affluence.”

† “ Owing to the operations of war and a succession of deficient harvests, the prices of almost all the articles required for the support of life were, at the beginning of this century, driven up to a distressing height, which state of things continued through the remaining period of the war, and for one or two years beyond its termination. Since then, the fall that has occurred in the prices of all the articles comprising the poor man’s expenditure has been so great, that we may fairly estimate it to be fully equal to the simultaneous fall in the price of grain, so that the sum of 9s. 9d. in 1831, would have purchased as much as 17s. would have bought in 1801. Applying this test we shall find that the weight of pauper expenditure in proportion to the population at the two periods, was as 7 in 1831 to 4 in 1801.” Porter, article “ Pauperism.”

with all our increased capital, trade, and exports, pauperism and destitution are greatly on the increase.

The history of the Cotton Trade, the staple trade of the country, furnishes some very instructive facts relative to the condition of the people and the cause of their poverty: and it may also assist us to form an opinion as to how far we may trust to any degree of extension of our trade and manufactures to remove their poverty and ameliorate their condition. We think also that it will prove beyond all controversy that a prosperous state of the labouring population is not necessarily connected with increase of capital. Before the year 1760, manufactures were in a great measure confined to the home-market; the consumption of cotton did not exceed four millions of pounds; in 1838 it exceeded 300,000,000 lbs.; in 1798 the official value of our exports (we have not the real value,) was £3,602,488; in 1836 the official value was £58,491,731, real value £24,602,912. Mr. Baines estimated the number of persons employed in the cotton trade in 1760 at 40,000; (there is no means, however, of forming a correct estimate;) the number now dependent upon the trade, Mr. M'Culloch reckons to be from 1,200,000 to 1,400,000; and the annual wages paid in that department he estimates at £17,094,000. Each workman performs, or rather superintends the performance by machinery of as much work as 266 could accomplish in 1760.*

There must have been a steady increasing demand during this great extension of trade; and we are told that an increased demand ought to raise wages. Has

* Farey's Treatise on the Steam Engine.

this been the case? Mr. Marshall states that the same quantity of work is now performed for 1s. 10d. for which 16s. were paid in 1814: the average price paid for weaving a six-quarter sixty-reed cambric, 120 picks in one inch, in 1794, was £1. 10s., in 1814 £1. 4s., in 1815 14s., and in 1834 5s. 6d.; the price of flour, meal, potatoes, butchers' meat, and rent, being very nearly the same in 1798 and in 1834. The average earnings of the hand-loom weavers, who far exceed in number the power-loom weavers, are 7s. per week.

Now, if under any circumstances connected with the present system we are warranted in expecting an improved condition of the operative, ought we not to look for it when trade thus prospers and when the increasing demand for our manufactures must increase the demand for, and consequently the value of, labour? How are we to account for the facts which show the very reverse to be the result? Simply in this way, that however great the increase in the demand, owing to the diminished price, our enormous powers of production have been still greater; our constantly increasing and improved machinery has repeatedly caused the supply to exceed the demand, and has thus subjected the trade to frequent checks; and the competition of numbers, of machinery, and of foreigners, has made any other than a low rate of wages impossible.

About the year 1800, the wages of the hand-loom weavers were very high, and looms could not be multiplied fast enough to meet the increasing demand: the power-loom factories and foreign competition soon put a stop to this state of prosperity, and are now rapidly

starving the hand-loom weavers, who having no means of changing their employment in consequence of their poverty and training, have nothing but hopeless destitution in prospect. The steam-looms in England and Scotland in 1820, were 14,150; in 1833, 100,000. The comparative productiveness of the steam or power-loom and hand-loom is shown in the following statement of a manufacturer, given in Gaskell's "Artizans and Machinery."

"A very good *hand-weaver*, twenty-five or thirty years of age, will weave *two* pieces of 9-8ths shirting per week.

"In 1823, a *steam-loom* weaver, about fifteen years of age, attending two looms, could weave *seven* similar pieces in a week.

"In 1826, a *steam-loom* weaver, about fifteen years of age, attending two looms, could weave *twelve* similar pieces in a week—some could weave *fifteen* pieces.

"In 1833, a *steam-loom* weaver, from fifteen to twenty years of age, assisted by a girl about twelve years of age, attending *four* looms, can weave eighteen similar pieces in a week—some can weave *twenty* pieces."

"From this document it appears that in 1823 an adult hand-loom weaver could produce, *at the utmost*, not *one-third* as much as a girl at steam-loom; that in 1826 he could not produce one-sixth as much; and that in 1833 he could not produce one-ninth as much. This plain and simple fact is sufficient to show the nature of the contest between human and automatic industry; the one stationary, as to capability, the other doubling or trebling its productive powers almost

yearly ; and, as we think, is quite sufficient to account for the poverty of that very numerous body the handweavers, however great the demand for the article they produce. The condition of the factory operative is certainly more prosperous than that of the handloom weaver, because the employment is more constant, and some of the masters feel that the hands ought to be distinguished from the machinery. But the progress of machinery renders skilled labour less and less necessary ; old men and women, boys and girls, take the place of adult, able-bodied men, and in all occupations in which skilled labour is not required, competition is always great and wages low. Human labour is the most expensive and troublesome agent in the production of manufactured articles, and the constant effort of manufacturers is to do without it : their late efforts have been very successful, and few adult workmen are now required. Dr. Ure says (*Philosophy of Manufactures*,) “ The masters finding, after many struggles renewed from time to time, that a reduction of wages commensurate with the fall in the price of the goods in the general market could not be effected, had recourse to an expedient which the workmen could not decently oppose, because its direct tendency was to raise or to uphold, at least, the wages of each spinner, *but to diminish the numbers necessary for the same quantity of work.* * * * The necessity of enlarging the spinning frames created by the union decrees has recently given an extraordinary stimulus to mechanical science. It is delightful to see from eight hundred to one thousand spindles of polished steel, advancing and receding in a mathematical line, each

of them whirling all the time upon its axis with equal velocity and truth, and forming threads of surprising tenacity, uniformity, and strength. In doubling the size of his mule, the owner is enabled to get rid of indifferent and restive spinners, and to become once more master of his mill, which is no small advantage. * * *

By this marvellous elongation, one spinner comes to manage a pair of mules containing from fifteen hundred to two thousand spindles, and to supersede the labour of one or two companion spinners. Meantime, mill-owners possess an abundant choice of good hands, and the power of insuring their best services, since they can replace them by others in case of negligence or incapacity. During a disastrous turmoil at Hyde, Staley Bridge, and the adjoining factory townships, several of the capitalists, afraid of their business being driven to France, Belgium, and the United States, had recourse to the celebrated machinists, Messrs. Sharp, Roberts, and Co., Manchester, requesting them to direct the inventive talents of their partner, Mr. Roberts, to the construction of a *self-acting* mule. To the delight of the mill-owners, who ceased not to stimulate his exertions by frequent visitations, he produced in the course of a few months, a machine apparently instinct with the thought, feeling, and tact of the experienced workman, which, even in its infancy, displayed a new principle of regulation, ready in its mature state to fulfil the functions of a finished spinner. Thus the *Iron Man*, as the operatives fitly call it, sprung out of the hands of our modern Prometheus at the bidding of Minerva—a creation destined to restore order among the industrious classes, and to

confirm to Great Britain the empire of art. Several months ago (Dec. 1834,) the machine was in operation in upwards of sixty mills, working between 300,000 and 400,000 spindles."

"Since this time," continues Mr. Gaskell, "the self-actor—the *Iron Man*—has been rapidly introduced into general use, as it is essentially necessary from the closeness of competition amongst manufacturers that they should stand on equal terms in point of productiveness: hence any improvement of great capabilities must be generally adopted, otherwise those working with *self-actors* would undersell those working with the common mules."

"In this single instance we have exhibited the natural and inevitable tendency of mechanical improvement to destroy human labour. Spinning machines, when first introduced by Higs, Ray, and Arkwright, at once destroyed domestic spinning: the *Iron Man* of Roberts will as surely destroy the factory spinner. It is utterly ridiculous to say that the extension of the trade will or can absorb the discharged hands—it is impossible. Whether they will consent to be expatriated by such of their brethren as continue to be employed we know not, but we conceive the progress of *automata* will cause them to be dismissed too rapidly; for, be it remembered, it is not in this department only that these wonderful mechanical adaptations are taking place,—every process is alike passing from the hand to machines. Two-thirds, at least, of the spinners employed will be dismissed by the improvements we have just spoken of; and these improvements, striking as they are, are but the germs

of others still more perfectly automatic. The same series of improvements are in operation in the other branches of textile manufactures with precisely the same results, and were it possible to find data, it would unquestionably appear that, notwithstanding the extension of these, a diminution is rapidly taking place in the number of hands employed."

When machinery can be so readily made to take the place of human labour, it is impossible that labour can ever be greatly in demand. But there had been Foreign Competition as well as Home Competition to contend with. The superiority of our machinery gave us a great advantage in the spinning department, and unmanufactured yarns have formed a very considerable item in our exports. This yarn is made up by the foreign manufacturer and brought into direct competition with our own manufactures, and our weaver is thus obliged to take the same wages as the foreign weaver, who, from numerous causes, can live upon less. Thus the yarn consumed in our exported manufactures, spun entirely by power, amounted in 1833 (see Burn's "Commercial Glance,") to 76,246,339 lbs., and the unmanufactured yarn sent abroad with them amounted to 67,990,822 lbs. "Thus we perceive that machinery," says Mr. Gaskell, "in the first place, destroyed domestic spinning; in the second, it has opened up an immense export trade in yarn; and, in the third, it condemns the domestic weaver to clothe the whole world, whilst he himself is working fourteen hours a-day in rags and poverty." "Nonfactory processes of art," says Dr. Ure, "which can be condensed into a single frame, or machine moveable by hand,

come within the reach of operatives in every adjacent country, and will have their profits reduced ere long to the *minimum* consistent with the employment of capital in it, and their wages brought down to the scale of those in the cheapest or meanest living country. The stocking trade is a painful illustration of this fact. No manufacturer in this country can afford to make stockings unless he can get labour at as low a rate as in Germany; because a German stockinger may easily have as good a stocking-frame, and work it as well, as an English frame-knitter. In the market of the world, therefore, Great Britain has here no advantage by its machinery and capital over other countries, where the materials of the fabrics can be purchased at nearly the same price. The same reasoning may be applied to the bobbin-net trade, in so far as it is carried on by hand-machines. The wages now paid for this most ingenious fabric are deplorably low, in consequence of the competition of the Continental handicraftsman, who is content to live in the poorest manner."

No more need be said as to the cause of "the condition of the great body of the people in most parts of the world being poor and miserable." Capital, or the means of employing the people, may increase faster than population, and yet a prosperous condition of the people cannot be preserved: demand may be constantly extending, and yet wages shall not rise: and we think it very doubtful whether prosperity or even a decent livelihood can ever be the lot of the operative who depends solely on the wages of his labour, so long as supply and demand are left blindly to adapt themselves to each other, as is now the case in the market

of the world. But connected with so extensive a trade, consequent upon our manufacturing supremacy, there must be advantage somewhere. It certainly has brought immense wealth to the country;—it has made a great many *cotton lords*;—it has employed a vast number of people; and it has enabled the poor man's wife to purchase a printed calico gown for 2s. 6d. But has the advantage to the capitalist been sufficient to compensate for the small degree of benefit to the operative? We think not: for though during the extension of the trade and in times of periodical prosperity, great wealth has been accumulated in the hands of the few, competition, which determines the rate of profits as well as of wages, invariably ruins the smaller manufacturers in seasons of depression, and leaves the field to the minority, i. e. to the large capitalists. Thus, according to McCulloch, in 1814 the cost price of a piece of calico was £1. 3s. 10½d., the selling price in the Manchester market, £1. 4s. 7d.; profit 8½d. per piece: in 1829 the cost was 5s. 11d., selling price 5s. 8d., loss 3d: in 1830, 1832, there was a loss; in 1833, cost 5s. 10½d.; selling price 6s. 2d.; profit 3½d.; and we have no doubt that subsequent years have made the profit almost invisible. In 1786, yarn No. 100 sold for 38s., in 1832 for 2s. 11d. In 1814 the official value of our exports of cotton were £17,655,378, and the declared value £20,033,132. In 1837 the official value was £51,111,842, the declared value £20,588,082. We thus exported in 1837, three times the quantity of goods, as indicated by the official value, for the same return, for the same amount in money as in 1814. In fact 36½ millions were given for nothing.

No possible benefit connected with our large export trade in this department could have accrued to the country at large from all our vast improvements in machinery and increased powers of production, the absolute return made to it being only the same in the latter year as in the former. No doubt there is considerable satisfaction in the knowledge that our manufacturing skill has aided to clothe the naked all over the world, without greatly over-tasking them in return. But it is obvious that if the workmen have reaped no benefit from our augmented powers of production, it is not because the masters have monopolized all the advantage to themselves, as many of the former suppose. The great extent to which our exports have increased without any corresponding increase in our imports, is a circumstance which leads to the consideration of a feature in the commercial world,—a new feature it may be called—to which much of the distress that lately prevailed, may be traced: we allude to the system of carrying on a large business for a small return, which has been becoming more and more prevalent for the last fifteen or twenty years. Twenty years ago the system pursued was to make a profit of 5s., for instance, upon one piece of goods; now the system is to make 1s. profit per piece, or the same profit on five pieces; doing five times the business for the same profit. This is an alteration in the mode of conducting business which leads to most important results. Its obvious tendency is to over-production and to the accumulation of all the trade of the country in the hands of a few large capitalists. The competition which has thus reduced profits, inevitably tends

to keep them down; which, so long as general confidence prevails and markets can be extended, and a large return can be made, is undoubtedly an advantage to the public; and no less to the capitalist, manufacturer, or merchant; but very slight causes are sufficient to reduce the small profit to none, and the no-profit to a loss. The system itself, with our constantly increasing powers of production, has always a tendency to bring round periods in which all the known channels for the disposal of our goods shall be blocked up with our stock: thus we experience alternately times of progress and retrogression, of prosperity and distress. During our upward movement demand is always a little in advance of supply; consequently the operatives have tolerably regular employment, and the manufacturers and the merchants are realizing profits, though small: all, therefore, are consumers, and with increased prosperity, all are increased consumers; so that every operative is well employed, every mill and loom is at work, speculation abounds, and production is thus, at last, forced even beyond the additional demand created by the greatly increased consumption. At this point the slightest cause originating either in our Home or Foreign Trade—in an action, for instance, on the currency on the part of the Bank of England and of the Provincial Banks,—is sufficient to produce a reaction and bring about the retrograde state, in which supply always more or less exceeds demand. At the height of our prosperity our productive powers are at their utmost stretch, and a lessened demand even in one or two departments is sufficient frequently to produce a commercial crisis. In 1837

eight millions less of our manufactures were required for the American market than in 1836 : at least half of this falling off was in cotton goods. A lessened demand to so great an extent would give a complete command of the market to the buyers : profits always small would be turned into no-profits, or losses. The power of consumption would immediately be very much diminished amongst the numerous body connected with this branch of trade, and all those various trades which have hitherto depended upon them as customers must have a large quantity of goods thrown upon *their* markets ; consequently supply will then exceed demand. These places or trades influence others until the same effect takes place throughout the country. The first check or disturbance in trade is sometimes only sufficient to decrease profits, and an effort is then made by manufacturers to compensate themselves by an increased return and by lowering wages. This necessarily leads to loss, as it makes the supply still further exceed the demand, and at the same time diminishes the power of consumption on the part of the operative. In our retrograde or downward progress the powers of consumption are always lessening ; workmen are discharged ; the great manufacturers swallow up all the little ones, and every one ceases producing because every one ceases consuming. When we have arrived at this state, demand again gets the start of supply, and so long as it maintains it, our prosperity continues. It is seldom that commercial distress is so widely extended and so long in duration as in the late crisis ; but in that case the distress, although probably not originated, was prolonged and greatly aggravated by

year after year of scarcity, consequent upon bad seasons and restrictive corn laws, and also by the scarcity of money arising from its having been sent out of the country in large sums to pay for grain. In a system of trade like ours, with a large proportion of our population dependent solely upon wages, and our manufacturers and merchants all striving to make large returns at a small profit, and whose prosperity, therefore, depends upon demand being always kept equal to, if not in advance of supply, a law producing an artificial scarcity of food and doubling its price in bad seasons, must always decrease so largely the demand for manufactures as to bring with each season of scarcity a commercial crisis, and the downward state of things which seldom stops short of great and widely-spread distress. We do not mean to assert that these advancing and retrograding states of trade alternate in precisely the methodical, regular order described: there may be frequent checks and partial disturbances of particular branches of trade; but that we have prosperous times, and times of adversity, more or less severe, occurring at almost regular intervals, all who are acquainted with the trade and commerce of the country will admit. We continue to advance until the supply greatly exceeds the demand;—then we retrograde, the demand becoming less and less, the distress greater and greater, until production is greatly checked, the markets are cleared, and demand is again in advance of supply. It must be very evident that joint-stock banks have greatly tended to increase our difficulties by delaying the period at which, in the natural course of things, a healthy state of trade and prosperity would

recommence. Very large sums of money have been advanced by these banks to parties possessed of no capital and who could offer no real security ; and fictitious capital has thus been set up to compete with real, until enormous sums have been lost, not only by the holders of shares in the banks, but by the capitalists whom these men of straw for years have been underselling. It is a singular fact,—but it is a fact,—that the parties who have supported these banks have in many cases been the very men who have suffered most from this competition of fictitious with real capital ; they have positively afforded the accommodation which for years has been recklessly used to depreciate their own goods,—to ruin their own trade.

We have thus endeavoured to delineate some of the broad features of the manufacturing system, upon which the welfare of the country, by the policy of the last century and a half, has been made to depend, and it must be evident that any permanent improvement in the condition of the country must be effected, not merely by the removal of those temporary or partial causes which helped to produce the late distress, but by the improvement or alteration of the system itself. We have spoken only of commerce and manufactures, because to attempt to disunite the agricultural from the manufacturing interest is absurd. The agriculturists could no more do without the manufacturers than a man in trade could carry on a profitable business without any customers. Who are the great consumers of their produce, and where does the agricultural interest most thrive, but in the vicinity of great cities ? England used to export rather than

require to import food, and rents have doubled within the last half century. It is a well-known fact that in 1842 prices fell, not from the increased quantity of produce, but from the want of consumers; from the want of power, owing to the long-continued distress, on the part of the great body of the people to purchase even food. The falling off in the Customs and Excise in one quarter of the same year was £1,300,000,—after the rate of more than £5,000,000 a-year. We shall conclude this part of the subject by quoting a passage from Alison,* which is deserving of considerable attention. “It has been the well-known policy of Great Britain for the last century and a-half to encourage, by every means in its power, the manufacturing industry of the people, and this policy ably and steadily pursued, and accompanied by the advantages of our coal, insular situation, and free constitution, have produced the immense results, over which, in one view, we have reason to exult, and in another, to lament. It is utterly impossible that this unparalleled growth of our manufacturing industry can co-exist with the firm foundation of public prosperity. Its obvious tendency is to create immense wealth in one part of the population and increase numbers in another; to coin gold for the master manufacturer and multiply children in his cotton mills; to exhibit a flattering increase in the exports and imports of the empire, and an augmentation as appalling in its paupers, its depravity, and its crimes.”

PROPOSED REMEDIES. It is ordinarily much easier to point out evils and even to indicate their causes than to suggest the remedies. We are all agreed that

* “Principles of Population,” vol. 1, p. 519.

there are evils, but public opinion is at present very much divided as regards both causes and remedies, and perhaps most parties err more from taking a partial or confined view, than from that view being absolutely mistaken. Machinery is the cause,—says one; it is Over-production and Over-trading,—says another; it is Corn Laws and the want of Free Trade; it is the Currency and Joint-Stock Banks; it is Class Legislation; it is the deficiency of Education and Religious Instruction, and the improvident habits of the working classes,—say others: and probably all are right. Of the two extreme political parties into which the country is divided, one, looking only to the evils above detailed and the ill effects consequent upon the great accumulation of people in large cities, and the bulk of the population being solely dependent on wages, ascribes all the mischief to the manufacturing system—to the extension of commerce and the mechanical arts. England, they say, would thrive better as an agricultural country, without her manufactures and great towns, if they are to produce the frightful evils we see existing in her Manchesters and Glasgows. The other party ascribes the evil to the want of power to carry out the system already in operation. One party looks to the land as our great refuge,* regards

* Let us endeavour to occupy our own waste lands. Millions of acres are still unreclaimed, both in Great Britain and Ireland. Stop the gambling speculations of our manufactures, and drain off the surplus population from our towns into the country. Let landlords plant colonies on their commons and bogs and mountains; plant them under their own eye, upon right principles of colonization, in organic bodies, with powers of self-government; with social privileges; with the germs of village institutions, especially with that first principle of social life and organization,

our large towns as excrescences, and would return to the domestic system : the other sees safety and prosperity only in the extension of the manufacturing system, in making Britain the workshop of the world—the wholesale warehouse of nations. One lays the blame on machinery, over-production, redundant population, and strenuously advocates “protection to native industry,” and “independence of foreigners :” the other calls for the destruction of all monopolies and prohibitions and for non-interference with labour, leaving wages and the hours of work to adjust themselves solely by the law of supply and demand.

To us there seems much truth on either side, and we look for remedies to the evils consequent upon our present position rather in the blending and carrying out the views of both parties than in the adoption of the exclusive policy of either.* With respect to “pro-

an efficient ecclesiastical establishment in the centre. *Restore something of the feudal spirit into our tenure of land.* Raze, if you like, to the ground, half an overgrown metropolis, and all the idle, gossiping, gaping watering-places, where those men who ought to be each in their own parishes, ruling their estates as the representatives of the great estate, the monarchy of the realm, are frittering away time, and money, and dignity, and intellect, in frivolous dissipations.” *Quarterly Review for Sept., 1840.*

* On this account we rejoice that the line of party seems less broadly marked now than formerly ; that our most enlightened men and real philanthropists regard measures more than men ; the amount of real practical good propounded rather than party opposition. Still, with the multitude, with the ignorant and bigotted population of our country towns, party spirit never raged stronger, or was more to be deplored. We are quite aware of what may be said in favour of party, and that a *stick* which has no strength in itself is strong when tied up in a bundle. But of what avail is this strength, when, as in the old fable of the Knights and the Shield, it only serves to enable the combatants to maintain

tection to native industry," there cannot be a doubt that Adam Smith is right in affirming that the "home trade of every country is worth all the foreign trade put together," and that Mr. Laing, jun., truly says that "the operative who forms part of the great machine of manufacturing production, needs to be protected against the effects of inordinate competition, as much as the villain or serf of the middle ages needed protection against the inroads of the Hun and Tartar." But protection, and independence of foreign markets, may both be secured to the operative, together with the most perfect freedom of trade. The union of the domestic and manufacturing systems is quite compatible, and would effect all that is contended for by both parties. Unite the operative again to the soil, and his own labour, applied to husbandry, will supply him with all the first necessaries of life, will protect him from undue competition and make him independent of foreigners; whilst the *surplus labour* of himself and his family employed in manufactures will yield him every advan-

their ground without casting a glance on the other side of the question? Each stick reads its party paper or magazine, studiously passes over everything on the opposite side and exaggerates everything on its own; blindly follows each party move, piously believes every one to be knave or fool who thinks differently, and drums out any one of its own side who should be *eccentric* enough to think for himself, or who should presume to admit that there is the slightest shadow of truth in aught that is ever advanced by the opposite party. It is amusing to observe the importance that some of the very poorest and rottenest of these sticks will assume, trusting to the strength of the bundle in which they have been tied; and this is one of the great evils of party strength, that it is constantly placing men "full only of sound and fury, signifying nothing," in situations for which individually they are totally unfit.

tage which he can possibly enjoy from foreign trade. Trade,—the only system that can be healthy and safe—is “the mutual relief of wants by the exchange of *superfluities*.”

FREE TRADE. We shall proceed to the examination of measures more in detail, and shall commence with the remedy to which public opinion at the present time appears to be most generally directed, and the application of which is probably the most pressing, viz., Free Trade. “All protection,” says Adam Smith, “is robbing some one else,” and if all the people in a country agree to rob one another and to about an equal amount, it comes to very nearly the same thing in the end; but if they attempt to carry out the system in other countries which have not entered into the compact, the latter of course object to it. If all parties in this country agree that 20s. worth of their produce shall sell for 25s.—that is to say, if all are protected, it is the same thing so long as their trade is confined to this country, because all give as much as they receive; but the foreigner is no party to this compact, and will not therefore agree to give 25 per cent. more for goods than they are worth, and our merchants thus find that they are losers by the protective system. Protection means, that we are to pay a higher price for the article than it can be purchased for abroad, and if it be a necessary of life or an article otherwise indispensable to the manufacturer, its increased price must raise the price of other goods, which are consequently sent to the foreign markets under a disadvantage, compared with similar goods from other countries. So long as a population is dependent upon the home trade alone,

and all are equally protected, the system is fair and may work well, but immediately a portion of the population become dependent upon foreigners, this protection is no longer just. Now such is the case with this country; it is dependent upon foreign trade to an extent that renders it altogether impossible to return to the old system and to reliance alone upon the home trade. We annually export £50,000,000, and 800,000 of our operatives are probably supported solely by this export trade; it is manifestly impossible now, without an alteration of the whole system, that increased consumption can take place at home to that amount, and that such an additional body of labourers can find employment. We have therefore, no choice: the policy pursued for the last half century having brought us to this position, *we cannot recede, we must advance*, and all impediments to our progress must be gradually removed. Not only is there a necessity for retaining the markets already open to us, but for constantly extending them in proportion to our enormously increasing powers of production, and to the additional numbers of our population. Our commercial difficulties have principally arisen from the inability to make demand co-extensive with supply; from the want of markets in which to exchange our produce for the commodities we require. Every obstacle that impedes our free commercial intercourse with the whole world, and every restriction that tends to place us at a disadvantage by raising the price of our goods in foreign markets, must be removed. The advantages we possess in great capital, superior skill, industry, and improved machinery, have hitherto sustained us in our compe-

tition for the markets of the world, but it is evident from the present severe and long-continued distress that they can do so no longer, and that our manufacturers and workpeople require to be placed upon an equal footing with those of other countries with respect to the cheapness of food and lodging and of everything that enters into the cost of production. They can no longer afford to pay nearly double price for their bread and meat and beer and tea and sugar, for the benefit of particular interests: we must each relinquish the protective laws in our own favour, and we shall probably find that we gain as much from the abolition of other monopolies as we ever did from the maintenance of our own, with this additional advantage, that our produce not having an artificially high price will be as readily exchangeable abroad as at home.

The greatest of all monopolies and the one pressing most upon the industry of the country is the one in corn. Science, industry, and the necessity for constant effort have reduced the price in the present century of almost all manufactured articles at least one-half, yet the price of all kinds of agricultural produce has continued the same, and during the last five years has been even higher than in 1798. According to M'Culloch rents have risen fifty per cent. during the last half century, but we have to give double the amount of manufactures for the same amount of bread. Protection to the agriculturists has been attended with the same evil results which have invariably followed from protection to all other interests. It has retained a system of high money rents for the apparent benefit of the landlords, but to the manifest injury of the

tenant. It has preserved all the old methods of cultivation, all the old implements and machinery; for the cultivator has trusted to it rather than to science and skill and capital and enterprise. A more ignorant and bigotted class of men than our farmers generally ten years ago can scarcely be conceived: late events and the irresistible influence of the schoolmaster upon a new generation have worked a slight improvement, but still the farmer and the manufacturer would seem to belong to different ages. Competition would have rendered it necessary for farmers to bestir themselves long before this, and to improve themselves and their lands in self-defence. The principal benefits that may be expected to arise from the repeal of the corn laws are the introduction of an improved system of agriculture and a comparative steadiness in price. The present system of renting, which competition with other countries would be the means of destroying, has hitherto effectually paralysed the British farmer as to any efforts he might make towards the improvement of his land. The landlord grants no lease, that he may avail himself of the high price of wheat so frequently produced by the operation of the corn laws. The present mode of letting throws all risk of seasons upon the tenant, and the landlords have enabled the tenant to get rid of it by throwing it all upon the manufacturers. The share of the landlord ought, however, to bear some proportion to the produce, as it does in almost all countries in Europe. As an illustration of the present mode of letting, let it be supposed that the produce per acre in a plentiful season of wheat is eight bags, and that this is divided between

landlord and tenant in equal proportions of four bags each, as rent and profit: but supposing the next year's yield to be only five bags per acre, the landlord continues to take as rent four bags, and leaves only one bag to the tenant. Free trade in corn must change this. The Scotch Lothian farmers have already given us a slight specimen of what may be effected under an improved system. They obtain long leases, the rent regulated, we believe, by the price of grain: this renders it worth their while to lay out considerable capital upon the land, and their superior mode of cultivating it has trebled, and even quadrupled, the produce, and made them the most thriving set of men in Scotland. The average produce of the arable land in England is under $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters per acre, that of Scotland is, we believe, about five quarters per English acre: but it is probable that the improvements in Scotch cultivation fall far short of those which may and will be effected when science, chemistry and the mechanics shall be applied to agriculture as it has been to manufactures. We are only just beginning to appreciate the different value of certain manures and dressings in rotation to various soils, and our farmers are only just beginning to discover that science and learning may work a change for the better even upon ploughshares and pruning-hooks.

If the Royal Agricultural Society would employ some clever practical engineering architect to combine in one model homestead all the improvements in farm-buildings that could be found throughout the civilized world, and to construct models of all the most approved implements, and would take a farm upon which the

homestead might be placed, and these implements used and the ground be cultivated upon the most improved and scientific principles; such a farm might become a normal school which would confer more benefit upon the agricultural interest than the repeal of the corn laws could ever do it injury. Improved modes of cultivation would necessarily absorb a great deal of capital which now floods the manufacturing districts, leading so frequently to over-production and increasing competition; it would also—although such is not the case at present in Scotland—ultimately employ more labour, and thus raise the condition of the labourers. It is so certain that by better management the produce of the land may be readily doubled and even trebled, that there seems no reason to apprehend that the agriculturists will ultimately be losers by the repeal of the corn laws. The consumption of the produce upon the spot, gives so great an advantage to the home cultivator that he has not much to fear from foreign competition, and even should we become, as our population increases, large importers of grain, yet the land need not be the less productive on that account, or the less profitable, if the population be in a prosperous condition. What the agriculturist has most to fear is ruin to his best customers, the manufacturers.

Besides the stimulus to agricultural improvement, another great benefit that would result from the repeal of the corn laws, is steadiness of price. It is well known the mischief that ensues to the manufacturing interest from the sudden rise in the first necessary of

life ; and to widen extensively the range from which our supplies are drawn must have the effect of steadying the market and of preventing it ever reaching the high prices which are sometimes the consequence of the present restrictive law. High prices, however, might still be obtained, as they are of two kinds ; the one arising from scarcity of one particular article ; the other, from great abundance of all other articles. High price of the first kind impoverishes ; the latter is compatible with great prosperity ; the first kind it has hitherto been the sole aim of the agriculturists to secure ; the second alone will really conduce to their interest. We do not enter into the questions of the expediency of a fixed duty or of total repeal ; of compensation to parties holding long leases ; of peculiar burdens upon land which capital employed in trade has not to bear ; these are matters of detail which, however they may be decided, affect not the broad question of a corn tax or no corn tax. But the repeal of the corn laws, although a great step forwards, still is but a step towards Free Trade. Before the principles of Free Trade can be carried out, our whole system of taxation must be altered, as restrictions upon commerce are now necessary to raise a revenue. Indirect taxation must give place to direct taxation ; which latter is to the majority of persons the most unpalatable mode possible of defraying the expenses of the State : it would really seem as if a man would prefer that a state of things should be retained in which the impediments to commerce prevented his realizing more than £500 per annum, provided only £50 of it went in indirect taxation, than that he should make a clear

£1000 and have to pay £100 in the shape of a property, or any other direct tax; although in the latter case he would be a gainer of £450 per annum. No impost would appear to be more just than a property or income tax, which should clear away all duties for the purposes of revenue, all vexatious impediments to trade; thus enabling all to prosper, and charging them with governmental expenses only in proportion to their prosperity. Direct taxation may be attended by great difficulties, but they are but trifling in comparison to those which it would remove.

But to carry out the principles of Free Trade does not depend upon Great Britain alone, or even upon this country and one or two others, but upon the world at large. Other nations must be brought to act upon the same liberal policy as ourselves, and to relinquish their protective and prohibitive systems: it is of no use for us to take off taxes, if they put them on;—for us to abolish the import duties on grain, if they impose export duties. Every effort must therefore be made to open commercial treaties upon a system of real reciprocity: not to engage to admit the silks and wines of France if they will admit ours; but to take their silks and wines if they will take our linens and cottons; and with every nation to exchange those manufactures in which we so greatly excel, for their natural produce which we require. It is evident that no profitable trade can be maintained with other countries unless the increase in their powers of production keep pace with that of our own; for in exchange for our commodities they can give us only what they possess, be the quantity large or small. It is not by increased exports,

but by increased imports, that the prosperity of a nation is enhanced; it is not what goes out of a country, but what comes into it, that makes it rich. And thus Great Britain, so far as its foreign trade is concerned, has for the last thirty years taxed its skill and industry in vain; it has multiplied its powers of production only to give a larger quantity to foreigners for the same return. We have seen that three times the amount of cotton goods was exported in 1837 than in 1814, for only the same return, and so with our general export trade. In 1815 the official value of goods sent abroad was £42,875,996, real or declared value £51,603,028; in 1841, official value £102,705,572, real value £51,406,430: thus what we received from other nations in return for our exports in 1840, was rather less than in 1815, although we gave them 60 millions more. It is evident that if their powers of production had increased as much as our own, and the exchange had been a fair one, we should have received in 1840 as much as we gave, viz., 102 millions instead of 51. In this way—in a wasteful foreign trade—have the resources of the country been squandered; and this is a cause sufficient to account for the general poverty of our working classes, and for the fact, that increased demand has invariably increased the numbers, but never the wages of the operatives. It also teaches the important lesson that the road to national prosperity is not through the depression and impoverishment of other countries, but that by promoting their welfare we the more effectually secure our own; that if we assist them to become rich, the more of our goods they can afford to purchase, and the cheaper they can afford to

sell. Science and machinery may multiply the products of the earth and manufactures to any extent, with impunity, if, owing to the prosperity of other nations, we can always find a market for them and an equivalent return. In order, therefore, to obtain the full benefit of Freedom of Trade, or even to reap the advantages expected by the public and predicted by Political Economists, it is necessary that the whole world advance with us; for before the increased powers of production in our own department can be of any avail to our benefit, equal improvements must be made in the production of whatever we require in exchange. We have in Great Britain steam power and improved machinery, the means of quick communication by land and water, abundance of capital, business habits and great industry on the part of the people, comparative freedom of trade and intercourse, a steady constitutional Government, exemption from military service, and from disturbance by war; all which advantages tend to cheapen production; but before we can depend upon the exchange of our produce with that of other countries, such advantages must be extended to them. It may be very long before we can hope to see the privileges enjoyed even by Great Britain common to all other nations with whom we have commercial intercourse, but until such is the case, the prosperity resulting from Free Trade can neither be complete nor permanent. The advancing and retrograding states must continue. The causes of the immediate distress may be removed, but as soon as the productive powers of Great Britain again outstrip those of other countries, and supply

exceeds demand, the distress will recur. As the facility of intercourse between nations becomes greater, and the "Restrictive System" which now clogs every operation of production and interchange gives place to a system of Free Trade, there is no doubt that the demand for British manufactures will greatly increase, until each trade may rival the cotton trade in extent, in capital, and in the number of persons dependent upon it. We see no reason, however, to expect that the history of the extension of trade generally should, uncombined with other circumstances, differ from the history already given of the extension of the cotton trade. Rapid improvements in machinery gave to that department as great advantages as can possibly be given to the general industry of the country by any approach that we shall be enabled to make for very many years towards real freedom of trade. Our woollen, and linen, and silk, our hardware, earthenware, and glass trades, may all be greatly extended, and we may have lords of each department, as we have now cotton lords, and Manchesters and Glasgows may be created in every county; the value of the land may rise as it has done in Lancashire, and the whole world may be united by the iron bond of self-interest; yet, for all this, we see no reason to expect that the fluctuations to which trade has been always liable, will be less. On the contrary, we shall probably have eight or ten millions where we now have one, dependent, not upon their own industry and good conduct, but upon the industry and good conduct of all the nations of the earth upon whom they rely for custom. The checks to demand in so large a market and in the present low

state of civilization, joined to the constantly progressing powers of machinery, would tend to keep the great body of the people, even should there be no corn laws, and bread should be half its present price, as near upon the starving point as they are now; and there is reason to fear that the distress to which we should still be periodically subject would be great in proportion to the increased number dependent upon wages. Thus increased Freedom of Trade may effectually relieve a temporary depression by adding to the numbers of our customers, by opening fresh markets, and so finding employment for our people, who otherwise must starve; but it must not be overrated in importance as a remedial measure, nor the fact be overlooked that it would still leave us liable to a return of the evil.

LAND ALLOTMENTS. The great evil of the manufacturing system is to create a large population solely dependant upon the wages of labour, and liable to all the vicissitudes which the fluctuating demand for that labour entails. Greater freedom and consequent extension of trade may greatly increase the demand for labour, but if our view of its effects be correct, it will not materially improve the condition of the operative. It may augment the numbers of his class, but it will leave him in circumstances much the same as in 1835 and 1836. This is not a state of things for a great nation to rest contented with. With all the enormous tax-paying power of Great Britain, capital, and manufacturing supremacy, she might well afford to exchange her social position for that of countries which she now looks down upon. "If," says Laing, "instead of

800,000 or a million of persons employed in manufacturing for the foreign market, we had eight millions depending upon a demand which every petty political misunderstanding among the European powers might obstruct, would this be, morally or politically, an advantageous position? Would it be wise policy to call into existence a labouring population equal to that now supported by the consumpt of their labour in the home market, to be depending entirely upon the still more precarious foreign market?"* What has taken place since 1836 is still painfully imprinted upon our minds; the enormous loss of capital, the distress, the starvation;—"In the several trades of the wool-stapler and the manufacturer and dealer of woollen cloths in the Leeds district, it is undeniable that the liabilities of bankrupts and insolvents do not fall short of £1,500,000, on which the average dividend has certainly not exceeded 5s. in the pound. The difference, or £1,125,000, is a dead loss to the trade. * * * In addition to the enormous reduction in the virtual wages and the purchasing powers of the operative classes, it has been calculated that the total amount of money wages paid to the operatives engaged in the cotton manufacture throughout the kingdom is £7,000,000 less per annum than it was five years ago."† Consequently, all through the manufacturing districts we hear of 1000 families here and 5,000 families there, whose weekly subsistence varies from 9d. to 1s. 2d. per head. The time may be rapidly

* "Notes of a Traveller," p. 288.

† Report of the Statistical Committee appointed by the Anti-Corn Law Conference.

approaching when it will be too late to look for Remedies. A commercial crisis such as the one from which we are but just emerging, may again overwhelm us when we have a greatly increased population; and then, probably, to our own destruction and to the destruction of the best institutions of the country. Mr. Alison is quite right in saying "that it is utterly impossible that this unparalleled growth of our manufacturing industry can co-exist with the firm foundation of public prosperity." But if we clearly understand the evil, and determine to provide against it; if we do not go blindly forward in the course hitherto pursued, but take steps to amend that part of our policy from the effects of which the danger may be expected, there will be ample time to do so, during the period of prosperity which will immediately ensue on the clearing away of selfish monopolies, the taxes that press upon industry, and other obstructions to trade. Now what is the condition of our neighbours;—I do not mean of America, which is a young State—but of our Continental neighbours, who are at about the same period of growth as ourselves? The survey may perhaps furnish a lesson. "The whole number of proprietors who live on the fruits of the soil in Great Britain and Ireland at this moment, notwithstanding the prodigious increase of wealth, probably does not amount to 300,000; while above 3,000,000 heads of families, or 15,000,000 of persons dependent on their labour, subsist on wages alone,"* while the composition of the French population is as follows:—

* Alison's History of Europe, vol. 1, p. 57.

“Agricultural proprietors and their families	13,059,000
Proprietors not agricultural and their families	710,000
Proprietors partly living on wages, and their families	710,000
Total proprietors	14,479,000
Agricultural labourers living on wages, and their families	4,941,000
Industrial labourers living on wages, and their families	9,579,000
	14,520,000

“In other words, the class of proprietors in France is *more numerous* than that which subsists on wages; while in England it is only a *sixtieth* part of their amount.”*

Mr. Alison, although, with many other eminent Political Economists, prognosticating ultimate evil from such a state of things in France, yet remarks, “It is impossible to travel through Switzerland, Tyrol, Norway, Sweden, Biscay, and other parts of Europe, where the peasantry are proprietors of the land they cultivate, without being convinced of the great effect of such a state of things in ameliorating the condition of the lower orders, and promoting the development of those habits of comfort and artificial wants which form the true regulator of the principle of increase. The aspect of France since the Revolution, when compared with what it was before that event, abundantly

* Alison on Population, vol. 2, p. 48.

proves that its labouring poor have experienced the benefit of this change, and that if it had not been brought about by injustice, its fruits would have been highly beneficial.”*

Mr. Laing, in speaking of the opinions of Political Economists upon the social condition of France, says, “They set out in their speculations, with a false axiom. They admit that a certainty of subsistence—food, fuel, clothing, and lodging, being all comprehended under this term, subsistence—is the first and greatest good in the physical condition of an individual or of a society; and they assume it as an axiom, that those parts of a social body, those individuals or classes, who are employed in producing articles of general use or desire among men,—to put the case in the strongest light, say blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and such classes as produce articles which every individual in the community requires and uses—are as near to this first and greatest good of a certain subsistence by their work, as those immediately employed in its production by husbandry. Now this may be true, where husbandry is a manufacture, as with us in Britain, for producing by hired labourers the greatest quantity possible of grain, meat, and other products out of the soil, to be exchanged against the products of other branches of industry. It may be true that the hired labourers of the manufacturer of corn from land are no nearer to a certainty of subsistence than the hired labourers of the manufacturer of cloth or leather. But it is not true, where husbandry is followed as in France,

* Alison's History of Europe, vol. 1, p. 342.

and in the countries divided among a small proprietary, for the sake of subsisting the husbandman himself, the actual labourer on the land, as its first object ; and where the exchanging its products for other articles, even of general use and necessity, is but a secondary object. A man will not give up his needful food, fuel, clothing, or lodging, to gratify even his real and most pressing wants of iron-work, leather-work, or cloth-work. His surplus only will be applied to acquiring those secondary necessaries of life : and those who live by making them are, consequently, far from being so near to that first good in social condition, a certain subsistence, as he is. But if two-thirds of the population of a country be in the situation of this individual, who has his certain subsistence out of his own surplus for his own needful food, fuel, clothing, and lodging, I take that to be a good state of society, a better arrangement of the social structure, than where needful subsistence is not certain to the great majority of its numbers. It carries, moreover, within itself, a check upon over-population and the consequent deterioration of the social condition, and which is totally wanting in the other social system. In even the most useful and necessary arts and manufactures, the demand for labourers is not a seen, known, steady, and appreciable demand ; but it is so in husbandry under this social construction. The labour to be done, the subsistence that labour will produce out of his portion of land, are seen and known elements in a man's calculation upon his means of subsistence. Can his square of land, or can it not, subsist a family ? Can he marry, or not ? are questions which every man can

answer without delay, doubt, or speculation. It is the depending on chance, where judgment has nothing clearly set before it, that causes reckless, improvident marriages in the lower, as in the higher classes, and produces among us the evils of over-population; and chance necessarily enters into every man's calculations, when certainty is removed altogether, as it is where certain subsistence is, by our distribution of property, the lot of but a small portion, instead of about two-thirds of the people."*

"The German League comprehends above twenty-six millions of people; and if we only look at the numbers and at the extent and fertility of the soil they occupy, they should be buyers in their home market of manufacturing industry, one would suppose, as extensively at least as our British twenty-four millions. But here we see the immense difference produced by a different social economy. These twenty-six millions consume less of each other's industry, employ less, buy less, sell less, than four millions of our population. In our social system every man buys all he uses, and sells all he produces; there is a perpetual exchange of industry for industry. A home-spun and home-woven shirt, jacket, and trowsers, would certainly not be found with us upon the body of one labouring man in forty thousand. All he wears, all he eats, all he drinks, must be produced for him by the industry of others, and bought by the price of his own industry. The very

* Confirmatory of Mr. Laing's opinion with respect to such a state of things furnishing a check upon population, is Dupin's statement "that the population of Prussia is now doubling itself in 26 years, Britain in 42, Austria in 69, Russia in 66, *France in 105 years.*"

bread of our labourers in husbandry is often bought at the manufacturer's shop. In Germany the economy of society is directly the reverse ; not one labouring man, farmer, or tradesman pretty high up even in the middle class of the small towns, uses in clothing, food, furniture, what is not produced at home by his own family. In the centre even of German manufacturing industry in the provinces on the Rhine, you will not see among twenty labouring people the value of twenty shillings altogether in clothing articles not produced at home by the application of their own time, labour, and industry. They are not badly clothed, but on the contrary, as well, if not better, than our own labourers—in very good shirts, good jackets, trowsers, stockings, shoes, and caps ; but all home-made, or at the utmost, village-made—not made by a class of manufacturers doing no other work, and bought with the wearer's money. These are not consumers for whose demands the operative labours, and the master manufacturer and mechanic invent, calculate, and combine. Tobacco, coffee, sugar, wine and spirits, cotton yarns for home weaving, and dye stuffs for home-made cloth, take a large proportion of what these twenty-six millions of people have to expend in foreign articles. It is little, comparatively, they have to expend, because much of their time and labour is applied to the direct production and manufacturing of what they use ; much, a great deal more than with us, goes in eating, drinking, social enjoyment, and in fuel preparing, and such small household work in which there are no earnings or re-production ; and above all, much of the workman's means of earning, much of his time, labour, and pro-

ductiveness, is taken by the Government, in the shape of military and other duties, from the working man. The small proprietors occupying and living upon the land have no surplus earnings to lay out in products of manufacturing industry. Having the rude necessities of life very much within themselves, they are not forced into the market by any necessity; and being bred in the rough simplicity of the common soldier's life at the age when a man's tastes and habits are forming, they have no very refined indulgences or tastes to gratify, no habits or usages of a mode of living requiring the aid of much manufacturing industry. It is more difficult, perhaps, to bring a nation to consume, than to produce."* And again, "On the Continent every family, even in towns not inconsiderable, manufactures for itself,—buys little or nothing, compared with families of the same class in England. The Metayer family has its own raw material of clothing, viz., flax, hemp, wool, hides, raised by itself; has house-room and time—idle time in winter—to work them up, not indeed into very fine, but into very wearable stuff, by their own and their domestics' work; and no amount of capital thrown into their hands as the price of their corn could change those habits of a population which are almost produced by, or at least very closely connected with, their climate, husbandry, mode of existence, and whole social economy. The whole agricultural population, if not manufacturing in some way,—spinning, weaving, making household goods, working in iron, wood, or cloth, for their own use, during the

* Notes of a Traveller, p. 142.

winter months, would be totally idle all the winter half-year. It is a saving of time with us to buy all,—make nothing at home. It would be a waste of time on the Continent not to make at home all that can be made.”* Such, with differences rather in their favour, is also the social condition of Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Tuscany, Venice, and such was the condition once in England, but it has been exchanged for the superior benefits, as some think, of the manufacturing system. Laing says, “In England, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, as now in Germany, every family in the middle or lower classes was employed in spinning, weaving, manufacturing for itself, baking, brewing, pickling, preserving, for its own consumption. It has taken three centuries to bring the British population to that social economy in which every man exchanges industry for industry, and a vast home market exists for all production. It may be doubted, however much England has gained in national or individual wealth, whether her population has gained in well-being and social happiness by the change. Her operative manufacturing population called into existence by it, although only one-fifth of their numbers are supposed to be employed in supplying the foreign market, are plunged sufficiently often into the greatest distress, by the ordinary vicissitudes of the home market, to make reflecting men pause, and ask if this be prosperity? If national wealth, or the power of a State in its financial means; if the individual enjoyment of the luxuries and gratifications which this

* Notes of a Traveller, p. 286.

wealth bestows on one rich class, be worth the amount of human misery and vice accompanying it?"

We need not, however, go back to Elizabeth's time; the great changes that have taken place in our system have mostly occurred since 1790. At that time manufactures were chiefly confined to the home market: the labouring population derived their principal subsistence from the soil, by their own labour applied to it. Spinning-wheels and hand-loom were in every cottage, and their cloths, sheets, linen, were ordinarily of their own manufacture. Mr. M'Culloch and other writers represent the working classes as being the principal gainers by the improvements in manufacturing that have since taken place; but they appear to have lost in one direction almost as much as they have gained in another, and we regard the operative abroad as in a sounder and safer social position than our own. Both conditions, however, have their advantages. We have Infant Schools and National Schools, and Mechanics' Institutions; we have a penny-post, newspapers, and facilities for travelling; singing and literature for the million, and many of our operatives are, in consequence, highly intelligent. Many are, also, well lodged and well clothed; for a week's wages of an industrious family in good times, will furnish as much clothing as a whole winter's home-manufacture in 1760. But on the other hand, they are crowded together in large cities, and kept to twelve and fourteen hours per day incessant labour at a dull, monotonous employment; and the effects of such confinement, and the want of proper house-room, are felt in the degradation of both their physical and moral condition. The late

“ Report on the Sanitary Condition of the great Towns,” gives us painful revelations on this subject. Take, for instance, the rate of mortality among the poor of great cities, as compared with the class above them. In the town of Leeds the average age of the gentry was 44; of the operatives, 19: in Liverpool, of the gentry, 35; of the labourers, &c., 15. This dense population in unhealthy situations in towns is a most fertile source of disease, and children inherit the weakened constitution, the infirmities of both body and mind of their parents, until nature takes the remedy into her own hands; for Sir A. Carlisle says, that where the father and mother are town-bred, the family ends with the third generation. The wretched physical condition of the poor in great cities and their crowded condition, necessarily induce a very low moral state; added to which, the joint effect of the want of country air and exercise and of solid food, is the predominance of the nervous system at the expense of the muscular energies, which begets mental disorder and the necessity for constant excitement, found generally at the gin and beer shops, and leading, with the precarious nature of their employment, to the improvidence which characterises so many of the class. This degeneration of the great body of our manufacturing operatives has now proceeded very far, and for that, among other things, we must seek a remedy. The foreign operative, although inferior in position to our English workman in many respects, has this advantage over him, that he is not solely dependent upon the sale of his labour for a livelihood, but has the means of using his labour to furnish himself with everything necessary to his

physical well-being. His labour will always supply him with the necessaries of life, often with its comforts, and even a surplus to exchange for foreign luxuries. There is no doubt that he is in want of many things which our operatives possess, but he is not subject to the same fluctuations of income, and can therefore calculate better his own resources, and there is little question but that upon the whole he is a more contented and happy being. The result of the circumstances in which he is placed, upon his constitution, is just the reverse of the case with our operative, viz., physical predominance over the mental constitution. Now if we could unite the two states or conditions, one would so correct the other, that we should have all the advantages of both without the evils which each engenders separately. This union is the grand Remedy to which we would principally point as best calculated for the amendment of the present system. Our labourers and artizans have been divorced from the soil and made solely dependent upon the sale of their labour, the demand for which is dependent upon fluctuating causes, and will therefore frequently not furnish them with the necessaries of life. So far we would return to the old system, that we would put them back upon the land. Let their own labour, applied to agriculture, supply them with the first necessaries of life, and the sale of surplus manufactures supply them with luxuries and foreign and colonial produce. Let us endeavour to unite the advantages which the rapid progress of civilization and improved machinery have already brought to the operative, with the advantages of country residence and the health

of mind and body derivable from agricultural labour. Machinery is daily displacing the adult operative, and his labour will soon become useless, as too expensive a material to work up into manufactures: let him therefore, be employed in the garden cultivation of the land, to supply his family with the necessaries of life, and let only his own surplus time and that of his family be employed in watching power-looms to furnish comforts and luxuries. Agriculture and manufactures never ought to have been divorced. Employment *solely* in the one department, injures the mind; in the other the body. There is not now, if there ever has been, the necessity for it. Machinery has been invented, and can be invented, to do all for which skilled labour is required. When a nation becomes a nation of manufacturers and dependent upon other nations for its agricultural produce, it gives up more than it can ever receive in return, viz., the health and strength of body acquired from out-door labour. If the people of the Continental States, during the six months they are obliged to work in-doors, were to abandon their primitive mode of manufacturing, and by the aid of a factory in each district, were to make use of steam and our improved machinery, might not their condition be prosperous in the extreme? For, the same amount of labour they now employ might produce a large surplus to exchange for every foreign article required; whereas, almost all that they can now purchase after supplying themselves with the needful allowance of their own manufactures, is tobacco, tea, coffee, and sugar. If our own population, now dependent upon wages alone, could be supplied with allotments

of land, either by purchase or upon lease, so that by a spade cultivation their labour should always furnish the first necessaries of life, they would then have something to fall back upon during the fluctuations to which our trade is, and always must be, liable. Secure of the means of supporting life, and of making it not only endurable but pleasant, they would have less to fear from the closing of this or that market, from this monetary crisis, or that war. In order to make the great extension of our foreign trade, implied in the Free Trade principle, *safe*, and to the ultimate interest of the majority, all,—whether by this means or any other that can be suggested,—should be made *independent of foreign markets*, so far as the first *necessaries* of life are concerned.

To the thorough Free-trader this scheme may appear to be a retrograde one and perfectly chimerical. To carry it out immediately, to the extent contemplated, may be impossible and undesirable, and we would wish rather to point to it as an object towards which our policy should be directed for the future. To the master manufacturer, who wishes always to keep the supply of labour above the demand, and by that means to keep the operatives wholly dependent on him—greater slaves to the necessity of living than any we have lately emancipated in the West Indies—the plan may appear objectionable altogether, as interfering with the supply of labour, and consequently with our manufacturing supremacy. We do not anticipate, however, that the effect would be to raise the price of labour; because, having other means of subsistence, the operative could afford to sell his manufacturing skill for

less; and if it tended in any degree to check production—the tendency being constantly to over-production—it would be beneficial. But even should the objection be admissible, we think with Mr. Laing, that “there may be a greater national good than the cheapness, excellence, and extension of a manufacture. The wealth of a nation, that is, of its State or Government, may depend much upon productive labour well applied, and upon great accumulations of manufacturing capital to apply it; the happy condition and well-being of a people seem to depend more on the wide distribution of employment over the face of a country by small but numerous masses of capital.”* There are greater facilities for the practical application of this scheme, than would appear to those who have not given much attention to the subject. The land in cultivation in Great Britain is estimated at 33,792,450 acres; and the whole extent of surface at 51,000,000 acres. Of the 17,000,000 acres not under cultivation, it is more than probable that one-half is waste and unenclosed, but still of an improveable and cultivatable nature, if the poor were given a sufficient interest in it. Spade husbandry soon turns a waste into a garden. With a very little extension of the present machinery, this waste land might be placed at the disposal of the poor, and they might become proprietors upon easy terms. It would certainly be a perversion of the usual order of things,—all the enclosures hitherto having been for the use of the rich, and the allotments having been in proportion to the assessments;—truly, “to him that

* Residence in Norway, p. 299.

hath, hath been given ; but from him that hath not, hath been taken even that he hath." But let us begin to consult the interests of the poor, and we shall find it the more enlightened kind of self-interest in the end. We do not recommend waste lands only as applicable to this purpose : none can afford to pay better rent for land in small allotments than the poor. For the last twelve years there has been in existence a society, called The Labourer's Friend Society, the object of which has been to disseminate information on the advantages of allotments of land to the labouring classes. The Branch Societies have been very numerous and their operations extensive enough to prove the feasibility of the plan, and the beneficial results to the labouring poor have justified the benevolent anticipations of the originators. We beg to refer the reader to the "Labourer's Friend Magazine," published by the Society at 20, Exeter Hall. The operations of the Society have hitherto been confined almost exclusively to the agricultural districts, where 100,000 allotments have been given, varying, according to the wants of the family, from 1 rood, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre, to $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres. "The Society recommends the letting to the labourer, so much land only as he can cultivate with the aid of his family during his leisure time ; consequently not sufficient to make him a small farmer, or in any way independent of his regular labour." The Society has lately, since the spring of 1840, made the experiment in the manufacturing districts. Their agent has established thirty-two Branch Societies in the Midland Counties, with the stated object of obtaining healthful and remunerative employment for the leisure hours of

the operative classes in the cultivation of allotments of land, as cottage gardens, containing a rood or 1210 square yards, to be cultivated by manual labour alone, which, under good management, will supply poor families with vegetables all the year, and enable them to feed a pig, so that they may at least have a partial dependence for their subsistence from this source of their industry, when unable to work, through sickness, or a temporary suspension of employment, in consequence of a depression in trade. "About 600 acres, in 2,400 allotments, have already been let; the artizans manifest great eagerness to avail themselves of the privilege, and I have been told by several men with large families that they should have been lost entirely during the late depression, if it had not been for small gardens in their possession, much less than a rood. The good, physically and morally, is incalculable, that would result to our manufacturing operative if he could turn out in the morning or evening—when he ordinarily goes to the gin or beer shop—to an hour or two's labour at his garden. The Municipal and Parish Authorities could render such societies much assistance, should they be so disposed. By 59 Geo. 3, cap. 12, The Churchwardens and Overseers with the consent of the Vestry may take into their hands any land belonging to the parish, or purchase, hire, or take on lease any land within or near the parish not exceeding fifty acres, and employ in the cultivation thereof on account of the parish any persons they are by *law* directed to set to work and may pay reasonable wages to such poor persons as shall not be supported by the parish. And by 1 and 2

William 4, c. 42, The Churchwardens with the consent of the Lord of the Manor in writing and with the consent of the major part in value of the persons having right of common signified under their hands and seals, may enclose not exceeding *fifty* acres of any common or waste land lying in or near the parish, and cultivate the same for the benefit of such parish and its poor. *Or may let any part to any poor and industrious inhabitant to be cultivated on his own account.* This power is also extended to the Guardians of the Poor of any parishes or places incorporated under 22 Geo. 3, c. 83, or under any local Act, and to the Overseers of all Townships, Villages, and places, having separate Overseers and maintaining their poor separately.*

Around many of our great towns there are large quantities of waste and lammas land—i. e. land on which the Freemen have a right of herbage for part of the year,—comparatively useless to the poor in its present state, and a great injury to the town generally. Now if Churchwardens, Overseers, and Guardians of the Poor would exercise the power they possess accord-

* This power, however, at present is seriously limited, for by the Act of 6th and 7th Wm. 4th, cap. 115, sec. 55, entitled "An Act for facilitating the Inclosure of Open and Arable Fields in England and Wales," it is provided that nothing therein contained should authorize the enclosure of any open or common meadow or pasture lands or fields within ten miles of London, or of any open or common meadow or pasture lands or fields situate within one mile of any town of 5000 inhabitants, or within one mile and a half of any town of 15,000 inhabitants, or within two miles of any city or town of 30,000 inhabitants, or within two miles and a half of any city or town of 70,000 inhabitants, or within three miles of any city or town of 100,000 inhabitants; the number of such inhabitants to be ascertained by the last census, and the distance to be measured from the Town Hall.

ing to the above Act, and would take land and re-let it to the Labourers' Friend Society for the use of the poor, to be under-let and managed according to its laws and regulations, the labourers and artizans throughout the country might very soon each be in possession of an allotment. Government might also assist the Labourers' Friend Society by extending its power over waste lands and authorizing it, under certain restrictions, to give or sell such allotments to the poor; thus furnishing them with the strongest of all interests in its cultivation, viz., the right of a proprietor.*

* We may mention our own town as one amongst many others, the capabilities of which are very great for carrying out such a plan. Immediately surrounding the town are about 1000 acres of Lammas Land, which, with the consent of the Freemen, who are, for the most part, operatives, might be made several, or belonging to individuals instead of to the community. The share of the Freemen, or the value of their right, has been variously estimated at one-third or one-fourth; in either case it would be sufficient to purchase 250 acres, or 1000 allotments of a rood each; or if 150 acres only were purchased, cottages with shops for hand-loomers might be built upon 100 allotments, upon the most approved plan with respect to construction, draining, and ventilation; and together with the allotments might be let at about the moderate rate of £10 per annum, and one pound per annum for garden alone, where there was no cottage. Thus 100 families of our town-bred operatives might be transferred to a healthy and pleasant country residence in exchange for the crowded and unwholesome, ill-ventilated and ill-drained places they now inhabit; and 500 more might have allotments of a rood each; or, if it were found to work better at the commencement, 1000 might have one-eighth of an acre each, which would be as much as they could manage economically without neglecting their ordinary employment. The income of this property would be £1500 annually, which might be spent in the support of aged and infirm Freemen, in Education, or as was otherwise thought desirable. There are few of the Freemen who, at present, derive any benefit from these Lammas Lands, the

Again, the factory system must extend itself; as it is impossible that hand-loom weaving can much longer contend against the power-loom, which has now been proved to be applicable to silk as well as cotton. Let our steam factories be uniformly built in the open country, as is now very generally done in Lancashire, and let cottages for the artizans be also built in an airy situation, around the factory, with land attached to each. Most of the evils attendant upon the extension of the factory system might thus be avoided, and a high state of external prosperity and internal order, intelligence,

benefit, as I understand, being confined to 300 persons out of 3000, entitled to equal privileges. The case of this town is merely brought forward as an illustration of what might be done immediately in this direction to improve the physical circumstances of the working population throughout the country. Of course, the allotment system, as now practised, can only be regarded as a very limited approach towards the policy advocated. The Labourers' Friend Society does not advise the allotment, under ordinary circumstances, of more than a rood of land, i. e. one-fourth of an acre to each member; whereas one acre to each family is the least that can be efficient towards the object we have contemplated. It may, however, be objected, and with reason, that there are many large manufacturing towns to which the allotment system is not applicable, the land in the immediate neighbourhood being either at too high a rent or too far distant for such purposes. Under such circumstances the Society contemplate building cottages upon sufficient land for gardens out of the town. The Drainage of Buildings Bill, founded on the Report of the House of Commons on the Health of the poorer classes in large towns, brought forward by the Whig Ministry, and which is one of the best measures for improving the condition of the people ever brought forward by any party, would very much facilitate the object. In Liverpool there are upwards of 7,800 inhabited cellars, occupied by upwards of 39,000 persons; in Manchester there are 18,300 persons in cellars: let these be dug up and put into houses, and let an equal number be transferred to cottages with gardens in the country.

and morality be introduced. The present frequent practice of parents living by the labour of their children, their own labour having become comparatively useless, alone gives rise to every species of disorder and insubordination. Of 220,134 persons employed in cotton factories, only 58,053 were males above 18 years of age; the labour falling principally upon children and females: and in the other branches of manufactures the disproportion of adult male labour is still less. Thus out of 424,209 operatives employed in the five most important branches of manufacture,—cotton, wool, worsted, flax, and silk, only 96,752 were males above 18; 130,218 were females above 18; and 114,603, females below 18.* Employment must be found for the male adults, forty or fifty thousand of whom, trained from early childhood to factory labour, are yearly turned adrift, and whom machinery every day tends more and more to supplant. Let this employment be principally upon the land, and the father of his family may still be its head, and enabled to supply its members with the necessaries and comforts of life, without its being essential to their subsistence or England's supremacy that his daughters under 18 and young children should work twelve hours per day at the mill. We may then perhaps discover that our national existence does not depend upon our selling manufactured cotton at a farthing per ell cheaper than any other people. As Carlyle says, "a most narrow stand for a free nation to base itself on—a stand which, with all the corn-law abrogations conceivable, I do

* Factory Commissioners' Report, 1841.

not think will be capable of enduring." The factories at Lowell, in the State of Massachusetts, United States, are worked principally by the daughters of farmers in the surrounding States, of the age of from 17 to 24, and they exhibit a high state of prosperity, morality, and intelligence. Our own Greggs, Strutts, and Ashworths, have also set a noble example of what may be done towards improving the condition of the factory operatives under their charge. In the ameliorated condition of their workpeople the manufacturers will find their own interest, and they will never have reason to regret any degree of pains and attention directed towards the increase of their physical comforts and the improvement of their minds. The strength and welfare of a State is best based upon a contented and happy peasantry: the condition of our own labouring classes would indicate that notwithstanding our apparent prosperity, we have still much to fear. We have made mention chiefly of the manufacturing poor, not because we are not aware that the condition of the agricultural poor is little, if any, more prosperous, but because we consider that our proposed remedies are equally applicable to the amelioration of the condition of all who are dependent upon wages: an extension of trade, the removal of taxes from those articles which the poor man most requires, and the putting them on property and income; the restoration of him again to the soil from which he has been withdrawn, very much to his own detriment, by our manufacturing system, may do much to improve the circumstances of our operatives; but legislative protection from undue competition with machinery and

their own increasing numbers, will require, no doubt, also to be afforded them.*

* We hail the late discussion upon the Ten Hours Bill in Parliament as the harbinger of brighter days for England—it contained an evident admission that something must be done for the working classes,—that *Laissez-faire* had been tried and found wanting—it contained the elements of a higher tone of moral feeling than the worldly, practical, selfish spirit of British legislation has hitherto admitted. Our Millocracy were told that what was morally wrong could never be practically right or expedient; that British supremacy could never be maintained by laws opposed to the laws of God. There can be little doubt that the feeling of shortening the hours of labour is a right one. Our enormous productive powers are, if fully worked, equal to supplying another planet besides our own; and the constant tendency, with our present available markets, is not only to over-production, but also to leave hands unemployed; and the ultimate effect of shortening the hours of labour can only be to employ workpeople who otherwise would be left destitute of occupation altogether. We can scarcely apprehend its having any serious effect upon our power of competing with foreigners, when we look to the official and declared value of our exports, already quoted, and the greatly reduced price of such exports as compared one year with another. We believe that it is *home* competition rather than foreign that reduces the profits of manufacturers and lowers the rate of wages. The present state of the ribbon trade in Coventry, although not exactly a case in point, may tend to illustrate this:—The trade of Coventry is principally in ribbons, and for several years past, although there has been a yearly increasing demand for ribbons, yet from production exceeding even the increased demand, there has been little or no profit among manufacturers, and a great cry-out against the times. A new trade sprung up in the place—the trimming and fringe trade,—which suddenly took away a great many hands, usually employed in making ribbons; this, of course, reduced the production in ribbons, and all the manufacturers as suddenly found themselves in a comparatively prosperous state. But what say the opponents to a “Ten Hours Bill?” Why, that an interference with the hours of labour must lower the wages of all the operatives engaged in foreign trade, or throw them out of employment altogether. Thus, Colonel Torrens, in his letter to Lord Ashley, says that “England possesses no superiority over the United States of North America as regards the advantages, whe-

COLONIZATION AND EMIGRATION. Immediately connected with the close union of the labourer to the land at home, is his having easy access to the land in our colonies. Nothing depresses the Americans; their gambling speculations in currency and

ther natural or acquired, by which the efficacy of industry is increased,—that America is our most important market,—that instead of receiving our fabrics duty free, it charges a duty of forty per cent. upon them, and consequently, to retain that market, our operatives must work equal time and for half the wages. If, therefore, the hours of labour are shortened, wages must fall; and if wages are already at a minimum, we must lose the market altogether." Again—"Last year France imposed an additional duty upon British yarn, and the manufacturer, in order to retain possession of the French market, was compelled to reduce the price of the article. France now meets the reduction of price by a further increase of duty. This will impose upon the manufacturer, if he would maintain possession of the French market, another reduction of price; and the inevitable consequence of this must be a decline of wages. And what is the remedy you propose for averting this evil? A compulsory diminution of the hours of labour,—a legislative enactment for diminishing the quantity of work the operative may execute. You co-operate with the Government of France in pulling down the greatness of England." Alas for England, if her greatness is really dependent upon such a policy! Carlyle may well call it "a narrow stand for a free nation to base itself upon." The same authority says, "The causes are already in full and resistless operation, which will render it impossible for the British manufacturer to retain possession of the German market, except upon the condition of a progressive reduction of wages in England." And, "Under the Compromise Act, and previous to the recent modification of the American tariff, the impost duties were to be limited to twenty per cent.—these duties have now been enormously increased, and it is the avowed design of the Whig party in the Union to adopt the protective system to such an extent as to give the American manufacturer a monopoly in the home market." So also we are told that "all the great commercial countries in the world have adopted the policy of forcing domestic manufactures, by imposing high import duties upon foreign fabrics,—and a large and increasing proportion of the po-

manufactures throw them for a time; but, like the giant of old, from their contact with the earth they rise with renewed vigour. The tide of emigration flows farther and farther west; a broader and broader line is marked each year with the civilizing hand of

pulation of the kingdom is dependent on the demand of foreign markets for the means of subsistence." Now what are the legitimate inferences from these facts? According to Colonel Torrens, women and children must now work 12 hours a day to enable us to keep the foreign markets, and of course, therefore, if America raises her duty to fifty per cent., wages must be lowered one-fifth; or if wages are at a minimum, or as low as the operative can live, women and children must work a fifth more time,—and so on, as foreign countries continue to carry out the policy they have resolved upon, of excluding our goods, our operatives must continue to take less wages and work more hours, we must employ children under ten years, we must work them half the night, as we did before the *law interfered with the hours of labour*, and we must take in Sunday;—this would be a notable expedient, and it would at once give us a great advantage over the foreigner; for, as Colonel Torrens justly says, "Must not British goods, when imported into a foreign country, be sold to the consumer at the same price at which the similar goods of that country are sold to the consumer? And is it not self-evident that if British goods, upon entering the market of a foreign country, are charged with a duty of twenty, or thirty, or forty per cent., the British operative cannot receive an amount of wages equal to the amount of wages obtained by the operative of that country, unless he can produce in a day, or a week, a quantity of goods, greater by twenty, or thirty, or forty per cent. than the quantity produced in a day or a week by his foreign competitor?" Again we say, alas for British greatness! it certainly will require, if dependent upon such a policy, no co-operation of Lord Ashley with the Government of France to help to pull it down. Had we not better all of us, with Colonel Torrens, begin to look for some other road out of our difficulties, than in over-tasking our manufacturing population in competing with foreigners who are protected by import duties varying from 20 to 100 per cent.? Even the wilds of Australia and Canada are better than that.

man, as competition and necessity oblige multitudes to seek in the waste new modes of subsistence. With the generality of minds, it seems to be too much overlooked that the resources of the British empire are not limited to Great Britain and Ireland; that those isles, with their twenty-six millions of inhabitants, constitute only the heart of the empire, giving vitality to its remotest extremities; and that the East and West Indies, New South Wales, New Zealand, and a large part of the North American Continent, are as much Britain as the British Isles, and as much under the protection of Britain's Queen. The vulgar, but too common prejudice, that people are expatriated who go out to our Colonies,—that is,—who go from one part of the empire to the other—should be dispelled as speedily as possible, by practical measures for giving unity to the empire. We have the command of the sea; the high roads are therefore open to us. Every possible facility and inducement should be afforded for the transfer of capital from where it gluts the market to where it might itself create a new market; and capital should be supplied, at the cost of the State, with that which alone can make it available in a new country, viz., labour. At the cost of the State also roads should be made and bridges built; and *an army to conquer the wilderness* may prove as efficient towards our protection from internal causes of disorganization and decay, as our regular standing army has been for our protection against external aggression. War could scarcely bring greater trouble than the late long-continued distress to our manufacturing districts, and in the well-being of our

colonists will be found much of the future strength and prosperity of the kingdom. The free trade principle, that each country should furnish that for which *nature* has best qualified it, and which costs, therefore, in that country the least labour in production, is sound in the abstract; but it so happens that most of the staple manufactures can, at certain stages of a nation's progress, be produced as well in one country as another; and thus among the many disturbing causes likely to affect the staple trade of this country, that arising from the competition of other countries of the same age and in the same stage of civilization as ourselves, will most probably not be the least formidable. And notwithstanding our present advantages, foreign competitors will have one element of success which we have not, viz., the cheap rate at which they can purchase labour, owing to the continental operative having, in most cases, the land to fall back upon, and thus being able to afford to sell his labour to the manufacturer for nearly six months in each year, for almost nothing. It will be the safest policy, therefore, for this country to direct its efforts to the formation of new States from its own surplus population, which must remain chiefly agricultural for a long period of time; which will supply us with customers for our manufactures when the nations of Europe have not only learned to fill their own markets, but to compete with us in every other. These new countries will constitute our home market; and even should they become independent States, still we shall retain the tie of kindred and of language, of taste and sympathy.

The Government has of late given considerable

attention to the subjects of Colonization and Emigration, and such attention will be more and more required as machinery more and more displaces the adult labourer. The attempt to make "England the workshop of the world" is not our highest policy, and we think it will be found that although a rude kind of plenty and prosperity is consistent with agricultural industry, permanent prosperity is unattainable from manufacturing industry *alone*, and that it can only be *based*, however high the superstructure may afterwards be raised, upon employment upon land. We do not hold it to be consistent with a nation's prosperity that the manufacturing population should greatly exceed what the land is capable of supporting, that the country should be filled with Manchesters and Glasgows: we would rather see the people taken to the agricultural produce than the agricultural produce brought to them. In advocating, as we have done previously, the repeal of the corn laws, it is not so much in the expectation that we shall become large importers, as that the competition with foreign States will introduce improved modes of culture and increased produce at home. The physical and moral deterioration of a large part of our working population appears to us to admit of no remedies disconnected with agricultural employment and country residence.

Upon other questions intimately connected with the improvement of our political system, such as Currency, Poor Laws, and Education, we shall confine ourselves to a single remark on each. It would seem that the periodical distress, which forms a part of our present system, always originates, or is greatly

aggravated by an action upon the currency. Bank-paper is payable in gold, and gold has a marketable value independent of currency; and if there is an undue issue of paper, which generally occurs, not only to meet the demand of legitimate trade, but also of the speculation always accompanying increasing prosperity, the market value of gold is raised above its standard value, or its value as coin, and it is consequently drawn from the bank and melted. To prevent this, the bank suddenly decreases its issues and raises its discounts, at the same time that the gold disappears; thus money becomes proportionally scarce and goods cheap, and then follow want of profits and immense losses, and the commencement of the downward progress previously described. It has been proposed as a remedy for this, that there should be a Government bank of issue; that the price of gold, iron, or other metals or articles of commerce which have the least tendency to fluctuate, should be fixed at the time when the country is in one of its most healthy periods of prosperity, and the workpeople all tolerably well employed; that the price of these metals should regulate the issues; and that in order to keep this price fixed, the issues should decrease when it falls, and increase when it rises. As the powers of production in all departments of industry increase, money should increase proportionally: gold on this account may be an improper medium of exchange.

Any system of Poor Laws cannot be regarded in the light of a remedy, but only as a necessary palliation of an evil fearfully on the increase, and which, although indispensable, has, in its very nature, a tendency still farther to increase the evil. It is a

disease superadded in order to counteract another disease, but which itself makes fearful ravages on the constitution and renders a return to the healthy state still more impracticable. A gradual degeneration of the species must be consequent upon the condition of our working classes: there is a great mortality amongst this class, but such is the sickly and imperfect state of many that are reared, that a greater and greater deterioration of each generation is inevitable; and it is these naturally defective portions of the community who increase our rates and fill our workhouses:—workhouses as they are called,—but they who inhabit them have either never been capable of, or are past work. Take the evidence of one of our most enlightened physicians:—“I lately,” he says, “accompanied a friend of mine over a well-conducted union workhouse in an agricultural district. The persons whom I saw there were of two kinds; aged and helpless men who had toiled, as they do in most countries, with the certain prospect of pauperism before them all their lives long; and younger men, who appeared to be deficient in intellect. Of the women, several also were old and helpless: a few were young, and of these, several, I am inclined to think more than half, were idiotic. There were nurseries for the boys and girls. In the nurseries I was shocked with the spectacle of little laughing idiots, the children of idiotic mothers; but in the older children, with a few exceptions so striking that one felt surprised to see them there, the children presented coarse features; their heads were singularly low and broad, as if they had a broad shallow brain; and in several instances

the upper dimensions of the brain were so evidently defective, that no one could help observing it. Every physiologist, nay, every ordinary observer, would say, of such a shaped head, that it was associated with very small intellectual power; and the figure of the head, taken with the faculties and expression of the face, was too manifestly such as every observer would say prophesied ill for the future character of the individual. Great care might possibly do much; but when you consider these evils of birth, and the unavoidable privations and neglect to which these human beings must be exposed as they grow up, the *awful* consideration presents itself that they are doomed, from childhood,—from birth—before birth—to ignorance or helplessness, or to crime; to the lowest toil—to want—to premature death—or to puerism in age.”

“As in the agricultural workhouse, we find the human brain brought to a very low state of development, and the faculties of the mind very limited, so in the manufacturing workhouse we find the results of causes of degeneracy acting on a population whose faculties are kept in greater activity, but whose bodies are deteriorated, and whose offspring are prone to every evil that belongs to an imperfect structure of every tissue of the body, and to the imperfect action of the organs which circulate the blood, or which elaborate the chyle, or which should renew and retain the perpetual waste; so that, even in them the brain cannot long continue healthy and efficient. If the children in the agricultural workhouse were taken out and brought up ever so carefully, I believe that a very small proportion of them would exhibit a capacity of much men-

tal improvement. If the children in the manufacturing workhouse were separated, and brought up in families where every article of diet and regimen was very carefully attended to, many of them would be found incapable of continued life beyond a few years. They might escape some of the worst forms of disease which now carry them off in infancy, but a considerable portion would eventually perish of some form or other of tuberculous disease—consumption—or disease of the mesenteric glands. With these, then, it must be seen how limited must be the effects of the best physical and moral education that could be devised, even if it could be at once and in every case applied. And so long as these classes remain in this state, disease and premature death, and many moral evils which disfigure life, *must* be perpetuated. Of both these classes of the poor a proportion will still live to be thirty or forty, and become, unhappily, the parents of children who will inherit their infirmities of mind and body, and their tendencies to disease; until, by the gradual augmentation of the evil, successive families are extinguished.”

We have seen that there are in England nearly a million and a half of paupers, and a million more of our population who live by crime; and amongst this class and the lowest of our factory population an attempt was made in the Factory Bill of last Session to make some kind of education compulsory; but this was decried as an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of the subject. How long such *liberty of the subject* will be safe, is a problem for those to solve whose doctrine is “laissez-faire,” and who would confine the functions of Government solely to our

protection. It must be very evident that the voluntary system can never reach this class; the public would never provide schools, and the children would never be sent to them if it did; and any kind of education that may be introduced amongst them must be compulsory. The attempt at a compromise, although favourably received by the heads of both our great parties from a knowledge of its necessity, was violently opposed by the Dissenters; and we may have to feel that the success of their opposition was a national misfortune. Our rail-roads, our penny-post, our free constitution, our printing-press, cannot but spread intelligence among a numerous portion of our population, and perhaps do more to educate than the more laboured systems of our Continental neighbours, and will certainly be always sufficient to afford full protection to liberty of conscience: but there is still a very large class left whom Governmental measures and a National System of Education only can reach. We do not fear a lack of intelligence,—what we have reason to fear is that the mere intellectual education should outstrip the education of the physical and moral powers, and that there should be a constantly increasing tendency amongst our poor towards that most mischievous of all unions—intelligence and vice—a knowledge of political rights without a corresponding knowledge of duties. A well-devised national scheme of education may do much as an amelioration, but would be quite ineffective as a remedy; for it is impossible to “*engraft virtue on physical misery.*”

ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY. The conclusion at which we are compelled to arrive, after this short view of our present social system and its capabilities of improvement, is, that such a system, even in its most reformed and perfect state, can only produce similar results to those we have witnessed, differing, not in kind, but in degree. There may be an extension of commerce until each trade may be a cotton-trade, each small town a Manchester; and yet the social magnet will be charged as before, plus and minus; at one pole, immense wealth to the few; at the other, increased numbers and poverty. During our short periods of prosperity we may roll our stone up-hill, but only to recoil upon us when, with much labour, it has reached the summit. It is true that by the present system we have doubled our population in the space of 50 years, more than doubled our wealth and national resources, and raised an intelligent and powerful middle class; but in the condition of the masses we find evidence of that decline which, as Lord Bacon says, invariably accompanies the predominance of commerce and the mechanical arts. Our paupers are a million and a half, and our criminals a million. If all the measures proposed for the amendment of the present system were carried out to their full extent, they could effect but little towards raising the condition of the great majority. By a union of agricultural and manufacturing employments and wiser sanitary regulations we might perhaps prevent the farther deterioration of the race, and prevent wages from falling below the starving point; and by Free Trade and extension of our markets we might find employment for our in-

creasing numbers, and for those artizans who must otherwise stand idle in the labour market. The Continental writers have long been aware that no more favourable results can be effected by our present policy, and perhaps we may class it amongst our brightest grounds for hope that some of our own most enlightened writers and philanthropists—men who have the public ear—are endeavouring to make their countrymen sensible of it too. In Thomas Carlyle's phraseology, "All this mammon-gospel of supply-and-demand, competition, laissez-faire, and devil take the hindmost, begins to be one of the shabbiest gospels ever preached on earth; or altogether the shabbiest. * * * Were the corn laws ended to-morrow, there is nothing yet ended, there is only room made for all manner of things beginning. The corn laws gone and trade made free, it is as good as certain this paralysis of industry will pass away. We shall have another period of commercial enterprise, of victory, and prosperity; during which, it is likely, much money will again be made, and all the people may, by the extant methods, still for a space of years, be kept alive, and physically fed. The strangling band of Famine will be loosened from our necks; we shall have room again to breathe, time to bethink ourselves, to repent and consider! A precious and thrice-precious span of years; wherein to struggle as for life in repairing our foul ways; in alleviating, instructing, regulating our people; seeking, as for life, that something like spiritual food be imparted them, some real governance and guidance be provided them. It will be a priceless time. For our new period or paroxysm of commercial prosperity will and can,

on the old methods of 'Competition and devil take the hindmost,' prove but a paroxysm: a new paroxysm,—likely enough, if we do not use it better, to be our *last*. In this, of itself, is no salvation. If our trade in twenty years 'flourishing' as never trade flourished, could double itself; yet then also, by the old *laissez-faire* method, our population is doubled: we shall then be as we are, only twice as many of us, twice and ten times as unmanageable."* The author of the Atlas Prize Essay is fully sensible of the evil, if not equally so of the remedy. He observes, "The result to which Political Economists have arrived is, that the true solution of the problem of national wealth is to be found in the systematic application of the principle of *laissez-faire*: in other words, of leaving things to adjust themselves by the free unimpeded operation of the individual self-interest involved. All interference on the part of legislative or public opinion, and especially all considerations formed on moral considerations, is stigmatized as erroneous. Thus, for complaints of industry and commerce, political economy has but one specific—absence of restraint, unlimited freedom of competition. For the still more important question of wages, it has the same answer." From these conclusions he entirely dissents; he says, that "the ruinous spirit of unlimited competition, if allowed to operate unchecked, will clearly always end in reducing profits and wages to a *minimum*, and deluging all the markets of the world with articles at a price which gives neither a return to the capitalist nor a subsistence to the ope-

* "Past and Present," p. 250.

native." And again, "Experience has shown, with a force of demonstration that renders argument superfluous, that something far more than *leaving things to themselves* is required to meet the evils that threaten society, and that most of the conclusions which have been taught by political economy, with a pedantic parade and scientific certainty, are either totally false, or, if true, true only under certain conditions and limitations. * * The more enlightened economists have, indeed, themselves come to see, that even on their own principles the mere absolute amount of wealth in a nation signifies little compared with the more important question of its *distribution*."

To those who have carefully considered what may be effected by order and combination, the whole world of work seems at present an enormous chaos of powers working blindly on, undirected to any general object by unity of purpose,—a mighty lottery-wheel which casts up wealth for the few and crushes the million,—and our English notion of freedom perpetuates the chaotic state, by making it the grand desideratum for each individual to have perfect liberty to pursue unmolested the course which self-interest alone marks out. The time is come, however, when light must, of necessity, be introduced into the system, and each atom must be made to move and act in harmony with the whole. We can no longer "do what we like with our own," but must be content to take our places as members of the human family, as parts of an organized system, arranged so as best to promote the interests of all. We talk of liberty, while the multitudes are slaves to work and want; we must give up such liberty,

which means chance, that we may possess the only real liberty dependent upon law. Each man as he comes into the world must be shown his place and his work, and not left to find it, or starve. "All human interests, combined human endeavours, and social growths in this world, have at a certain stage of their development, required organizing; and Work, the grandest of human interests, does now require it."*

It is clearly demonstrable that one man can produce more than he can consume; if then we have the means of setting him to work, why should any starve? The labour of one agriculturist can support fifteen manufacturers, even with the present imperfect modes of cultivation; and fifteen manufacturers can produce, by the aid of machinery, as much as 4,500 could in 1760, when each man's labour was sufficient for his own support; supposing, therefore, these sixteen families to be in possession of land and capital, and at liberty to exchange with each other the fruits of their labour, what could possibly prevent their having all things requisite for their comfortable subsistence? For the sake of illustration let us imagine a village in which, keeping the same proportion, the labour of ten agriculturists supported 150 manufacturers and artizans, consisting of tailors, shoemakers, builders, carpenters, weavers, &c., and all such whose trades are indispensable to a community, in the proportion required to meet the wants of all, and that they supplied themselves by the interchange of each others industry. There would be no great difficulty in settling the proportion of

* Carlyle's "Past and Present," p. 368.

each kind of labour required. The number of agriculturists being ten, let there be ten persons to each of ten other leading departments—clothes, shoes, &c. This number would doubtless be sufficient to supply all comforts and necessaries to the village, and there would be then fifty left for other sundry employments and to manufacture articles to exchange for foreign produce and luxuries. Supposing each to do his part, it would be easy to maintain a prosperous state of things in a village so situated, supply and demand having once been apportioned to each other. One labourer, by what he *produced*, and what he *wanted*, would necessarily be the means of *employing*, and *maintaining* another labourer; and if the population of the village doubled or trebled, or increased to any extent, so long as the due proportion between employments continued, the labour of one man would continue to call that of another into profitable operation. Of course this presupposes—as we think we are perfectly justified in presupposing, considering the previous calculations with respect to the powers of production—that there be capital enough to set the increased numbers to work, and land enough to employ the required proportion of agriculturists. Let us next suppose, continuing our illustrations of a village and the same number of inhabitants, that by an improvement in machinery double the number of shoes or coats could be made at the same cost of time or labour; each person in the village might then either wear two coats or two pairs of shoes where he only wore one before, or else five persons out of each department might be added to the fifty, and the foreign produce and luxuries in the

village be thus increased, additional wants or caprices gratified, or more leisure afforded to the operatives, and all that would be essential to keep the whole population profitably employed would be the proper proportionment of the numbers engaged in the different departments of industry. Such an adjustment of supply and demand would not be difficult; but the industrial system of the village might soon be thrown into confusion, if with increased powers of machinery, parties were allowed to go on producing more than the community required, or if a greater number than necessary should insist upon working in one department and neglecting production in another.

This is an imaginary picture, merely given as an explanation of the meaning of "Organization," and representing the lowest kind of association; a co-operation far more perfect is contended for by those who advocate this kind of reform. It is evident that the error of our present system lies in its defective and false organization, and that the reform required is neither political or administrative, but social. We become so accustomed to the form of society under which we live, that its institutions, laws, and customs, are a second nature to us, and we never suspect that the evils that surround us and against which we are struggling, are inherent in the very frame-work of our social system. This social system, which appears to us natural, unchangeable, and perfect, is nevertheless built upon the predominance of individual self-interest, and is therefore totally out of harmony with the very laws of our being; for Providence has so built us that we cannot be happy if our fellow-creatures are mise-

serable, and what we require is a skilful combination of all the powers we possess for the general good;— a family should consist not of a man's own household merely, but of as many as are necessary to produce and consume everything that the highest wants of that family require. The objects proposed by such an association are *harmony of means, unity of purpose,* and what can never be acquired under the present system, *justice in distribution.* To production only have we hitherto attended, and we are now beginning to be aware that distribution is equally important.

Under the present system the great body of the people must be always poor and miserable, the advantages of civilization being dispensed only to a favoured few; whereas prosperity consists in the well-being of the majority.

Under the present system the demand for labour, upon which the prosperity of the majority depends, can never be co-extensive with supply in the general market of the world; competition, therefore, for the sale of labour, will determine its price, and not what that labour can and does produce.

Under the present system also, machinery must always work rather against, than for, the operative, as it has a constant tendency to lower the value of labour and take from the great body of consumers their powers of consumption: the saving of labour thus becoming a disadvantage rather than a blessing to the community.*

* This last is a circumstance that economists of all parties feel great difficulty in reconciling with the continuance of prosperity under the present system. "If," says Gaskell, "the 150,000 spinners of the present day superintend the production of as much

These difficulties can only be met and overcome by an alteration of the system, by a skilful combination of the enormous powers of production at our command,—by associative industry,—by communities of equal interests,—by joint-stock companies for the equal distribution and consumption of all that life requires. Unity in production would be found no less beneficial than unity in all other purposes. If each individual was required to forward his own letter, we fear our corre-

yarn as would have required the labour of 40,000,000 men a century ago, what is to prevent 1000 doing that which is now done by 150,000? Not only is there nothing to prevent it, but it will actually be done, if no great convulsion overturn the present system. If one power-loom is six times as effective as a hand-loom, why should not the power-loom be doubled in capability in ten years? These things are yet in their infancy. The introduction of steam-power, of automatic labour, of power-looms, are events of the present generation; and there is not a fabric but will shortly be transplanted from the hand to steam." And again, "The time, indeed, appears rapidly approaching, when the people, emphatically so called, and which have hitherto been considered the sinews of a nation's strength, will be even worse than useless; when the manufactories will be filled with machinery, impelled by steam, so admirably constructed as to perform nearly all the processes required in them; and when land will be tilled by the same means. Neither are these visionary anticipations; and these include but a fraction of the mighty alterations to which the next century will give birth. Well, then, may the question be asked—What is to be done? Great calamities must be suffered. No extensive transition of this nature can be operated without immense present sacrifices; but upon what class, or what division of property or industry, these must be more especially inflicted, it is impossible clearly to indicate. Much should be done—and done vigorously and resolutely. Like other great revolutions in the social arrangement of kingdoms, it is to be feared that an explosion will be permitted to take place, undirected by the guiding hand of any patriotic and sagacious spirit, that its fragments will be again huddled together in hurry and confusion, and finally have to undergo a series of painful gradations, before society can regain a healthy and permanent tone." *Artizans and Machinery*, p. 332.

spondence would necessarily be very limited; but by the aid of Unity and Organization a penny will take a letter to any part of the kingdom, and leave a profit upon the transaction. If the stupendous undertaking of the London and Birmingham Railway had been accomplished by means of each proprietor through whose land it passed, completing his part of the line, according to his own ability and caprice, instead of by one directory, assisted by the highest talent the country afforded, the line thus formed would bear about the same relation to the present line, as the result of the present individualized efforts towards production bear to the perfect whole which a skilful organization of such powers would create. With the country divided into families or groups of from two to three thousand people, comprising all trades and professions, united for such objects, assisted by the highest intelligence and science, almost all the evils that necessarily form a part of the old system, could be obviated. The basis of such societies would always be upon land, equal to the subsistence of all the members, and agricultural and manufacturing industry might again be joined together and at much greater advantage than formerly. Labour and capital would be reunited, and the labourer not obliged to sell his share of the joint produce, in consequence of the competition of his fellows, for less than its value; and if by the aid of machinery he produced three or three hundred times as much as before, he would be a sharer in the increase. Demand and supply would be co-extensive; for the produce of each would be taken to a common store and left for the general benefit, or exchanged for *what* was required, and when the store-houses were

full, the members might rest till they required replenishing. Machinery would be a benefit to all, for every saving of labour would release so much time that might be then employed in higher pursuits. Everything required by the community would be produced on the spot, so far as was practicable, and the surplus only exchanged for foreign or colonial produce. Under such circumstances, political economy would really be to the State what domestic economy is to the family.*

* We must not be understood as advocating any *sudden* changes; we are illustrating only the principle upon which future reforms must be based, and not attempting to determine in what way that principle can be best reduced to practice. We are quite aware that organic machinery—the machinery of the social system—cannot, like inorganic, be stopped to be repaired; it must be set to rights while in full motion, and therefore all changes that can safely be made in it must be almost imperceptible, and on this account we have dwelt long upon the improvement of the old system, since that must be kept going while a new and better one is constructing. Still the question is pressing, and it will become more and more pressing, what is to be done with our labouring population? What can Government do? The solution we think will not be difficult when the country is convinced that Labour, to give it a soul and intelligence, must be organized. With the example of the Army and Post Office before us, we need not despair or think it *impossible*, if difficult, that an Army of Industry should be enlisted, drilled, and made to march against all impediments in the way of physical and moral well-being, however low in the social scale such a soldier may be originally found. Suppose as a first step we should have real workhouses in each district, (our present workhouses are mere asylums for the imbecile,) under the direction of a central board and proper officers, which should be self-supporting in their character, that is, producing everything within their own boundary, and consuming only their own produce, upon the principle of the village before mentioned, whose supply and demand having been once properly apportioned to each, one man, by what he *produced* and what he *wanted*, should always be the means of *employing* and *maintaining* some other man. Government might enlist parties for such Industrial establishments, as they do now soldiers for the army, taking care that the capabilities of each *person enlisted* should be quite equal to producing

It is not our intention here to dwell upon the incalculable moral advantages consequent upon such a system. The political economy of the Social Reformers has been advocated in connexion with various ethical creeds. The Shakers have carried it into practice in America, and are rich ; it has been advocated in England by Mr. J. M. Morgan, in connection with the Church of England and High Church dignities ; and it has been rendered extremely unpopular from its union with what are considered to be the anti-religious tenets of Robert Owen. In France the system is based on Christianity ; its advocates are to be found among the first in rank and intelligence, and the disciples of the late Charles Fourier now constitute a numerous and influential body on the Continent. Upon their system "all industry will become a public function, and there will be a social revenue before there will be an industrial revenue. Forming at first one common mass of riches produced by the combined aid of the members, afterwards to be divided among them ac-

more than he consumed. When enlisted, each person would of course be expected, like our soldiers, to give up his liberty for a certain term of years, and to be at the complete disposal of Government. One man employed in agriculture can support fifteen others, and he must be a most ordinary workman who cannot in all departments of industry produce more than he can consume ;—there is no doubt, therefore, that such institutions, imperfect as they must be, might not only be self-supporting, but might soon repay the capital originally employed in their establishment, and that too quite consistently with a state of comfort and freedom from care at present unknown among even our highest class of operatives. Such an army, *well officered*, would be invincible against want and misery, and vice and immorality—"No working world, any more than a fighting world, can be led on without a noble Chivalry of Work, and laws and fixed rules which follow out of that,—far nobler than any mere chivalry of fighting was." *Past and Present*, p. 365.

ording to the part each has had in the production." Such an alteration in the form of society has been hitherto considered as visionary and Utopian, so far as regards its application to the present age, although it is not denied that society, in a much more advanced stage, may perhaps take such a form. Experience only can determine how far the time is ripe for the commencement of the trial. Under the existing system there seems little reason to hope that the great mass of the people can be raised much above their present state of animalism, in which the whole of life is spent in struggling for the means of living; in which the nobler faculties of the soul lie for ever dormant and undeveloped, and the unbalanced propensities extinguish all healthy action of the moral feelings. Of the class above, the greater number are connected with the trade and commerce of the country; and who so connected has not felt or seen the degrading influence on the character? In the competition for gain, for commercial station and advantage, almost all traces of the highest qualities of man are lost; the whole views are contracted within one narrow circle, the world of business. He whose whole soul is given to money-getting, who has no generous and enlarged sympathies for his fellow mortals to divert his attention from his one object, is the man likely to be the most prosperous. "In Britain," says one of our most intelligent moralists, "that individual is fitted to be most successful in the career of wealth and its attendant advantages who possesses vigorous health, industrious habits, great selfishness, a powerful intellect, and just so much of the moral feeling as to serve for the profitable direction

of his animal powers. This combination of endowments would render self-aggrandizement and worldly-minded prudence the leading motive of his actions; would furnish intellect sufficient to give them effect and morality adequate to restrain them from abuses, or from defeating their own gratification. A person so constituted would feel his faculties to be in harmony with his external condition; he has no lofty aspirations after either goodness or enjoyment which he cannot realize; he is pleased to dedicate his undivided energies to the active business of life, and he is generally successful. He acquires wealth and distinction, stands high in the estimation of society, transmits comfort and abundance to his family, and dies in a good old age." Those who see in man higher and nobler powers and aspirations, which await more genial circumstances for their development, cannot but regard the plans of the Social Reformers, and the new state of society they would introduce, with *interest* and with *hope*; others go still further and affirm, with T. Carlyle, that "with our present system of individual mammonism, and government by *laissez-faire*, this nation cannot *live*. And if in the priceless interim, some new life and healing be not found, there is no second respite to be counted on. The shadow on the dial advances henceforth without pausing. What Government can do? This that they call 'Organization of Labour,' is, if well understood, the problem of the whole future, for all who would in future pretend to govern men."

SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND COMMUNITIES.

The principle of Co-operation, including a common interest in the produce, has developed itself in a variety of forms in the history of Society. A slight review of some of the modifications which the principle has assumed in past ages, and of its operation in the present, may be useful in considering its prospects for the future.

Crete. Minos, in the laws which he gave to Crete, aimed at establishing equality amongst the people, not by making new divisions of land, or prohibiting the use of gold and silver, but by their general scope and tendency, and the tone which they gave to public opinion. He would not suffer any of his subjects to lead an indolent life, whatever might be their rank, but obliged them all to serve in the army or apply themselves to agriculture. The children were all brought up and educated together in the same maxims, exercises, and arts. Rich and poor, men, women, and children, were fed at common tables, on the same diet, and at the public expense. The land was tilled by slaves and mercenaries, but there is reason to believe that they were treated with more kindness and indulgence than

anywhere else. Once a year, at the feasts of Mercury, they were waited on by their masters, to remind men of their primitive equality. These laws subsisted in full vigour for nearly 1000 years, and during this period Crete was held to be the peculiar abode of justice and virtue.*

sparta. Lycurgus passed a considerable time in Crete in the study of its constitution, and adopted its principles in his celebrated Spartan code. But he went farther in his attempt to institute equality, by dividing the land which had been before in the hands of a few, amongst all his subjects, who were not permitted to alienate, sell, or divide their respective portions. He made 9,000 lots for the territory of Sparta, and 30,000 for the rest of Laconia; each lot being sufficient to produce 70 bushels of grain for each man, (including his household,) and 12 for each woman, besides wine and oil in proportion. When the number of citizens increased so as to occasion inconvenience, they sent out colonies elsewhere. Lycurgus next attempted to divide the moveables, but found this too difficult a task to accomplish by direct means. He therefore stopped the currency of gold and silver coin, and ordered that iron money only should be used, which, from its bulk, could not be hoarded without detection, and which, from its low intrinsic value, offered little inducement to neighbouring nations to bring their luxuries in exchange for it. He discouraged the arts, trade, and commerce, and all intercourse with foreigners, as the

* Rollin. Rees' Cyclop.; Art. Crete.

sources of factitious wants, of corruption and vice. The meals were common and of the simplest fare; each citizen had a right to partake of them, and each was bound to furnish a monthly contingent towards them, consisting of a bushel of barley meal, 8 gallons of wine, 5 lbs. of cheese, $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. The eldest sons, who alone inherited their fathers' land, provided probably for their younger brothers as well as for their children. Simple dwellings, clothing, and food, were the portion of all, and one citizen was allowed to make use, when circumstances required, of the slaves, carriages, horses, or goods of another citizen.

Lycurgus thus banished the passions to which wealth gives rise, and as a check upon the rest, he not only caused public opinion to range on the side of moderation, temperance, and rectitude, but he provided a counterbalancing force in the love of country, which, under the influence of his institutions, became itself an ardent passion. Obedience to the laws, and the dread of living for himself, were the earliest lessons imprinted on the mind of a Lacedemonian. Both sexes were inured to hardy bodily exercises. Marriages were only made at mature age, between persons of sound constitution and vigorous health. Children were examined immediately after their birth by competent judges, and such as were found to be weak or defective were not permitted to live. Those who were pronounced to be sound and healthy were left under maternal care, free from all fear and restraint, until seven years of age; from that period they were educated in common, in the same discipline and principles, under

the eye of the law and of the republic. Lycurgus would not permit his laws to be written, thinking that the habits which education produced in the youth would be more effectual than the ordinances of a law-giver; indeed he resolved the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth. As for learning, they had only what was absolutely necessary. Music and poetry they delighted in, but the arts were in no greater credit with them than the sciences.

These institutions were maintained in considerable purity for four centuries, and during that period the character of the Spartan people answered to the design of their legislator, limited as that was by the imperfect notions of the nature of man which then obtained; the sons of Sparta were hardy, simple-minded, disinterested, contented, warlike, and averse to all industrial occupations. These were consigned to the descendants of the captured Helots, who held a sort of middle rank between the slaves and citizens; they were the cultivators of the soil; the land was farmed out to them at a fixed rent by no means equal to the produce, and this rent it would have been considered disgraceful in any proprietor of land to attempt to increase. The importance of the labour which the Spartans despised, was evinced by the growing strength of the class engaged in it, which proved in the end inimical to the safety of the State.*

It was the object of Theseus, in legislating for the Athenians, to establish a kind of equality amongst the three bodies into which he divided them; the nobility,

* See Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*. "Travels of Anacharsis."

who held all public and religious offices, the husbandmen, and the artizans. The consideration due to the first class being balanced by the utility and necessity of the services of the second, and the advantages of both by the superior numbers of the third. Solon afterwards confirmed the principle, and strengthened it by giving a voice in the Government to each class, but it was out of his power to effect what the poorer citizens expected of him—a division of the lands, after the example of Lycurgus; and neither in Athens, nor in any other of the ancient Republics, do we find any recognition of the principle of common interests to the extent which it obtained in Sparta.* The public distributions, however, were so liberal in Athens, that its citizens were almost exempt from the necessity of manual labour. The celebrated Agrarian Law, which excited so much disturbance in Rome, appears to have related merely to the more equitable division of public lands, not to any equalization of private landed property. A tradition existed among the Romans “that the poorest followers of Romulus had been endowed with the perpetual inheritance of two *jugeræ*, (rather more than an acre of land,) and an obsolete statute confined the richest citizen to the measure of 500 *jugeræ*, or 320 acres.”†

**Ancient
Germans.** Cæsar and Tacitus relate that among the ancient Germans, property every year experienced a general change, by a new division of the arable lands, made by the princes and magis-

* Rollin's Ancient Hist. † Gibbon's Rome, vol. 7, p. 72.

trates, no individual being permitted to keep the same portion two years together. Consequently, to avoid disputes, a great part of the land lay waste and untilled.* The same principle is the root of the subsequent Germanic institutions. "Every conquest of the Germans proceeded on the principle of a common property. The nation was as one man: to it every acquisition belonged by the barbarous right of war, and was so to be divided among its members, that all should still remain a common possession."† The community of property, defence and liberty to the whole nation, the right of every man to be judged by his peers, that the judge is the delegate of the community, and that satisfaction for every crime is to be made only as it is an offence against the community, are inherent principles of the German constitution.

North American Indians. Robertson, in his account of the North American Indians, remarks that "they are in a great measure strangers to the idea of property. The forest or hunting grounds are deemed the property of the tribe, from which it has a title to exclude every rival nation. But no individual arrogates a right to these in preference to his fellow citizens. They belong alike to all; and thither, as to a general and undivided store, all repair in quest of sustenance. The same principles by which they regulate their chief occupation extend to that which is subordinate. Even agriculture has not introduced

* Gibbon's *Rome*, vol. 1, p. 295.

† See Herder's *Philosophy of History*, vol. 2, p. 484, translated by Churchill.

among them a complete idea of property. As the men hunt, the women labour together, and after they have shared the toils of the seed-time, they enjoy the harvest in common. Among some tribes the increase of their cultivated lands is deposited in a public granary, and divided among them at stated times, according to their wants. Among others, though they lay up separate stores, they do not acquire such an exclusive right of property, that they can enjoy superfluity while those around them suffer want. Thus the distinctions arising from the inequality of possessions are unknown. The terms rich and poor enter not into their language, and being strangers to property, they are unacquainted with what is the great object of laws and policy, as well as," the historian adds, "the motive which induced mankind to establish the various arrangements of regular government

" People in this state retain a high sense of equality and independence. Wherever the idea of property is not established, there can be no distinction among men but what arises from personal qualities. These can be conspicuous only on such occasions as call them into exertion, in times of danger, or in affairs of intricacy. But during seasons of tranquillity and inaction, when there is no occasion to display those talents, all pre-eminence ceases. Every circumstance indicates that all the members of the community are on a level. They are clothed in the same simple garb; they feed on the same plain fare; their houses and furniture are exactly similar; no distinction can arise from the inequality of possessions; whatever forms independence on one part, or constitutes superiority on the other, is

unknown; all are freemen, all feel themselves to be such, and assert with firmness the rights which belong to that condition. There is little political union among them, no visible form of government. Every one seems to enjoy his natural independence almost entire. If a scheme of public utility be proposed, the members of the community are left to choose whether they will or will not assist in carrying it into execution. The right of revenge is left in private hands. If the elders interpose it is to advise, not to decide. The object of government among savages is foreign rather than domestic. They do not aim at maintaining interior order by public regulations or authority, but labour to preserve union among their members, that they may watch the motions of their enemies, and act against them with concert and vigour.

“ But feeble as is the political tie which binds them, their attachment to the community of which they are members is most powerful. Each assents with warmth to public measures dictated by passions similar to his own; hence the ardour with which individuals undertake the most perilous service, when the community deems it necessary; their fierce antipathy to the public enemies, their zeal for the honour of their tribe, and love of country which prompts them to brave danger, that it may triumph, and endure exquisite torments without a groan, that it may not be disgraced. Incapable of control, and disdaining to acknowledge any superior, the mind of the Indian of the ruder tribes, though limited in its powers, and erring in many of its pursuits, acquires such elevation by the consciousness of its own freedom, that he acts on some occasions

with astonishing force, perseverance, and dignity. Satisfied with his lot, he is unable to comprehend the intention or utility of the accommodations which polished society deems essential. Unaccustomed to any restraint upon his will or actions, he beholds with amazement the inequality of ranks of civilized life, and considers the voluntary submission of one man to another as a renunciation, no less base than unaccountable, of the first distinction of humanity, whilst he regards his own tribe as best entitled, and most perfectly qualified, to enjoy real happiness.”*

In this state were most of the tribes eastward of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the confines of Florida, the people of Brazil, of Chili, several tribes in Paraguay, and Guiana, and in the countries from the mouth of the Orinoco to the peninsula of Yucatan. Among other of the American tribes and nations, property and distinction of ranks were found to be established, in conjunction with many of the customary evils. In Florida the authority of the caciques, or chiefs, was hereditary; among the Natchez, some families were reputed noble, while the body of the people was considered as vile, and fit only for subjection. The former were called the *Respectable*, the latter the *Stinkards*. In Bogota, a province of Granada, government had assumed a regular form, ranks were distinct, and their chief reigned with splendour and absolute power. The causes of this difference in the institutions of these latter nations, may be traced to their dependence upon agriculture rather than upon

* Robertson's America, vol. 1, p. 292.

hunting for subsistence; dwelling consequently in one place, and acquiring by degrees objects of selfish interest; and also to the intervention of superstition—a formidable engine for subduing native vigour and independence, which resided in the hands of their chiefs.

Peru. With a far higher advance in civilization, however, the polished and gentle Peruvians had adopted the principle of common property. "All their lands capable of cultivation were divided into three shares. One was consecrated to the Sun, and the product was applied to the erection of temples, and furnishing what was requisite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The second belonged to the Inca, and was set apart as the provision made by the community for the support of government. The third and largest share was reserved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out.* Neither individuals, however, nor communities, had a right to exclusive property in the portion set apart for their use. They possessed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new division was made, in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All those lands were cultivated by the joint industry of the community. The people, summoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common task, while songs and musical instru-

* "Garcilasso de la Vega tells us, (Part 1, B. 5. chap. 1,) that it was only when there was more land than sufficed for the people that the Inca and the Sun received their full thirds; when that was not the case these portions were diminished, to augment to the proper proportion that of the people." Mills' Hist. Brit. India, vol. 1, p. 259.

ments cheered them to their labour. By this singular distribution, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common interest, and of mutual suberviency, was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connexion with those around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increase he was to reap. A state thus constituted may be considered as one great family, in which the union of the members was so complete, and the exchange of good offices so perceptible, as to create stronger attachment, and to bind man to man in closer intercourse than subsisted under any form of society established in America.”*

Mexico. In the Mexican empire one class possessed property in land in full right, and bequeathed it to their descendants. “The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they lost possession of the former. Both these modes of occupying land were deemed noble and peculiar to the citizens of the highest class. The tenure by which the great body of the people held their property was very different. In every district a certain quantity of land was measured out in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was deposited in a common store-house, and divided among them according to their respective exigencies. The members of the *calpulle*, or associations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was an indivisible, permanent property, destined for the

* Robertson's America, vol. 2, p. 111.

support of their families. In consequence of this distribution of the territory of the state, every man had an interest in its welfare, and the happiness of the individual was connected with the public security."*

^{Charaibs, or} It is said on good authority that the Cha-
^{Caribbees.} raibs, or Caribbees, of the Continent o

South America, who are supposed to have had an oriental ancestry, had no division of lands among them, every one cultivating in proportion to his wants. The Caribbees of the Islands "resided in villages which resembled an European encampment; for their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground, drawn to a point at the top, and covered with leaves of the palm-tree. In the centre of each village was a building of superior magnitude to the rest. It was formed with great labour, and served as a public hall or state-house, wherein, we are assured, that the men (excluding the women,) had their meals in common, 'observing that law,' saith the Earl of Cumberland, who visited these islands in 1506, 'which, in Lycurgus' mouth, was thought strange and needless.' These halls were also the theatres where their youth were animated to emulation, and trained to martial enterprize by the renown of their warriors, and the harangues of their orators. * * * In these islands where land is scarce, it seems probable that, as among some of the tribes of South America, cultivation was carried on by the joint labour of each separate community, and their harvests deposited in public

*Robertson's America, vol. 2, p. 145.

granaries, whence each family received its proportion of the public stock. Rochefort, indeed, observes, that all their interests were in common." They displayed considerable ingenuity and elegance in their arts and manufactures. The youth of this remarkable tribe were trained in a more than Spartan contempt for pain. They had no laws, and consequently no need of magistrates. The oldest among them had a sort of authority, but it was not rigidly enforced; in times of war only, a leader was chosen, whose powers of endurance were required to be tested by an ordeal of severe bodily pain. "They were impatient under the least infringement of independence, and wondered how any man could be so base as to crouch before an equal."*

Paraguay. The establishment of the Jesuits in Paraguay, which subsisted until the middle of the last century, supplies us with a remarkable instance of the success of the community principle. "They began by gathering together about fifty wandering families, whom they persuaded to settle and form a little township. Having made this beginning, they laboured with such indefatigable pains, and with such masterly policy, that by degrees they softened the minds of the most savage people, fixed the most rambling, and subdued the most averse to government. They prevailed upon thousands of various dispersed tribes of people to embrace their religion, and to submit to their government; and when they had submitted, the Jesuits left nothing undone that could conduce to their remaining in 'this

* Edwards's Hist. Brit. West Indies, vol. 1.

subjects, so that could tend to increase their numbers
 to the degree requisite for a well-ordered and potent
 society. It is said that eventually their subjects
 amounted to 300,000 families. They lived in towns;
 were regularly clad; they laboured in agriculture;
 they exercised manufactures; some even aspired to
 the elegant arts. They were instructed in the most
 exact military discipline, and could raise 60,000 men
 well armed. From time to time they brought over
 from Europe several handicraft-men, musicians and
 painters, principally from Germany and Italy. The
 country was divided into forty-seven districts, over
 which a Jesuit presided in chief. No person under
 the jurisdiction of the Fathers had anything that could
 justly be called his own property. Each man's labour
 was allotted to him in proportion to his strength, or to
 his skill in the profession which he exercised. The
 product was brought faithfully into the public maga-
 zines, from whence he was again supplied with all the
 things which the managers judged to be expedient for
 the sustenance of himself and family. All necessaries
 were distributed twice a week; and the magazines
 always contained such a stock of provisions and goods
 of every kind, as to answer not only the ordinary
 exigencies, but to provide against a time of need
 or for those whom accidents, age, or infirmity
 disqualified for labour.

"They provided early
 people. Here.
 union, th

at the same time their task allotted to them, by which they were to make amends for what they had received, and to provide for others in their turn.

“ Under the Jesuit were magistrates, or caciques, of the Indian race, who regulated these details, decided trivial differences, and gave him regularly an exact account of his district, and of the conduct of its people. They were rewarded or punished according to this report. The punishment was by blows, from which not even the principal magistrates were exempted. These were, however, received by all, not only with patience but acknowledgment. The rewards were seldom more than benedictions and some slight marks of the Jesuit's favour, which made these men entirely happy. Nothing, it is said, could equal the obedience of the people of these missions, except their contentment. It is lamentable to think, that the progress of a state of things so promising of social happiness, should have been arrested. The integrity of the Paraguayan commonwealth was destroyed by the cession of a part of the territory to Portugal ; and the system introduced by the Jesuits in it has entirely disappeared.”* Similar establishments existed in California. The celebrated colony of pirates, the Buccaneers of St. Domingo, are said to have had no distinction of property amongst themselves, but to have enjoyed the fruits of their predatory industry in common.

* Co-operative Magazine for Nov. 1827. See also Muratori's Account of the Government of the Jesuits in Paraguay,

Hindu Village. In Mills' History of British India we find an account of the native Hindu village preceded by some interesting remarks on the origin of property. "It is hardly necessary to add," he says, "that the different combinations of benefits which are included under the idea of property, at different periods of society, are all arbitrary; that they are not the offspring of nature, but the creatures of will; determined and chosen by the society as that arrangement with regard to useful objects which is, or is pretended to be, the best for all. It is worthy of remark that property in moveables was established, and that it conveyed most of the powers which are at any time assigned to it, while property in land had no existence. So long as men continue to derive their subsistence from hunting; so long, indeed, as they continue to derive it from their flocks and herds, the land is enjoyed in common. Even when they begin to derive it partly from the ground, though the man who has cultivated a field is regarded as possessing in it a property till he has reaped his crop, he has no better title to it than another for the succeeding year.*"

* A celebrated German writer speaks of the difficulty with which men gave up their common right in the land, in nearly the same words:—"Even when agriculture has been introduced, it has cost some pains to limit men to separate fields, and establish the distinction of mine and thine: many small negro nations, who have cultivated their land, have yet no idea of it; for, say they, the earth is common property. They annually parcel out the ground among them, till it with little labour, and as soon as the harvest is gathered in, the land reverts to its former common state."—Herder's *Phil. of History*, vol. 1, p. 372, translated by Churchill.

“ In prosecuting the advantages which are found to spring from the newly-invented method of deriving the means of subsistence from the ground, experience in time discovers that much obstruction is created by restricting the right of ownership to a single year, and that food would be provided in greater abundance if, by a greater permanence, men were encouraged to a more careful cultivation. To make, however, that belong to one man which formerly belonged to all, is a change to which men do not easily reconcile their minds. In a thing of so much importance as the land, the change is a great revolution. To overcome the popular resistance, that expedient which appears to have been the most generally successful is to vest the sovereign, as the representative of the society, with that property in the land which belongs to the society ; and the sovereign parcels it out to individuals, with all those powers of ownership which are regarded as most favourable to the extraction from the land of those benefits which it is calculated to yield. In many of the rude parts of Africa the property in the land is understood to reside in the sovereign. Throughout the Ottoman dominions the Sultan claims the sole property in land. The same has undoubtedly been the situation of Persia in ancient and modern times. ‘ It is established,’ says the late intelligent Governor of Java, (Raffles,) ‘ from every source of inquiry, that the sovereign in Java is lord of the soil ;’ and when the fact is established with regard to Java, it is so with regard to all that part of the eastern islands which in point of manners and civilization resemble Java. It is not disputed that in China the whole property of the

soil is vested in the Emperor. By the laws of the Welsh in the ninth century, all the land in the kingdom was declared to belong to the King, and 'we may safely,' says Mr. Turner, 'believe that the same law prevailed while the Britons occupied the island.'* "It is not surprising, therefore," continues Mill, "that this was the case with the Hindus.† The sovereign gives away villages and lands, not empty, but already occupied by cultivators, and paying rent. * * * Wherever the Hindus have remained under the influence of their ancient customs and laws, the facts correspond with the inference which would be drawn from these laws. * * * Each village being rated to the government at a certain quantity of rice, which is paid in kind, the land is thus divided among the inhabitants. To every man, as soon as he arrives at the proper age, is granted such a quantity of arable land as is estimated to produce 242½ measures of rice, of which he must pay 60½ measures, or about one-fourth to the Rajah or King."

"From the reports of Place, Munroe, Thackeray, Hodgson, to the Committee of the Commons on East India Affairs, in 1810, the following may be considered as a general picture of the original Hindu institutions, pervading the whole continent:—'A village geographically considered, is a tract of country comprising

* It is scarcely necessary to add that this law is the basis of the feudal system.

† " 'There were no hereditary estates in India; for that all the land belonged to the King, which he disposed of at his pleasure.' Persian authority, quoted by Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 132."

some hundreds, or thousands, of acres of arable and waste land. Politically viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of officers and servants consists of the following descriptions:—the *Potail*, or head inhabitant, who has the general superintendance of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duties of collecting the revenues within his village: the *Curnum*, who keeps the accounts of cultivation, and registers everything connected with it: the *Tallier* and *Totie*; the duty of the former appearing to consist in a wider and more enlarged sphere of action, in gaining information of crimes and offences, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to the village, consisting, among other duties, in guarding the crops, and assisting in measuring them: the *Boundaryman*, who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence respecting them in case of dispute: the *Superintendent of watercourses and tanks*, who distributes the water for the purposes of agriculture: the *Brahmen*, who performs the village worship: the *Schoolmaster*, who is seen teaching the children in the village to read and write in the sand: the *Calendar Brahmen*, or astrologer, who proclaims the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing and thrashing: the *Smith*, and *Carpenter*, who manufacture the implements of agriculture, and build the dwelling of the ryot (or husbandman): the *Potman*, or potter: the *Washerman*: the *Barber*: the *Cowkeeper*, who looks after the cattle: the *Doctor*: the *Dancing*

Girl, who attends at rejoicings: the *Musician*: and the *Poet*.

“ ‘ Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants have lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been seldom altered; and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated, by war, famine, and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and the division of kingdoms, while the village remains entire. They care not to what power it is transferred, or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy remains unchanged; the Potail is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty judge and magistrate, and collector or renter of the village.’

“ These villages appear not only to have been a sort of small republics, but to have enjoyed to a great degree the community of goods. Mr. Place, the collector in the jaghire district at Madras, informs us that ‘ Every village considers itself as a distinct society, and its general concerns the sole object of the inhabitants at large; a practice,’ he adds, ‘ which surely redounds as much to the public good as theirs, each having in some way or other the assistance of the rest; the labours of all yield the rent; they enjoy the profits proportionate to their original interest, and the loss falls light. It consists exactly with the principles upon which the advantages are derived from the division of labour; one man goes to market, whilst the rest attend to the cultivation and the harvest; each has his

particular occupation assigned to him, and insensibly labours for all. Another practice very frequently prevails, of each proprietor changing his lands every year. It is found in some of the richest villages, and is intended, I imagine, to obviate that inequality to which a fixed distribution would be liable.'”*

Ceylon. If we may credit the relation of Diodorus Siculus, the inhabitants of Ceylon lived in a sort of community in a remote age. He gives an account of the discovery of the island formerly called *Taprobana*, in Scripture, *Ophir*, by one Iambulus, a Greek, who was landed upon it after sundry adventures. He describes the inhabitants as being unlike us in their bodies and way of living. They were six feet high, their bones very flexible, their bodies smooth, the opening of their ears wider than ours; and, the historian informs us, with the usual mixture of the allegorical or the marvellous, their tongues were divided towards the root, partly by nature and partly by art, so that they could ask a question and give a reply at the same time. “They were divided into tribes, according to their kindred, and into distinct societies, yet so as there were not above four hundred admitted into any society. They lived in meadows, where they were plentifully supplied with all things necessary for food by what the earth produces. They had hot and cold baths for the curing and preventing of all distempers. They were learned in all sorts of sciences, particularly in astrology.

* Vol. 1, p. 266.

They lived long, generally without ever being sick, to a hundred and fifty years of age. Those that were lame, or had any other weakness or infirmity of body, (according to the severe law of their country,) they put to death. They had a law that they might live to a certain number of years, and when they were run up, they dispatched themselves by a strange kind of death, for they had an herb upon which if any one lay down, he silently passed away without pain, as in a sweet sleep. They had not the institution of marriage, and the children were all brought up together with equal care and affection, and while they were infants were often changed by their nurses, so that they could not be known by their mothers, and therefore there being no ambition among them, they lived in great concord and amity together. In every tribe or society the eldest governed the rest as king, and the rest yielded him perfect obedience, and if he put himself to death at the age of a hundred and fifty, the next in age succeeded to his authority."

Diodorus then goes on to speak of the island as if it were one of seven in which the same laws and customs prevailed. "Although the islands produced plenty of provision, yet the inhabitants used it frugally. Their way of feeding was according to a prescribed rule, for they did not eat all sorts of meat together at one and the same time, nor the same always; but upon some certain days fish, other fowl, sometimes the flesh of land cattle, at other times olives, and on other days very low and mean diet. They helped one another in their callings and employments by turns; some employed themselves in fishing, others in manu-

factures, and others in other things useful and profitable to the commonwealth. Some at certain times did exercise public offices, except those that were grown old."

This Iambulus, after living on the island with his companion for some years, was sent away by the inhabitants. They sailed for some months, and were at length cast on the Indian shore. After encountering many perils he returned to Greece, committed all his adventures to writing, and gave an account of many things relating to India, before unknown to strangers.*

Sect of Mazdak in Persia. In the early part of the sixth century, a sect arose in Persia which maintained the natural equality of mankind, and the system of common property. With these doctrines their leader, Mazdak, associated the abolition of exclusive marriage, and proceeded to carry them into effect by forcible means. The people were inflamed and excited, and Kobad, even, the reigning Monarch, gave his sanction by his laws and example. Much disorder arose, which embittered Kobad's declining years, and his successor, Chosroes, made it one of the earliest objects of his reign to abolish the sect, and to restore the lands which the followers of Mazdak had usurped, to their former owners.†

Egypt. Herodotus informs us that Sesostris, who was advised by the priests, "is affirmed to have parcelled out the whole of Egypt, bestowing a square

* Booth's Diodorus Siculus, B. 2, chap. 4.

† Gibbon's Rome, vol. 7, p. 299.

lot of equal size upon every man; and upon each a certain tax was imposed, to be paid yearly. If any one's lot happened to be infringed upon by the river, he made known the fact to the King, who dispatched overseers to ascertain, by measurement, how much such a parcel of land had lost, in order that in future a proportionate part of the tribute might be remitted."*

Israelites. It is uncertain whether Sesostris, or his father, Amenophis, was the Pharaoh from whose persecutions Moses withdrew the Israelites; but it is a singular proof of the correspondence of the Mosaic with the Egyptian institutions, that either shortly before, or shortly after the Egyptian division of the land, Moses apportioned the lands of the children of Israel upon a similar principle. He endeavoured to secure permanent equality of property, to a certain extent, by commanding the restoration of lands sold or alienated, to the original families at stated periods.

Essenes. An entire community of possessions became in later ages a distinguishing feature of one of the principal Jewish sects—that of the Essenes. The following extracts from Philo give some account of them:—"These exceeding four thousand, are called Essenes, which name corresponds in Greek to the word 'holy.' For they have attained to the highest holiness in the worship of God, and that not by sacrificing animals, but by cultivating purity of heart. They live principally in villages. Some cultivate the ground; others pursue the arts of peace, and such employments

* Taylor's Herodotus, p. 147.

as are beneficial to themselves without injury to their neighbours. They are the only people who, though destitute of money and possessions, felicitate themselves as rich, deeming riches to consist in frugality and contentment. Among them no one manufactures darts, arrows, or weapons of war. They decline trade, commerce, and navigation, as incentives to covetousness; nor have they any slaves among them, but all are free, and all in their turn administer to others. They cultivate natural philosophy only so far as respects the existence of God, and the creation of the universe; other parts of natural knowledge they give up to vain and subtle metaphysicians, as really surpassing the powers of man; but moral philosophy they largely study, conformably to the established laws of their country. The Scriptures they interpret in that symbolical sense which they have zealously copied from the patriarchs; and the subjects of instruction are piety, holiness, righteousness; domestic and political economy; the knowledge of things really good, bad, and indifferent; what objects ought to be pursued, and what to be avoided. In discussing these topics, the ends which they have in view, and to which they refer as so many rules to guide them, are the love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man. They evince their attachment to virtue by their freedom from avarice, from ambition, from sensual pleasure; by their temperance and patience; by their frugality, simplicity, and contentment; by their humility, regard to the laws, and other similar virtues. Their love to man is evinced by their benignity, their equity, and their liberality. There exists among them no house, however private,

which is not open to the reception of all the rest, and not only the members of the same society assemble under the same domestic roof, but even strangers of the same persuasion have free admission to join them. There is but one treasure, whence all derive subsistence; and not only their provisions, but their clothes are common property. Such mode of living under the same roof, and of dieting at the same table, cannot, in fact, be proved to have been adopted by any other description of men. The sick are not despised or neglected, but live in ease and affluence, receiving from the treasury whatever their disorder or their exigencies require. The aged, too, among them, are loved, revered, and attended as parents, by affectionate children; and a thousand hands and hearts prop their tottering years with comforts of every kind."

They aspired to a greater moral perfection than the rest of the world, and sought to make higher motives the rule of action;—they had an enthusiastic expectation of a new and more perfect state of things, which they called the Kingdom of Heaven;—they were therefore calumniated and persecuted by the ruling powers as innovators. Immoralities were laid falsely to their charge, and their tenets and customs misrepresented. Josephus attests the heroic fortitude with which they met their sufferings in support of their opinions and mode of life. He says also that there prevailed among them a contempt of marriage; but that they received among them the children of others and educated them as their own, while yet tender and susceptible of instruction. He relates, however, that there was another order of Essenes, who agreed with

the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differed from them in the point of marriage, "as thinking that by not marrying they cut off the principal part of human life, which is the prospect of succession; nay, rather, that if all men should be of the same opinion, the whole race of mankind would fail."*

The Therapeutæ were a branch of the Essenes who devoted themselves entirely to a contemplative life, and the exercises of devotion.

Early Christians. It is probable that most of the first Christians were Essenes, and that the community of goods and social organization which they adopted were merely the continuation of the institutions to which they had been accustomed.† But as Christianity spread and numbered among its converts persons of different nations, and of the most opposite modes of life, the bond of union was relaxed into simple affinity of doctrine and feeling. We must, however, **Monastic Institutions.** except the monastic institutions, which, although not peculiar to Christianity, have since its first establishment held a conspicuous station in its history, and preserved some of its original characteristics of fellowship and community of interest even when distorted by the absurdities of fanaticism. "The candidate who aspired to the virtue of evangelical poverty, abjured, at his first entrance into a regular community, the idea, and even the name,

* War. B. 2, chap. 7.

† Hennell's "Inquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity," chap. 1 and 2.

of all separate or exclusive possession. The brethren were supported by their manual labour; and the duty of labour was strenuously recommended as a penance, as an exercise, and as the most laudable means of securing their daily subsistence. The gardens and fields which the industry of the monks had often rescued from the forest or the morass, were diligently cultivated by their hands. They performed without reluctance the menial offices of slaves and domestics; and the several trades that were necessary to provide their habits, their utensils, and their lodging, were exercised within the precincts of the great monasteries.

* * * The superfluous stock which was not consumed in domestic use, supplied by trade the wants of the community.* With relation to their utility as economical societies, it has been remarked,—“These same religious who seem to live in idleness and seclusion, should be considered as proprietors whom a peculiar constitution has reduced to equality and uniformity. One small portion of them superintends the domestic arrangements, another takes the management of their lands, and so on of all the other possessions which constitute their property. Sheltered by their condition from all the disadvantages attending minorities and other derangements of property, and from the ordinary expenses of secular proprietors, they maintain and increase their capital. It is to these institutions alone that the modern nations, whose barbarous and warlike ancestors poured in like a flood over the countries they now occupy, owe the advan-

* Gibbon's Rome, vol. 6, p. 251.

tages of the preservation of territories which their ravages would have destroyed, without these places whose privileges secured them from the general destruction. Such were the communities of agricultural monks, and it is impossible to calculate the good these people did to the deserts which formerly served them for retreats."* The order of Benedictines, the first established in the western empire, was of especial service in bringing many wild and barren districts of Europe into cultivation. The same spirit pervaded the institutions of the military order of St. John. St. Bernard in his famous exhortation addressed to the soldiers of the Temple, thus sets forth their mode of life:—"They live together in common in an agreeable but frugal manner, without wives and without children; and that nothing may be wanting to evangelical perfection, they dwell together without (separate) property of any kind, in one house, under one rule, careful to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. You may say that to the whole multitude there is but one heart and one soul, as each one in no respect followeth after his own will or desire, but is diligent to do the will of the master. They are never idle nor rambling abroad, but when they are not in the field, that they may not eat their bread in idleness, they are fitting and repairing their armour and their clothing, or employing themselves in such occupations as the will of the master requireth, or their common necessities render expedient. Among them is no distinction of persons, respect is paid to the most virtuous, not

* Encyclop. Econ. Politique, Art. Communauté.

the most noble. They participate in each other's honour, they bear one another's burdens, that they may thus fulfil the law of Christ."*

The principle of common property, which was continued in the Christian Church chiefly in its monastic institutions, was also advocated from time to time among its different sects. "Bock mentions among the early Unitarians, Gregorius Pauli and Daniel Zwicker, as advocates for a community of goods." "Inquiry respecting Private Property," Monthly Repository, Feb. 1821, which also quotes the corresponding sentiment from "Piers Plouhman,"—"Forthi cristene men scholde been in comun riche, no covetise to hymselfe."

In these instances, and in most of the others which have appeared in Christian countries, the foundation of co-operative unions has been the belief of certain religious doctrines, and an enthusiastic zeal in support of them, not the conviction that this community of labour and property is the best means of securing the comfort and well-being of all; their existence, therefore, depended on the permanence of these doctrines, and of their own enthusiasm, and when these, subject to the usual fluctuation of events and opinions, gave way, the union was dissolved; even where it has been more lasting, the operation of the economical principle has been so cramped and perverted by religious fanaticism, and the influence of absurd tenets, that no test of its efficiency can be deduced. History affords many instances of this, even to our own times.

See Addison's "History of the Knights Templars." p. 31.

Anabaptists. In 1525, Thomas Munzer, a disciple of Luther, excited great disturbance in Saxony by his opinions, and the violence with which he attempted to propagate them. Wild notions of divine illumination accompanied his proposals to level the distinctions among mankind; and by abolishing property, to reduce them to their natural state of equality, in which all should receive their subsistence from one common stock. Munzer declared that he had the sanction of Heaven to his design, and the peasants of Thuringia, over whom he had acquired a wonderful ascendant, and who, like the rest of their class in Germany, were driven to despair by the exactions of the government and the oppressions of the aristocracy, set about its execution with frantic zeal. They deposed the magistrates in many cities, seized the lands of the nobles, and compelled their owners to wear the habit, and take the appellations peculiar to the lowest orders. Great numbers engaged in the undertaking, but neither they nor their leader had military talent, or courage, to resist the forces which the Elector of Saxony and other Princes brought against them. Munzer fled, and being taken prisoner, was condemned to death. But his opinions were not extirpated,—they were disseminated by his followers in various places, particularly in the Netherlands and Westphalia. They were called Anabaptists from their chief religious tenet, the necessity of adult baptism. To their system of civil and religious equality they are accused of adding that of a plurality of wives. Two of their prophets, John Matthias and John Boccold, in 1534, seized the imperial city of Munster in the night-time, and made

a vigorous attempt to establish their principles. The estates of the senators and citizens who had fled in alarm were confiscated, the churches pillaged, and the produce collected into a public treasury. Matthias commanded his adherents to bring their money and valuables to the common stock, and nominated deacons to dispense it for the common use. Public tables were served, at which all were fed, and the dishes prescribed. The fortifications were repaired, magazines collected, and all persons without distinction obliged to work; Matthias himself inciting them to labour, and to submit to every hardship by his own example. At the end of three months the Bishop of Munster besieged the town, and Matthias was killed in a frantic sally which he made at the head of thirty men, who eagerly followed him "to smite the ungodly." John Boccold, however, took his place, conducted the defence of the city, and gained even stronger hold over the minds of his disciples. He was a man of wilder enthusiasm and of unbounded ambition, and claimed to be the King of Zion, with which name Munster was dignified, by Divine commission. His claim was acknowledged immediately, and he assumed the state and appointments of royalty. He wore a crown, was attended by a body-guard, and coined money. His doctrine of the lawfulness, nay, necessity, of a plurality of wives, which he now preached and practised, led to great excesses, which excited the abhorrence of men of all professions. For the space of a year he maintained the city against its besiegers, until, notwithstanding his prudent and frugal economy in the public meals, it was exhausted by famine and suffering; it was only then,

however, taken by the treachery of a deserter. The Anabaptists and their King defended themselves with desperate valour; most of them were slain, and Bockold, after being carried in chains from city to city as a spectacle, and enduring insult and torture with unshaken fortitude, was put to death at Munster, at the age of 26. Menno Simon embraced the communion in 1536, and for twenty-five years was its zealous apostle in the countries of Holland, Guelderland, Brabant, Westphalia, those on the shores of the Baltic, and even to Livonia. He was a man of genius, eloquence, meekness, and probity, recommending practical religion by his example no less than by his preaching. The doctrine which Menno enforced was much more mild and moderate than that of his predecessors.* Robertson, from whom this account is chiefly drawn, says that "the party still subsists in the Low Countries, under the name of Mennonites; but, by a very singular revolution, this sect, so mutinous and sanguinary at its first origin, hath become altogether innocent and pacific. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themselves entirely to the duties of private citizens, and by their industry and charity, endeavour to make reparation to society for the violence committed by their founders."†

Moravians. The United Brethren, Herrnhüters, (Watchers of the Lord,) or, as they are usually called among us, Moravians, furnish us with another instance of the adoption of the social principle arising

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.

† History of Charles V.

out of religious zeal. This is a Christian sect, which derives its origin from the followers of Huss, the Bohemian reformer; its professors were connected at one time with the Waldenses; the sect was revived, in 1723, by Count Zinzendorff, who established a parent community at Bertholdsdorff, in Upper Lusatia, and spent his life and fortune in supporting and propagating its opinions. "The wild enthusiasm of this sect forms a singular contrast with the wisdom and perseverance of their attempts to convert and civilize the heathens, as the smallness of their numbers does with the variety and extent of their missionary undertakings. Their method of conversion is through the passions, which they hold must first be excited by terror or sympathy before the understanding can be appealed to."* They live together in communities; the single men, single women, widows, and widowers forming distinct classes, or *choirs*, living apart from each other, and each under the superintendance of elderly persons of their own class. The children are educated with peculiar care, and in most of their societies they have separate schools for the education of boys and girls. It is not permitted to marry out of the communion on pain of dismissal from the society; the members usually refer their choice to the church, and as the lot, which is their mode of ascertaining the Divine will, must first be cast to sanction their union, each receives his partner as a divine appointment. This might be called a Protestant monastic institution, except for the religious importance which

* Rees' Cyclop.

they attach to marriage, a point on which heavy charges were formerly made against them, but which were probably for the most part founded in exaggeration and mistake. In their communities, each person who is able, and is not possessed of independent means of support, labours in his or her own occupation, and contributes the produce to the common fund, or, according to some accounts, a stipulated sum for maintenance. The surplus of the common stock is applied to the missionary undertakings, which are a distinguishing feature of the sect. Their missions have penetrated to all parts of the globe; they have been established in Greenland, India, among the Hottentots, and in China.*

The following account of a Moravian society, established fifty miles from Salisbury, in New England, is borrowed from a French writer:—"Their capital is Bethania, situated on a small river. This sect or fraternity possesses a large extent of land. Their polity and internal regulations resemble the monastic. All is in common among them; the youth of both sexes are brought up separately; all social intercourse is interdicted between them until the time of marriage. The state gives to the newly married, a house, a portion of land, instruments of husbandry, household utensils; and the produce of their industry is made over to the public magazine. In childhood they are taught reading, writing, and the mechanical arts. The uniformity and singularity of their vestments, and the long beards of the men, which descend to their middle,

* See Mosheim's *Ecclesiast. Hist.*; Milner's *Church Hist.*; *Encyc. Brit.*; *French Encyclop.*

give them an uncouth and wild aspect. From the earliest age, the children are separated from their parents and placed in public seminaries; from this moment they belong to the society; they are inspired with the love of their country, they are accustomed to regard each other as brethren, and to extinguish the exclusive paternal and filial sentiment; it is even asserted that the parents cannot distinguish their own children from the others. They have excellent agricultural establishments, from which they export large produce; they have also established lucrative manufactures, the principal of which is earthenware, a manufacture in which they excel."*

Shakers. The Shaker communities in America are kindred societies, and deserve peculiar notice since they prove the efficiency of the community system for the production of wealth, at the smallest cost of labour to the individual; notwithstanding that the association being founded in gross fanaticism, they merely supply a limited physical development of the principle, which in its intellectual and moral bearings is totally dead and inert.

The sect of the Shakers, or Shaking Quakers, originated in Lancashire, with some deserters from the Society of Friends, about the year 1747. Their great female prophet and mother, Ann Lee, having been thought mad and being sorely persecuted, set sail with some followers from Liverpool for New York in 1774, since which time the sect has established itself

* Lantier.

in America. Their leading practical tenet is the abolition of marriage.*

Dunkers. The communities of the Dunkers, or Tunkers, in America, are of German origin. They belong to the General Baptists. In their communities the men and women live distinct in separate buildings, and are not allowed to marry. They live chiefly on roots and vegetables, and eat no flesh except at their love feasts, on which occasions only the brethren and sisters dine together. If they should break through the rule and marry, they are removed to another establishment about a mile distant, called Mount Zion.

Rappites. "The society of Harmony (or of the Rappites,) had its origin in Wirtemberg, from a schism of the Lutheran Church, about the year 1785. In 1804, 150 families, under the guidance of George Rapp, their pastor, emigrated to America, and located themselves, in the autumn of the same year, on the waters of Beaver, Pennsylvania, giving the name of their society to their new abode. It does not appear that this association was formed from a rational conviction of the many advantages arising from co-operative industry, but from some religious sanction derived from Acts 4, verse 32, "and the multitude of them that believed were of one heart, and one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things he possessed was his own, but *they had all things in common.*" Here, in a new country, surrounded by strangers, of

* Rees' Cyclop.

whose language they were ignorant,—unaccustomed to our modes of clearing the forest,—possessing no more wealth than just sufficient to purchase the soil, and remove to their new possessions, they commenced the doubtful task of providing for themselves the comforts of life. In this state of penury, surrounded by difficulties, many became discouraged, and left the society ; but those remaining had a rich resource in their perseverance and industry, which rendered them in a few years the admiration of the neighbouring country. In the year 1813, the society, already wealthy, became desirous of finding out a more favourable location. They sent Frederick Rapp, one of their members, an adopted son of the founder of their institution, on a tour of observation, with instructions to make four points of advantage the basis of his choice, to wit, a healthy situation—good land—water-power—and convenient river communication. After traversing the six western States for some months, and exploring with attention the points he thought likely to meet the wishes of the society, he at length fixed on the present site of New Harmony, and the adjacent country.

“ In the spring and summer of 1814, the society, having sold their possessions in Pennsylvania for 100,000 dollars, emigrated to their new abode, then a wilderness, untenanted by man. Here they were again subjected to the difficulties usually attending the settlement of new countries. In the fall of 1824, ten years from the first settling of what is now called New Harmony, their possessions in this neighbourhood consisted of more than 80,000 acres of valuable land,

together with improvements, stock, and personal effects, amounting to the estimated value of one million of dollars. Thus we see a body of people—strangers to our country—ignorant of our language—unaccustomed to our modes of agriculture—imperfect mechanics, and worse manufacturers—through the mere advantage of co-operative industry, acquiring unrivalled skill, enjoying the comforts of life, and outstripping the computation of extravagant calculators in the acquisition of wealth. It is a fact worthy of record, and one that should be well considered by the political economists of a free and enlightened republic, that in 1804, the whole property of this people did not exceed 25 dollars per head: in 1825, a fair estimate gave them 2,500 dollars each person, man, woman, and child; an instance of accumulation in the laborious professions, to which history does not afford a parallel.*

Miss Martineau's remarks on these communities, in her "Society in America," are highly interesting, and so pertinent to the subject in hand, that we cannot forbear quoting largely from them. "The most remarkable order of landowners that I saw in the United States was that of the Shakers and Rappites; both holding all their property in common, and both enforcing celibacy. The interest which would be felt by the whole of society in watching the results of a community of property is utterly destroyed by the presence of the other distinction; or rather of the ignorance and superstition of which it is the sign. The moral and economical principles of these societies ought to be

* New Harmony Gazette, as quoted in a tract published by the Armagh Co-operative Society, 1830.

most carefully distinguished by the observer. This being done, I believe it will be found that whatever they have peculiarly good among them, is owing to the soundness of their economical principles; whatever they have that excites compassion, is owing to the badness of their moral arrangements.

“I visited two Shaker communities in Massachusetts. The first was at Hancock, consisting of 300 persons, in the neighbourhood of another at Lebanon, consisting of 700 persons. There are 15 Shaker establishments or ‘families’ in the United States, and their total number is between five and six thousand. There is no question of their entire success, so far as wealth is concerned. A very moderate amount of labour has secured to them in perfection all the comforts of life that they know how to enjoy, and as much wealth besides as would command the intellectual luxuries of which they do not dream. The earth does not show more flourishing fields, gardens, and orchards, than theirs. The houses are spacious, and in all respects unexceptionable. The finish of every external thing testifies to their wealth, both of material and leisure.
* * * Their store shows what they can produce for sale. A great variety of simples, of which they sell large quantities to London, linen drapery, knitted wares, sieves, baskets, boxes, and confectionary; palm and feather fans, pincushions, and other such trifles: all these may be had in some variety, and of the best quality. If such external provision, with a great amount of accumulated wealth besides, is the result of co-operation and community of property among an ignorant, conceited, inert society like this, what might

not the same principles of association achieve among a more intelligent set of people, stimulated by education, and exhilarated by the enjoyment of all the blessings which Providence has placed within the reach of man ?

“ The wealth of the Shakers is not to be attributed to their celibacy. They are receiving a perpetual accession to their numbers from among the ‘ world’s people,’ and these accessions are usually of the most unprofitable kind. Widows with large families of young children are perpetually joining the community, with the view of obtaining a plentiful subsistence with very moderate labour. The increase of their numbers does not lead to the purchase of more land. They supply their enlarged wants by the high cultivation of the land they have long possessed ; and the superfluity of capital is so great, that it is difficult to conceive what will be done with it by a people so nearly dead to intellectual enjoyments. If there had been no celibacy amongst them, they would probably have been more wealthy than they are ; the expenses of living in community being so much less, and the produce of co-operative labour being so much greater, than in a state of division into families. The truth of these last positions can be denied by none who have witnessed the working of the co-operative system. The problem is to find the principle by which all shall be induced to labour their share. Any such principle being found, the wealth of the community follows of course.

“ Whether any principle to this effect can be brought to bear upon any large class of society in the old world, is at present the most important dispute, perhaps, that

is agitating society. It will never now rest till it has been made matter of experiment.

“If a very low principle has served the purpose, for a time, at least, in the new world, there seems much ground for expectation that a far higher one may be found to work as well in the more complicated case of English society. There is, at least, every encouragement to try. While there are large classes of people here whose condition can hardly be made worse; while the present system (if such it may be called,) imposes care on the rich, excessive anxiety on the middle classes, and desperation on the poor: while the powerful are thus, as it were, fated to oppress; the strivers after power to circumvent and counteract; and the powerless to injure, it seems only reasonable that some section, at least, of this warring population should make trial of the peaceful principles which are working successfully elsewhere. The co-operative methods of the Shakers and Rappites might be tried without any adoption of their spiritual pride and cruel superstition. These are so far from telling against the system, that they prompt the observer to remark how much has been done in spite of such obstacles.

“There must be something sound in the principles on which these people differ from the rest of the world, or they would not work at all; but the little that is vital is dreadfully encumbered with that which is dead.

* * * Their spiritual pride, their insane vanity, their intellectual torpor, their mental grossness, are melancholy to witness. Reading is discouraged among them. Their thoughts are full of the one subject of celibacy; with what effect may be easily imagined.

Their religious exercises are disgustingly full of it. It cannot be otherwise ; for they have no other interesting subject of thought beyond their daily routine of business ; no objects in life, no wants, no hopes, no novelty of experience whatever. Their life is all dull work and no play."

" The followers of Mr. Rapp are settled at Economy, on the Ohio, eighteen miles below Pittsburgh. Their number was 500 when I was there ; and they owned 3000 acres of land. Much of their attention seems to be given to manufactures. They rear silk-worms, and were the earliest silk-weavers in the United States. At my first visit they were weaving only a flimsy kind of silk-handkerchief ; last summer I brought away a piece of substantial, handsome black satin. They have sheep-walks, and a large woollen manufactory. Their factory was burnt down in 1834 ; the fire occasioning a loss of 60,000 dollars ; a mere trifle to this wealthy community. Their vineyards, corn-fields, orchards, and gardens, gladden the eye. There is an abundance so much beyond their need, that it is surprising that they work, except for want of something else to do. The Dutch love of flowers was visible in the plants that were to be seen in the windows, and the rich carnations and other sweets that bloomed in the garden and green-house. The whole place has a superior air to that of either of the Shaker 'families' that I saw. The women were better dressed ; more lively, less pallid ; but, I fear, not much wiser. Mr. Rapp exercises an unbounded influence over his people. They are prevented learning any language but German, and are not allowed to converse with strangers. The

superintendent keeps a close watch over them in this respect. Probationers must serve a year before they can be admitted: and the managers own that they dread the entrance of young people, who might be 'unsettled;' that is, not sufficiently subservient.

"I was curious to learn how 500 persons could be kept in the necessary subjection by one. Mr. Rapp's means are such that his task is not very difficult. He keeps his people ignorant; and he makes them vain. He preaches to them their own superiority over the rest of the world so incessantly that they fully believe it, and are persuaded that their salvation is in his hands. At first I felt, with regard both to them and the Shakers, a strong respect for the self-conquest which could enable them to endure the singularity,—the one community, of its non-intercourse with strangers; the other, of its dancing exhibitions; but I soon found that my respect was misplaced. One and all they glory in the singularity. This vanity is the handle by which they are worked.

"Mr. Rapp is now very old. His son is dead. It remains to be seen what will become of his community, with its immense accumulation of wealth, when it has lost its dictator. It does not appear that they can go on in their present state without a dictator. They smile superciliously upon Mr. Owen's plan, as admitting 'a wrong principle,' marriage. The best hope for them is that they will change their minds on this point, admitting the educational improvements which will arise out of the change, and remaining in community with regard to property. This is the process now in action among the seceders from their body, settled on the

opposite bank of the river, a short distance below Economy. These live in community, but abjuring celibacy, and have been joined by some thorough-bred Americans. It will be seen how they prosper.”*

It is said that there are at least a dozen other communities in America, founded upon the principle of public property, and all successful in a pecuniary point of view. Included in the number is the Colony at Zoar. This consists also of a society of Germans from Wirtemberg, who, in 1817, emigrated to the number of 300 on account of religious and political excitement, under their leader, M. Bäumlér. They are settled at Tuscarawa in Ohio, and export a large surplus of their agricultural produce. “They contracted to dig the Ohio canal throughout the whole extent of their territory, by which they not only acquired 21,000 dollars in ready money, but also made a considerable sum by furnishing the neighbouring contractors with bread. They have likewise built by their own unaided efforts, a large, handsome, and substantial bridge across the Tuscarawa, as well as over the canal, which are open, free of all expense, for the largest carriages. Upon the banks of the canal they have erected a handsome and roomy house as a depôt for their own produce, as well as that of their neighbours, which yields them considerable profit. An inn upon the canal is no less lucrative, as nearly every article of consumption is of their own growing. Their brewery not only supplies

* Society in America, vol. 2.

their own wants, but also the demands of the two inns in the town, and that on the canal, which it also furnishes with brandy. They have likewise a very well-arranged grinding-mill with a double set of stones. A bricklayer, who is attached to the company, made the drawings for it from a mill at a considerable distance, and has designed and executed the whole of the arrangements with so much skill, that the whole process requires the care only of one man and a boy. To it are attached carding-machines, and a large sawing-mill: in the town is a store containing a threshing-machine, oil, corn, and other mills. The former threshes daily 200 bushels of wheat, and 300 of oats, by means of a single water-wheel. They have likewise, besides various other machines, one for shearing cloth, looms for stockings, linens, &c.: the latter managed by four women. The spinning of the linen-yarn furnishes employment during the winter for the aged women and young children: being very fine, it is in much repute, and sells in the shops for one dollar (nearly 5s.) per lb. A little further on is the bakehouse, where excellent white bread is made by two women; and near it are the shambles, where an ox is killed every week and distributed among the different dining houses. The neighbouring tanneries supply materials for the shoes, which are made by two shops for the community, as well as for sale. In two other houses twelve women are occupied in making up shirts, &c., for the members of the whole association. The smith, wheelwright, locksmith, and carpenter, have each their appropriate workshops. Out of the town are some well-managed lime and brick-kilns, where by means

of a machine, two persons are able to make 2000 bricks in an hour.

“ The recreation of the community has also been provided for in a very extensive garden in the centre of the town; which, besides abundance of flowers and vegetables, contains greenhouses for citrons and pomegranates. It is much frequented by strangers, who take up their abode in the little inn, where they find a good table in the German style, and pianofortes. These latter are met with in several other houses, and the community pass several hours every Sunday at a little musical entertainment, where they sing hymns, &c.

“ The capital of the colony is estimated at 137,400 dollars, about £34,300, which is altogether clear profit; for the settlers had not a single shilling of their own when they first embarked in this association. Their constitution is as follows:—The chief management of the colony, the keeping of the accounts, correspondence, and direction of divine service, have been unanimously entrusted to their leader, M. Bäumlér, who had acquired the confidence of the whole community while they were living in Germany. He is assisted by three directors, who are chosen for three years, but one of whom is obliged to resign every year. The election is by ballot, in which every person of the age of twenty-one has the right of participating. Each director has his own department of agricultural, domestic, and administrative economy; they meet every night at the house of their leader, consult upon matters affecting the welfare of the community, and determine the labours of the following day. On the following

morning, such persons as have no stated employment assemble upon a given signal before the house of M. Bäumlér, and each of the directors chooses the person whom he considers best qualified for his particular business. The directors are, however, obliged to take a personal share in the most difficult part of their labours, and to excite their workmen by their example.

“With this abundance of food and other necessaries, it may be truly said that a person may live free from all care in Zoar. Every child, too, from the ages of three or four, is sent to the general public school, which is superintended by three females. The children are instructed in easy labours suitable to their age; the girls, for instance, in spinning, and the boys in plaiting straw; so that each has a fixed task, at the termination of which they are turned into the play-ground.”*

**Family
Communities
in Nivernois.**

It appears that a sort of patriarchal community system obtained in the province of Nivernois in France, of which a singular vestige remains to the present day in the Jaults' community, established near St. Benin des Bois, in the department of La Nièvre. An old writer, Guy Coqville, mentions that the rural management of the Nivernois country was carried on by many persons assembled in one family. Each was employed in the different offices of agriculture, according to age, sex, and capacity, under the government of one head, elected by the rest, called the community master. “He attends to business in the towns, fairs, and elsewhere; has the power to

* Penny Magazine for Oct. 28, 1837.

bind his constituents in all moveable property having reference to the affairs of the community, and he alone is named on the rolls of the rates and taxes. By this description it may be understood, that these communities are true families in a college, who by the means of intellect, become like one body composed of several members; and however the members may be separated one from the other, still by fraternity, friendship, and economic bond, form one single corps. In these communities, the children are prized who can yet do nothing, from the expectation of what they will perform in future; those who are in their vigour for what they do; the old for their advice, and for the remembrance of what they have done. Thus in all ages, and in every shape, they maintain themselves, like a body politic, which by handing down should last for ever." One of these families retaining its usages, still exists, that of the Jaults. It consists of thirty-six members, men, women, and children. The Jault-house is composed of an immense hall, having a chimney at each end, opening into a fire-place nine feet in width. By the side of each chimney is a large oven for bread, on the other side a stone vessel for washing, polished by constant use, and as old as the house itself. Close by in a closet is the well which supplies abundantly the house with water. The grand room in its entire length, is flanked by a passage, into which open by as many doors, separate apartments, or cells, in which each family party has its peculiar domicile. These little rooms are kept very neatly; in each are two beds, sometimes three, according to the number of children. Two presses, in oak, carefully waxed, or else

a large chest, and a clothes press, a table, two chairs, and very few effects, comprise the furniture. The formation of this community dates from time immemorial. The titles, which the master preserves in an ark, which was not searched by the incendiaries of 1793, go back beyond the year 1500, and they then speak of the community as of an establishment already ancient. The possession of this nook of earth has maintained itself in the Jault family, and with time it has gradually increased itself, by the labour and economy of its members, so far as to form, by the union of all its acquisitions, a domain worth more than 200,000*l.*, in the hands of its present possessors. They possess in common with the other inhabitants of St. Benin, besides, 400 acres of undivided pasturage, and 300 acres of wood, whence they draw their timber and firing.

At the outset the natural head of the community was the family father; then the son; and this natural hereditament continued as long as the direct line was maintained, and that an elder one could be found endowed with a suitable capacity. But, as by degrees, in diverging, the proximity of the kindred became remote, so as only to offer collaterals, the most able of the grown men was chosen to preside over the affairs, and the cleverest woman to manage the domestic business. Besides, the rule of this domestic management is very mild, and the government nearly a nullity. Every one, according to the testimony of the master, knows his business, and performs it. The principal duty of the master is to conduct the out-door business; to buy and sell cattle; to make landed purchases in the name of the community, according to convenience and cash in hand; which he does not do without taking counsel of

his fellows; for, as Guy Coqville has remarked, "these, all living off one loaf, sleeping under one roof, and daily seeing each other, the master is very ill advised, or too conceited, if he does not consult with, and take the advice of his fellows on important affairs." The property of the community consists,—1st, of the old possessions; 2nd, of the purchases made for the general good with the savings; 3rd, the cattle of every kind; 4th, the common chest, formerly in possession of the master alone, but now deposited, by way of precaution, at a notary's in the town of St. Jaulze.

But, besides, each one has his hoard, consisting of his wife's portion and the effects he has inherited from his mother, or what has fallen to him by gift or bequest, or by any other means distinct from social right. The community only reckons its males as effective members. They alone are the *caput* of the community. The girls and women, so long as they choose to remain, live there and work, are fed and maintained in sickness and in health, and when they marry externally, (which happens most commonly,) the community portions them in ready money. These portions, trifling at first, have risen in these latter days to 1,350 livres. Bating these portions, once paid, neither themselves nor their descendants have any further demands on the property of the community. Only if they become widows, they may return to inhabit the house, and live there as before their marriage. As to women from without who marry any of the members of the community, their portions are not mixed up with it, because it is determined that they shall not acquire any personal right therein. These portions constitute a hoard apart;

only they are expected to place 200 livres in the community chest, to represent the value of the furniture given up to their use. If they become widows they have the right of remaining in the community, and to live there with their children; otherwise they may withdraw, and in that case the 200 livres, which they had originally paid, are restored to them.

No man, being a member of the community, who dies unmarried, leaves property to any body. It is a *head* less in the community which remains to the others in entirety, not by virtue of inheritance, but by the original and fundamental condition of the association. If he has been married and leaves children, they are either boys and become members of the community, where each of them forms a *head*, not by hereditary title, but by the simple fact that they were born within the community and to its profit. If girls they claim a portion, and partake with the sons in the father's store, if he had any; but they can pretend to nothing as their share in the goods of the community, because their father was not a communist with right of transmitting any part whatever to women, who might carry it into alien families; but on condition of living there, labouring there, and of having no heir but the community itself. The ancient Nivernian communities, therefore, constitute a kind of corps or college, a civil personification which continues and perpetuates itself by personal substitution.

If the conscription attaches any member of the community, it grants 2000 livres for a substitute. In case of insufficiency the surplus must be made up from the private purse of the conscript.

As to honesty, there is no instance of a single member of this community being convicted of a dishonest action. Their manners are pure. They are very charitable; no poor person passes by without receiving soup and bread. All the communists, following the law of their association, live thus—the same loaf, pot, and salt. As to the garments, the master distributes to each family flax and wool according to the number and age of the individuals composing it. The health of this tribe is perfect. The men stout and strong; the women robust, some of them pretty enough. Their dress is neat and not inelegant.

“Association well conducted,” says M. Dupin, the French jurist, from whom this account is derived, “has its advantages. I have noticed the happy effects thereof, and where it yet exists with good results, I put up prayers that it may ever remain and perpetuate itself.”*

In Auvergne. The custom of Auvergne also authorises these family communities. The Pingons, near Thiers, have subsisted in this manner for more than 600 years, in virtue of the provision of the wise father of four brothers, who directed that henceforth their goods and labours should be common. They never marry out of their community, unless there should be no disposable maiden in it; and when the daughters marry out of it, they take their portion only in money. They live together, flourishing in point of numbers, in innocence, and wisdom, always observing the same customs. Many

* New Moral World for June 12, 1841.

associations of this nature, and more prosperous still, are found in this same country.*

In the article *Moraves*, written by M. Faiguët, Treasurer of France, in the work just quoted, after some mention of these family communities, it is remarked that the extension of these societies might be very advantageous; and a project is given for the formation of general associations of industrious people, "who, united by the ties of honour and religion, might relieve themselves from the anxieties and vexations which the want of skill and employment render almost inevitable; who, without renouncing marriage, might fulfil the duties of Christianity, and labour in concert to diminish their difficulties, and to procure the sweets of life; an establishment which is evidently desirable, and does not appear impossible." M. Faiguët notices also a community of a similar kind, called the *Clercs de la vie commune*, established among the brethren-shoemakers and tailors, in France, towards the middle of the seventeenth century.

Bellers' College of Industry. In 1696, one John Bellers issued proposals for raising a "College of Industry," as a model society, in a pamphlet published in London. His aim was by a sort of joint-stock association, to "secure profit for the rich, a plentiful living for the poor, without difficulty, and a good education for youth." It was to be effected by the subscriptions of the rich who were interested in this triple object; and the Government was to be petitioned

* French Encyclop. Econ. Politique.

to incorporate the society thus formed. His plan was to unite, say 300 artizans, "of all sorts of useful trades in a college, to work the usual time or task as abroad, and what any doth more to be paid for it, to encourage industry." That for this number a capital of £18,000 should be raised, and laid out,—£10,000 in the purchase of a farm of £500 per annum; £2,000 in stock for the land; £3,000 in tools and materials for the several trades; and £3,000 in new buildings or repairs. He supposes that the labour of 200 would be sufficient to furnish the common stock with food, clothing, and all necessaries, and the labour of the remaining 100 for profit to the founders. That the labour of two-thirds would suffice for the subsistence of the whole he judges, because there would be none idle, no shopkeepers, no beggars, no useless trades, no lawsuits, no bad debts, no dear bargains, no loss of time for want of work, to provide for. There would be the advantage of the women's and children's work, and of the saving of much house-room, fuel, cookery, &c., and of the fetching and carrying of work and provisions; several advantages to the land from the number of persons and cattle kept on it, and the advantage of all the hands being ready in time of harvest to secure the crops, besides the advantage to them of change of employment.

The stock to be valued every year, and the profit to be divided, and either paid to the proprietors in money, in goods manufactured in the college, or invested in its enlargement and improvement. Twelve or more proprietors to be chosen every year as an inspecting committee. The governors and under officers to have no

salaries, but the reasonable conveniences that the college could afford them. Punishments to be abatements of food; &c., rather than stripes; and for the greatest offences, expulsion.

Any having estates in land or money, living under the college rules, and doing the college work, might be permitted to have college allowance, and lay up their own estates. Any giving £15 per annum in land, or £300 in money, or whatever sum might be thought reasonable, might have the right of keeping one person in the college without working under the rules. Or, paying half the money, and doing half the work, or in any other proportion. Children also to be boarded and educated in all useful learning in the college, who, seeing others work, at spare times would be learning some trade, work being not more labour than play. Education would have many advantages in such an establishment. There would be all sorts of tools and employments for every age and capacity, and the children would very early begin to exercise them. All languages might be taught to them, as their mother tongue, by having some tradesmen of all nations. Men and children submit more easily to the rules they see others submit to than if they were alone. Company being the delight of all creatures, and the college having company enough, the temptation of seeking it abroad would be lessened, and much evil prevented. There might be a library, a physic garden, and a laboratory.

The poor would be made rich in the college by enjoying all things needful in health or sickness, and if married, for wife and children; if parents die their

children would be preserved from misery, and their marrying encouraged. As they grow in years they might be allowed to abate an hour in the day of their work, and at sixty, (if merit preferred them not sooner,) they might be made overseers, which, for ease and pleasant life, would equal what the hoards of a private purse can give, without fear of losing. "And for bodily labour it is a primitive institution of God, that it should earn its bread in the sweat of its brows; labour being as proper for the body's health, as eating is for its living; for what pains a man saves by ease, he will find in disease; and less labour will provide for a man in the college than out. The regular life in the college with abatement of worldly cares, with an easy honest labour, and religious instruction, may make it a nursery and school of virtue." * * * "In short, as it may be an epitome of the world by a collection of all the useful trades in it, so it may afford all the conveniences and comforts a man can want, or a Christian use."

The effect of this college-fellowship would be to make labour, and not money, the standard to value all necessaries by.

As this body politic would have many difficulties in the beginning to struggle with, it would require to take in at first only useful hands to strengthen and support it, that in time it might be able to bear all the poor that could reasonably be put upon it. The nation must be looked through to find some apt workmen, of good lives and tempers, as a leaven to the rest, "and if the poor prove brittle, let the rich have patience, seven or fourteen years may bring up young ones, that

the life will be more natural to. Though it is not natural for the old and rich to live with a common stock, yet it is more natural for the young and poor; witness the hospitals of England and Holland. Old people are like earthen vessels, not so easily to be new moulded; yet children are more like clay out of the pits, and easy to take any form they are put into."

¶ In answer to several supposed objections, John Bellers replies, "If the act be good, we may hope God will raise instruments; for though some men have taken up a rest in their estates, and seek only a provision and diversion for their own families, yet there are many have a touch of a more universal love; and is there not the greatest reason and prudence for good men to place their estates so as to influence many to virtue, especially when it will bring profit with it?"

"When trade is dull the poor will the readier accept new masters and terms; if calamities should come, the poor in a body would submit better than single. If it be supposed that any who can get more than will keep them, will not work in the college for victuals and clothes only—perhaps not; but besides their own keeping, there is laid up in the college stores enough for their children when born; for themselves when sick and aged; and for their families when they die. But where good workmen are not at first to be had they may be allowed some wages to instruct the youth, and the advantage of the apprentices will be enough for the profit of the founders. As to the confinement of the college, neither would the poor work if there were not greater inconveniences; that is starving or robbing, and that is hanging; and it is not proposed that the

confinement should be more than is absolutely needful for the good government of the college."

"To reconcile different interests," John Bellers concludes, "and to answer objections that are contradictions, will be difficult; as for the rich man to say it will yield no benefit to the undertakers, and at the same time for the poor to object, the proposals give too much to the rich and too little to them. For answer, I say, that as the proposition seems to have all the profit the earth and mechanics can raise anywhere, so it cuts off all superfluity and extravagancies used among others; and consequently raises the greatest stock both for founders and workmen, which is the point I aim at. Whilst I am not willing to admit of the supposition, that though such advantage is offered to the rich and poor, they will lose it for want of agreeing how to divide it, hoping that there are but few would make out the story of covetousness and envy, who when they were offered, whatever the first asked, only the second should have double to what the first asked, could not agree which should ask first. However, I have this satisfaction, I intend the advantage of both, whilst I think the method will afford both profit to the rich and plenty to the poor. I will not pretend to seek any method of living in this world that hath no inconveniency in it, but only what hath fewest. But till the rich be satisfied to put it afoot, the poor cannot, if they would, for want of materials."

The Frisons. "The modern provinces of Friesland Proper and Groningen, and the principality of East Friesland, comprehend the country which was

formerly distinguished as *Frisia Libera*. Liberty may be entitled a mountain nymph by the poet, but never did she find a surer domicile than amid the fens of the Netherlands. Nature has treated man more kindly than the philosophers; they would regulate his capacity for freedom according to the elevation of the mercury in the weather-glass; but she teaches him to defy their rules, and to laugh at their speculations. *Free Friesland* was worthy of the name. The common greeting of the people was neither simple *wassail*, nor *peace be with you*; but they saluted one another with 'health, thou noble freeman!' In the 12th century, they no longer feared the sword of the Emperor, nor did they very much respect his sceptre. The slight authority which the head of the Holy Roman Empire retained in a few districts, was only acknowledged in theory. Military tenures did not exist, nor were they ever introduced into the country: and the priesthood had no temporal authority. The independence and self-rule of the Frieslanders was so striking, when compared to the rest of Europe, that it was forced upon the notice of old Bartholomew, though the writers of the middle ages seldom advert to constitutional polity. Bartholomew, whom we quote in the venerable language of his translator, Trevisa, is emphatic in his description of Frisia. 'The men,' says he, 'ben hye of bodye, stronge of vertue, sterne and fiers of herte, and swift and quiver of bodye. They ben *free*, and not subjecte to lordship of other nations; and they put them in perill of dethe by cause of freedom. And they hadde lever dye than be under the yoke of thraldome. Therefore they forsake dygnyte of knyghthoode, and suffre none

to ryse and to be greater among them under the tytle of knythhode, but they ben subject to judges that they chese of themselfe from yere to yere, which rule the comynte among them.'”

“Land, contrary perhaps to what might have been expected, was held freely and allodially, and feudal tenures and vassalage were wholly unknown. The laws distinguish between land acquired by descent, or held by common right, and land acquired by purchase, or by deed, called *cap-lond* and *bok-lond*; the latter apparently corresponding with the Anglo-Saxon tenure.’”

“A custom prevailed amongst the Frisons, somewhat analogous to Borough English; land was partible, but the younger son was preferred, by taking the head tenement, and the chief portion of the patrimony; and if territorial authority was annexed to it, the rights of jurisdiction passed undivided to the youngest son. Thus, in 1358, Kampo, the youngest son of the noble Wiard Abdena, succeeded to the lordship of Aurich, to the exclusion of his elder brother. This custom of preferring the youngest son exists also in some English manors. All the lands in a district, called the Theel-land, (Frisick, *Teelan*; Angl. Sax. *Tilan*; Eng. *to till*,) lying in the bailiwick of Norden and Bertum, are held by a very extraordinary tenure—we speak in the present tense, for the customs of the Theel-land were subsisting in the year 1805; and we do not suppose that they have since become obsolete. The agrarian law, elsewhere a phantom, either lovely or terrific according to the imagination of the spectator, is here fully realized. The land is considered as being divided into portions, or *Theels*, each containing a stated

quantity: the owners are called Theelmen or Theel-boors; but no Theel-boor can hold more than one Theel in severalty. The undivided, or common land, comprising the Theels not held by individuals, belongs to all the inhabitants of the Theel-land, and is cultivated, or farmed out on their joint account. The Theel-boor cannot sell his hereditary theel, or alienate it in any way, even to his nearest relations. On his death, it descends to his youngest son. If there are no sons, to the youngest daughter, under the restrictions after mentioned; and in default of issue, it reverts to the commonalty. But elder sons are not left destitute: when they are old enough to keep house, a theel is assigned to each of them (be they ever so many,) out of the common lands, to be held to them and their issue, according to the customary tenure. If a woman who has inherited a theel, becomes the wife of a Theel-boor, who is already in possession of a theel, then her land reverts to the commonalty, as in case of death without issue. All lawsuits and disputes are decided in the Folkmote, which is held once in each year; and no appeal is allowed from its decision.

“Faithful to the customs of their Scythian forefathers, the Teutons and Scandinavians did not willingly abandon the principle which secured the equal enjoyment of the gifts of nature to every individual in the tribe or sept. The gothic nations, emigrating from their native wilds, spoiled those who had been enriched and enervated with the treasures of Asia: yet after the frame of society had been erected again out of new and heterogeneous elements, the community of land was still cherished and retained by them. It is now

well ascertained that metes and bounds promote the welfare of the husbandman,* and we never regret to witness the creation of the hedges and ditches, which, by the authority of Parliament, invade the 'open and unenclosed common fields,' derived from Scythian polity. Yet if Horace were to return from Elysium, he might even now be rejoiced by beholding the vestiges of the free harvests of the Scythians and the Getæ; and Tacitus might almost be quoted at Westminster Hall, when an action is brought for a *shifting* or *changeable acre* in an English common field. We can still trace the steps by which the boundless liberty of the nomadic races was partially restrained into conformity with the wants of incipient civilization. They broke and ploughed the ground; the crop became as valuable as the pasture; they needed bread corn, and were no longer contented with milk, and the flesh of the slaughtered animal; agriculture advanced, but they did not cease to be shepherds and herdsmen; and the territory over which they were spread continued to be the property of the community. Hence arose the system of annual allotments of land, which were sown in severalty, but grazed promiscuously after the reaping of the harvest. This is the 'special manner of common,' which in Norfolk is called 'Shacke,' or 'Shock.'†

"In Normandy all unenclosed arable and pasture lands were subject, by the custom of the country, to

* So says the Reviewer, and so perhaps would the husbandman if he were permitted to enclose an equal share.

† "To have Shacke, is as much as to say, to go at liberty, or at large."

the same 'special manner of common;' and the season when the Normans fed and grazed *promiscuè*, was called the Bannon.* By this system of alternate cultivation and pasturage, the generous freedom of patriarchal simplicity was in some measure combined with the churlish *meum et tuum* of the Iron Age. And the tenures of the tillers of the Theel-land were gradually framed to answer the same end."†

That the rigid exclusion of the mass of the cultivators of the soil from all interest in the land which obtains in our own country and times, does not accord with the general sense, or even practice of mankind, several facts already stated seem to indicate, and the Metayer system may be adduced in further evidence.

The Metayer System. The Metayer system of cultivating land prevails extensively upon the continent of Europe. Under this agricultural arrangement the landlord provides the land, houses, utensils, and seed; the tenant finds the labour; and the crops are divided between the two parties, after deducting the seed required for their reproduction, and

* " Coutumes de Normandie, Art. 81-5. Paswage has the following note :—' Le mot *banon* est pris pour le temps auquel les terres ne sont ni cultivées ni ensemencées, et qu'elles sont libres à quiconque y veut mener ses bestiaux sans la permission du propriétaire, ce qui s'entend des celles qui ne sont point closés de hayes ou de fosses, lesquelles sont defendues en tout temps.' "

† Edinburgh Rev. July, 1819. Article on East Friesland. " For a most interesting account of this district, and of the happiness and prosperity prevailing in it in consequence of this system, see also ' Travels in the North of Germany,' by Mr. Hodgkins." Monthly Repos. Feb. 1821.

the food necessary for the cultivator, his labourers and cattle, until the next harvest.

“The Metayer family has its own raw material of clothing, viz. flax, hemp, wool, hides, raised by itself; has house-room and time—idle time in winter—to work them up, not indeed into very fine, but into very wearable stuff, by their own and their domestics’ work.” The whole agricultural population are employed during the winter months in spinning, weaving, making household goods, working in iron, wood, or cloth, for their own use.* The climate in many of the countries of Europe makes this division of employment absolutely necessary; the British system of husbandry which is

* One of the advantages possessed by Germany is the union of agricultural with manufacturing labour. This does not apply to any productions when large capital and expensive machinery, or the congregation of many hands in the same locality, are necessary for cheap production; but in every case where a single machine, directed by a single individual, and which can be worked in that individual’s dwelling, represents the greatest advance of the mechanical arts, the English labourer can by no means compete with his German rival.

“In the case, for example, of the stocking trade. The manufactures of Chemnitz are mostly in the hands of individual workmen who make their stockings in their own houses, and cultivate in their gardens the potatoes and other vegetables which are their usual food, and by which they are enabled to feed the animals which provide them with as much meat as they consume. They are sometimes supplied with the yarn by manufacturers, and are then paid a price per dozen for their work; but they are getting more into the habit of buying yarn for themselves, and of manufacturing on the prospect of sale; the goods, when there is a demand, being collected by *Vorkäufers* who purchase the stockings ready made from the parties. The frames are almost all of wood, and generally the property of the workman. There is no collection of workmen in factories. They are frugal in their food and drink, living, except on great occasions, on potatoes and coffee. A great

carried on by a population exclusively devoted to agriculture, could only be adopted in a climate which admits of agricultural labour throughout the year.*

The Metayer, or Mezzeria system, has subsisted throughout all ages in Italy. The following remarks upon its operation in his own country, by a large landed proprietor of Tuscany, the Marquis Capponi, are embodied in Dr. Bowring's "Report on the Statistics of Tuscany, Lucca, &c."

"The mezzeria system has existed from time immemorial. Of a date anterior to the Roman domination, it has survived the middle ages, for the feudal system was never generally prevalent in Tuscany.† This system and form of cultivation is thus far the only one understood in Tuscany. From the earliest period the plains have been abandoned in order to carry on

proportion of them are owners of the houses in which they dwell, having been enabled out of their earnings to possess themselves of the fee simple. When the demand for manufactures is slack they can employ their time in field and garden cultivation; when it is active they devote themselves principally to their frames and looms. It must be borne in mind that the state provides gratuitous instruction for all, and that this instruction has the happiest effect both on their industry and their frugality." "Report on the Prussian Commercial Union," by Dr. Bowring.

* See Laing's 'Notes of a Traveller,' p. 284.

† "The Roman landlord was often obliged to advance the stock and instruments of husbandry, and to content himself with a partition of the fruits. If the feeble tenant was oppressed by accident, contagion, or hostile violence, he claimed a proportionable relief from the equity of the laws." Gibbon's Rome, vol. 8, p. 86. The same writer tells us that when Mahomet reduced Chaibar, the ancient and wealthy seat of the Jewish power in Arabia, he made the same arrangement with its shepherds and husbandmen—namely, that they should improve their patrimony in equal shares for his emolument and their own. Vol. 9, p. 305.

the cultivation to the very summit of the mountains. Property being always much divided, and the Government not being centralized, did not admit of the great expenses being incurred which the cultivation of the plains would have entailed. Could the outlay which has been gradually and voluntarily submitted to, almost without its being perceived, in the cultivation of the hills, have been skilfully employed in the cultivation of our plains, the revenue would have been much more considerable, but the divisions of property and the distribution of wealth would have been very different. Tuscany possesses two vast and fertile plains, the Val de Chiana and the Maremma; they have been neglected till lately. In the course of three years the Grand Duke has expended six millions of francs on the Maremma.

“ Every species of cultivation, except that of the hills, of wheat, vines, and olives, is neglected in Tuscany. Forests have been destroyed or badly managed, and the cultivation of meadow lands is unknown here.

“ Physical circumstances and the nature of the soil have led to this mode of cultivation, whilst political and social considerations have determined the particular arrangements. The *mezzeria* differs in the various places in which it prevails; it is not the same in Tuscany as in France; nor does it even accord with that of Lucca. In Tuscany it is very favourable to the peasant, and it may in this country be regarded as the *beau idéal* of the system.

“ Two causes may be assigned as having mainly contributed to this:

“ 1st. A highly democratical form of government

during a period of three centuries, which has left its traces in the customs of the country.

“ 2nd. The competition of manufacturing industry, which formerly flourished highly in Tuscany.

“ Our *mezzeria* system, therefore, is such as custom has rendered it ; no written contract exists between landlord and peasant. One part of the understanding, such for example as the trade in cattle, is liable to some degree of uncertainty in practice. The contract is in force for one year only ; the proprietor may discharge his cultivator every year at a fixed period, but a good tenant will hold by the estate from generation to generation.

“ In the partnership the proprietor supplies all the capital, and the cultivator the labour and the utensils ; the produce is equally divided between them, even as regards the profits arising from the sale of cattle. The cultivator is only obliged to supply the labour required in the ordinary cultivation. Should the proprietor be desirous of making new plantations, or to reclaim waste lands, the expense falls wholly upon him, and he is obliged to pay the cultivator wages for extra work, and also to keep up his new adventures at his own expense, should their produce prove insufficient.

“ The seed for sowing is also supplied at joint expense ; that required for the support of the cultivator, the proprietor is in general bound to supply him with ; should he not do so, a good labourer would quit his employ, which would be the worst thing that could happen, for the system wholly depends upon mutual good faith, and a good labourer is indispensable to the well-doing of the landlord.

“The proprietor derives his advantages from the surplus produce, should there be any, from the work performed for him by the labourer or cultivator, and from the profit arising from the sale of the cattle; it is the master or proprietor on all occasions who pays and receives the money arising out of this branch of business. This occasions long accounts to arise with every proprietor, which are adjusted yearly.* A cultivator who should prove a debtor at this settlement would be held in bad repute. He dreads getting into debt, as it would end in dismissal; but in case of dismissal the proprietor loses his claim upon him. In the poorer situations the cultivators are all in debt for large sums, which at the end have to be deducted from the half produce which is assigned to them out of the estate.

“The cultivators reside in isolated dwellings in the centre of the estate; the villages are not occupied by cultivators. They dwell in the midst of their families; never see their neighbours, except at holiday times at church, or occasionally at market, where they are not often obliged to go, for they buy and sell but little. A good cultivator rarely goes to market: the great recommendation of the *mezzeria* system in this country is, that the farmer neither buys nor sells; his land should supply him with all he wants.

“Every family possesses a head, (*capo di casa*), who is known to and approved by the proprietor; to

* This multiplicity of accounts and complexity of cultivation, together with the many petty sources of revenue, altogether render it impossible for the proprietor to superintend everything, or at any time to know what he is worth.

him belongs the government of the family, and the direction of the agricultural labours; he negotiates with the proprietor or his agent. There is also a female head, (*massaja*,) who has the direction of the household economy. It frequently happens that two families are resident in the same dwelling, and under one head. Families are generally very numerous, some reckoning twenty or twenty-five individuals, seldom less than six or eight.

“ M. Ridolfi has ably described the manner in which this system took its rise, in an excellent article in the *Giornale Agricolo*. It has sprung up by degrees;—the wants and the industry of the labourer have gradually contributed to the increase of the capital and labour devoted to the land. These have undergone a prodigious augmentation during the last sixty years. The tendency of the Government reforms of Leopold I. was to direct everything to this channel. Estates were divided and rendered free; impediments were destroyed; full freedom of commerce allowed; all these things rendered agriculture so much in vogue, that it became a source of luxury. The Tuscans, besides, have no other occupation, no sort of manufactures, no political existence. Possessed of home feelings, agriculture for them was all in all. High prices followed; a fresh division of property took place, by the sale of the convent estates; and every one became a cultivator, right or wrong. Agriculture became a passion—a mania.

“ Tuscany was formerly celebrated for its high state of cultivation: it was an Eden—an oasis—the model country. The beneficial laws of Leopold I., whose

reputation even exceeded their real merits, occasioned property in Tuscany to be much sought after, and attracted large masses both of home and foreign capital.

“In fact, Tuscany is highly cultivated. If the quantity of labour applied to land—if diligence, aptitude, readiness, willing labour, and love for the soil, on the part of the peasantry, bring with them good culture, Tuscany has nothing to desire in these respects. A small extent of land, of very moderate fertility, suffices for the support of a family of ten or fifteen individuals. No other system, it is conceived, could draw from the land so large a mass of produce. The evil lies not here, but in the enormous capital swallowed up by the land. Assuredly the cultivation is by no means scientific. In the first place, it is no easy matter for science to influence the *mezzeria* system, whilst the colonist or labourer is a joint proprietor, who acts on his own opinion, and generally opposes himself to improvements which he does not comprehend. Besides, in what way could science operate? It would begin by changing the entire system; it would not admit of the same land, the same field being under cultivation for wheat, vines, and olives, at one and the same time, and frequently for fruit, herbage for cattle, and all the different varieties of produce that may be required, not according to the condition of the land, but to the wants of the family: and this state of things forms the basis of the *mezzeria* system.

“The important results which science affords are, therefore, utterly out of the question in this system; in hill cultivation, especially, it appears very doubtful if science could succeed in developing a greater abso-

lute production than is now the consequence of a most careful and persevering industry.

“ Our most urgent necessity is less an increased produce, than a mode of turning it to account. What is wanting to our agriculture are those subsidiary undertakings which give increased value to productions, and render them marketable. We possess a prodigious quantity of wine, generally of a tolerable quality; but to render it fit for exportation has never yet been deemed an object for consideration. The sole purpose with us has been to render it suitable to our home consumption; everything is sold at the earliest moment, and at the nearest market for the consumption of the immediate vicinity in which it is produced; the ideas of the cultivator go no farther. Even oil is not exactly regarded as an article for exportation. The supply of wheat is inadequate to the consumption of Tuscany, but Leghorn amply supplies the deficiency; this situation of our productions is owing to the system of Leopold I., which sought to render Tuscany as one family, self-dependent, and its consequences are traceable in our customs and manners.

“ Every species of cultivation, therefore, which does not contribute to furnish direct consumption is neglected. Mulberry trees, which the country could produce most abundantly, are not in favour with our cultivators: they spoil the fields, and contribute nothing to the use of the table. The rearing of silkworms, which is carried on in the house of every cultivator, is treated with great neglect: it is abandoned to the women; and if information is required about it of the mistress of the house, she can tell you

nothing. The production of silk, therefore, is far less considerable than it might be: it does not rank as of sufficient importance in the farm, or in the estimation of the cultivator. The same may be said of all articles of export.

“The erroneous self-sufficing principle pervades everything, even to the extent that a single field should produce everything, that one man should do everything; there is no such thing as division of labour—no intermediate branch of occupation. The same individual who has planted a vine, or sown his field, must sell the final produce to the consumer; the labour of the Tuscan proprietor is, therefore, so complicated that it is impossible to get through it. The result of all this is, that out of the gross produce the net revenue to the Tuscan proprietor is most miserable. The gross produce in itself is large—very large in proportion to the natural productiveness of the soil, but it is small considered in relation to the expenses incurred, to the capital absorbed, and to the labour bestowed upon it. Regarding man as an instrument of labour, our agriculture is costly in the extreme; but under any other system, man would do less and cost more. The cultivator is always on the spot—always careful; his constant thought is, this field is my own. He works for his own advantage, not as a mercenary, nor as a slave or machine; his loss of time is the least possible; as he has the distribution of his hours, and chooses his opportunities: while proceeding to his field he pulls up the weeds, he gathers together the manure that may have fallen on the roads, which contributes to the increase of his

dunghill; the amount of labour bestowed by the cultivator would prove too costly to the proprietor if obliged to pay for it; it would not answer his purpose. It is always ruinous in the end to cultivate land in Tuscany by day-labourers: on the other hand, were the labourer to be paid his wages in money, they would prove inadequate to his support. Under the existing system, if his profits are small, they are direct, and in the shape of produce, his household wants are fully and completely supplied, and at no expense. It is not possible for the cultivators to make a rapid fortune, but the better class of them possess their little capital of money. The marriage-portions they give their daughters are a proof of this: these are considerable and always increasing. It is true the landlord frequently assists; and not only the head of the family, but the other members also, both girls and boys, to whom they leave slight bequests by way of dowry, or who enter into small speculations, have all a little stock of money laid by. It is, I consider, the great and only advantage of Tuscan economy, that it ensures the subsistence of a large number of labourers, and ensures this in a mode independent of men and events, and free from the vicissitudes of commerce and the uncertainties of trade or of ruinous changes.

“The labourer in general is happy and virtuous; the unvarying nature and quietude of his life, and the dependence, free from all servility, in which he stands in relation to his employer, foster his habits of morality, whilst they maintain his dignity as a man. The cultivators constitute, according to my estimate, at least one-third of the population of Tuscany; these are

computed to be between 50,000 and 60,000 farms, (*poderi*,) upon which the average number of individuals in a family may be taken at eight, and if to this number be added the agricultural day-labourers, and those who depend upon agriculture for their subsistence, and the proprietors and servants of proprietors, it will be seen how small is the number of those who live by manufactures and other trades.

“ The number of employés, medical men, lawyers, priests, &c., is very considerable in Tuscany.

“ The land-survey gives 162,067 estates, from which deducting double returns, which cannot be very numerous, for Tuscany is divided into only eight divisions for the land-survey, the real number of proprietors will be about 160,000 : this is a pretty high proportion to a population of 1,400,000, if we take into consideration that females in Tuscany do not inherit jointly with the male children.

“ The peasantry is beyond dispute, the best class in Tuscany, and all the good that is said and has been said of the Tuscans is due to the peasantry. A peasant, who should be reduced to work as a day-labourer, would feel himself miserable and degraded ; it would be a descent from a high elevation in the social scale.

“ I am of opinion that if a solution is ever to be found to the grand question, as it regards the working classes, and if in manufactures the plan is ever to be discovered of better reconciling the interest of the workman with that of the employer, it will be in approximating the manufacturing system to that which is pursued in agriculture under the denomination of *mezzeria*, and in rendering the workmen direct parti-

cipators in the products of their labour: this is perhaps but a dream, and out of place here."

"I have before remarked that an immense capital is absorbed by the land, owing to the extent of labour employed in bringing it into cultivation, and the necessity of an expensive mode of keeping it so."

"The farm-buildings are built at great charge, the central farm especially is generally erected in a very uneconomical manner. The peasants' houses are of a superior description, in no country are they so well lodged. It is reckoned they cost on an average 1,000 crowns each, the average value of a farm being 2,000. The living of the peasantry does not correspond with the luxury of their dwellings. It is frugal though wholesome. Next to bread, beans form the chief article of food. Meat once a week is considered a luxury—the poorest are satisfied with a piece of bacon. Bread is sometimes made of pure wheat, but generally is a mixture of rye, barley, and Indian corn, with a little wheat. The living of the peasantry is improving, owing to the introduction of a better rotation of crops. One half of the crop suffices for the keep of the cultivator, the remainder furnishes a slender revenue to the proprietor, which, when the expenses for land and buildings, utensils, cost of management, half the expense for manure, &c., are deducted, seldom amounts to one-third of the produce. The proprietors are sensible of the insufficiency of their returns from the land on this system, but it is too deeply rooted in the condition—it is the physiological necessity of the country. In all probability any future modification will be injurious to the interests of the labourers.

“ Various modifications, more or less essential, would necessarily take place in the system, if extensive manufacturing undertakings existed to admit of an invidious comparison with the poverty of our agricultural industry, but I question if that can ever become the case ; in the first place, the metayer spirit, when deeply rooted, is fatal to manufacturing industry, and, in the next place, large undertakings require large capitals, and we have already sunk the largest part of ours.

“ The all-important and alarming problem is that which regards the working-classes—the increase of the population, which in Tuscany has, for some years past, gone on at the rate of one per cent. annually. This increase is limited, it is true, in the families of the cultivators ; thoughtful and calculating, they make but few imprudent marriages ; attached to a restricted extent of soil, they limit their family by the extent of their farm.

“ But the families of the cultivators are at present in very easy circumstances, and no doubt do increase, whilst the field-labourers multiply prodigiously ; the abundance of agricultural occupations of late years has produced this result.” “ Our mezzeria system will, I think, for the present be maintained as it is, with its good and its evil ; but the good is in its nature stationary, which is not in our day sufficiently felt, but at some future period the evil will perhaps predominate over the good, yet how or when I know not.”

It is evident that while in the mezzeria we have the one element of the true system—that of giving to the actual cultivator an interest in the produce of the

soil—the other of co-operation is entirely wanting. Hence it is instructive alike in its good and evil. Dr. Bowring well observes “the universal *isolation* of the peasantry” which is its consequence. “Where there is no association there must be much ignorance. Every peasant’s family in Tuscany stands as it were alone: this is indeed a great security for the public tranquillity; but it is tranquillity purchased at a fearful price—at the price of a stationary and backward civilization. I do not perceive how education can break down the barriers which surround every *contadino* family. I had occasion more than once to see four generations inhabiting the same cottage, but the last had not added a particle of knowledge to the ignorance of the first; the same gross superstitions; the same prejudices against books; the same unwillingness to introduce any species of improvement in husbandry; the same reference to ancestral usages. In innumerable cases families have occupied the same farms for hundreds of years, without adding a farthing to their wealth, or a fragment to their knowledge. I once asked a grey-headed peasant how long he and his ancestors had lived in the same cottage? ‘Non c’è memoria!’ was his answer—‘It is beyond memory.’”

Notwithstanding these concomitant disadvantages, the opinions of the late historian and political economist, M. Sismondi, were in favour of the *mezzeria* system, looking at the question, as Dr. Bowring remarks—“as a philanthropist, seeking the results of his theories in the content and happiness of the labouring poor.”

Conversion of the Prussian Peasantry into landed proprietors.

Prussia affords us a fine example of the possibility of changing the nature of property in land, however long established on erroneous principles, and of restoring to the tiller some of his rights in the soil. "The bold reforms and liberal meliorations which were introduced into the whole frame of society and public relations in Prussia, began with the re-appointment of the late Chancellor, Prince Hardenburg, to the head of the Government. * * * The most venturous of all his measures was that by which he entirely new-modelled the system, and did nothing less than create a new order of independent landed proprietors. The *Erbunter-thänigkeit*, or hereditary subjection of the peasantry to the proprietors of the estates on which they were born, had been already abolished by Stein. Next were removed the absurd restrictions which had so long operated with accumulated force to diminish the productiveness of land, by fettering the proprietor not merely in the disposal of his estate, but even in the mode of cultivating it. Then came forth, in 1810, a royal edict, effecting, by a single stroke of the pen, a greater and more decisive change than has resulted from any modern act. It decreed that all the peasantry of the country should in future be free hereditary proprietors of the lands which hitherto they had held only as hereditary tenants, on condition that they gave up to the landlord a fixed proportion of them." This change Frederick the Great had determined to make nearly half a century before, but the people refused the boon.

“The peasantry formed two classes. The first consisted of those who enjoyed what may be termed an hereditary lease—that is, who held lands to which the landlord was bound, on the death of the tenant in possession, to admit his successor, or at least, some near relation. The right of the landlord was thus greatly inferior to that of unlimited property. He had not his choice of a tenant; the lease was likely to remain in the same family as long as the estate in his own; and in general he had not the power of increasing the rent, which had been originally fixed centuries perhaps before, whether it consisted in produce or services. Those peasants, on giving up one-third of their farms to the landlord, became unlimited proprietors of the remainder. The second class consisted of peasants whose title endured only for life, or a fixed term of years. In this case the landlord was not bound to continue the lease, on its termination, to the former tenant, or to any of his descendants; but still he was far from being unlimited proprietor—for he was bound to replace the former tenant with a person of the same rank, and he was prohibited from taking the lands into his own possession, or cultivating them with his own capital. His right, however, was clearly more absolute than in the former case, and it is difficult to see what claim the tenant could set up beyond the endurance of his lease. But this class of peasants who were very numerous, on giving up one-half of their farms to the landlord, became absolute proprietors of the remainder.” “The direct operation of this measure was to make a great deal of property change hands, and to

bring much land into the market. The purchasers were generally persons who had acquired wealth by trade or manufactures."

A few years prior to this period the greater part of the landed property of Prussia consisted in what were called "noble estates," which if put up for sale could only be bought by a nobleman. By this new law the middle classes acquired an influence amounting to a new existence. "Every trace, not merely of subjection but restraint, has been removed from the industrious peasants, and they have been at once converted into independent landed proprietors. As an example of the effects of the edict, it may be remarked that in a space of 260 square miles there is now twelve times as much landed property belonging to persons not noble as there was before the existence of the new law." "Many other wholesome reforms accompanied the momentous decree. While the peasantry were set free, the aristocracy were deprived of that exemption from taxation, which more than anything else rendered them odious to the country; and the whole financial system acquired a uniformity and an equality of distribution, which simplified it to all and diminished the expense of collection while it increased the revenue." "It was on the whole a masterly as well as peaceful reform, teeming with promises of prosperity to unborn generations." "Practically speaking they are well governed, and their courts of justice are excellent, but they have not yet a representative constitution, and have not cast quite the slough of despotism. It may be anticipated that this change, from the national good

sense, will be made peaceably—and in the meantime, of all nations, I should be inclined to assign the first place in point of morals to the northern Germans.*”

Condition of the cultivators of the soil during the former periods of English History.

In an article on the “Pictorial History of England,” the Edinburgh Reviewer observes, while discussing that portion which relates to the “Condition of the People,” that it is a new head in a modern history, though perhaps the most important of all, and that it affords an interesting view “of the course of social change (would we could say progress!) in respect of the comfort and general condition of the mass of the people.” “It is certain that we should be far wrong if we supposed the condition of the people (during the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon dominion,) to have been one of extreme poverty and discouragement; if we

* “Frederick the Great and his Times.” Edited by Thomas Campbell.

At the present time a portion of the Irish press is engaged in discussing the expediency of giving *fixity* of tenure to the tillers of the soil in Ireland. A recent number of the *Mail*, the recognized organ of Irish landlordism, calls on the aristocracy to be on the alert, lest their powers should be completely curtailed. Speaking of the fixity of tenure, and the practicability of effecting such a change, it says:—“The last half century is not without precedents of the particular species of interference with private property which is now contemplated. By a stroke of his pen, Baron Hardenburg converted the tenants of the soil of Prussia into fee-simple proprietors; and with similar facility, Lord Cornwallis established ‘fixity of tenure,’ and entirely changed the nature of property among our own Asiatic fellow-subjects. We presume no one will deny that, free as we are, the fiat of the Queen, Lords, and Commons of England is as omnipotent as the will of a Prussian minister, or the proclamation of a British Governor of India.”—*Morning Chronicle*, January 4, 1843.

compared it, in respect of physical comfort, with that in which the poorer classes of many nations are placed at the present day—that of the well-educated and orderly, but miserably poor peasantry of the north of Germany, or of the more energetic, but less civilized, and even more distressed cottar class in Ireland, or, in any respect, with that of the miserable serfs of Poland and Lithuania.” “As the people were no where crowded into densely inhabited districts, and as, moreover, it required a very much greater extent of ground to raise the same quantity of food than at the present day—probably not less than three times as great—a large proportion of the surface must have been cultivated after the rude fashion of the time.”

“The great mass of the peasantry were ‘Churls’ or ‘Villains,’ but not slaves or serfs—a very substantial distinction. They were bound to the soil undoubtedly, and therefore not, according to our notions, free; but here their bondage ceased. While they remained there, their rights were apparently as well defined as those of the noble; their rents and duties fixed by custom. ‘They were under the same obligation under which every modern tenant or lessee lies during the currency of his lease; with this difference only, that the latter, provided he continues to pay his rent, may withdraw his person to where he pleases. But his rent he is as strictly bound to pay as the villain of old was to pay his yearly dues, and to render the accustomed services.’ ‘The soil in truth was as much his as he the soil’s. If he could not leave it, neither could he be driven from it. It was his property to occupy and cultivate, and reap the produce of, as much as his services and dues

were the property of the lord.' They enjoyed, in short, security of person and property, and it cannot well be supposed that their duties were onerous. In fact we should not be far wrong in calling them part proprietors of the soil to which they were attached; for if any definite description can be given of the meaning of that vague word *property* as applied to land, surely all those who have by law a right to a fixed share of that surplus produce of the soil which remains after replacing the expenditure of its cultivation with the ordinary profit, are proprietors; whatever the law may term them. And in this sense the ownership was shared between them and the lord; neither could dispossess the other. It is not until the system of rack-rent is adopted, under which the whole surplus produce goes to the landlord—a late stage in agricultural improvement—that he can be truly considered as the sole owner."

Animal food was the main diet, cattle and swine forming the chief agricultural produce; the people were sufficiently clothed, if we may judge from pictorial representations; labour was not severe, which is proved by the exemption of women from field-work. The Saxons, therefore, were neither in the state of barbarism in which women are made to undergo severe toil, through the sloth of their masters; nor in the state of want in which they are forced to it by necessity. The facts which have been ascertained in relation to the position of women 'are, on the whole, highly favourable to them and to the general state of society in the Anglo-Saxon period.' On the whole they were a happy race as far as external circumstances can make

a people so." Perhaps a parallel to their condition may be more readily discoverable in the East than among any modern European people—"among the Affghans and other mountain nations bordering on Persia and India, and many of the tribes which dwell in a state of comparative independence under the Turkish government, where the cultivators of the soil are to be found under the sway of their own chieftains, and bound by a yoke which, to European nations, almost resembles slavery, and yet is consistent with the spirit of independence; enjoying a considerable degree of physical comfort, because part owners, in the sense we have already described, of the soil which they till; paying only a fixed rent to their superiors; and forming the great body of the nation, with a small class of nobles above them, and a small class of personal slaves below them.* It has often been remarked of some of these tribes, especially of the Seiks and Affghans, that they exhibit the rudiments of a feudal system; so did the Anglo-Saxons, and nearly to the same extent. This

* "Of the four great Hindu castes," says Robertson, "the third consists chiefly of those employed in agriculture. The labours of that numerous and useful body of men are so essential to the preservation and happiness of society, that the greatest attention was paid to render their condition secure and comfortable. As long as the husbandman continued to pay the established rent, he retained possession of the farm, which descended like property from father to son. These accounts, given by ancient authors, of the condition and tenure of the renters of land in India, agree perfectly with what now takes place. In every part of India where the native Hindu princes retain dominion, the Ryots, the modern name by which the renters of land are distinguished, hold their possessions by a lease, which may be considered as perpetual, and at a rate fixed by ancient survey."—*Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, p. 479.

state of society, on the whole a favourable one, seems to arise in the East, where the noble class and the inferiors are of the same stock. Where society is formed by conquest, the latter are generally reduced to slavery; but where by the people, under its leaders, driving out the original occupants, this patriarchal or modified feudal system prevails. It appears probable that the result of the Norman Conquest was for some centuries to diminish the class of occupiers which had fixed rights in the soil, and to increase the inferior or servile body; that the tendency of things for some time afterwards was in a contrary direction, and ended in the disappearance of the latter class altogether; whilst the former, now again comprehending the body of the people, became about the same time freed from those less onerous ties which bound it to the soil. There is abundant evidence that this revolution was accompanied, and probably greatly promoted by a remarkable rise in the comforts and condition of the inferior classes, including the small occupiers and the yeomen. The rise in wages in husbandry from 1388 to 1444, has been estimated at from 50 to 100 per cent. Few things prove it more strongly than 'the successive efforts which continued to be made to regulate, in other words, to notice, by legislative enactment, the market price of labour; and the rise of that price, notwithstanding such attempts to keep it down.' The 'Statutes of Labourers' form one of the amplest portions of our statute-book during this period; and it is not altogether with a satisfactory feeling as to the effect of increasing civilization on the comfort of the lower classes that we reflect, that all the wisdom of the

legislature was expended in the fifteenth century, in attempts to keep *down* the rate of wages ; while the legislators of the eighteenth and nineteenth have been as sedulously and ineffectually attempting to keep it up. Mr. Malthus fixes on the fifteenth century, especially its latter part, as the period when the English labourer could command a greater portion of the comforts and necessaries of life than at any other."

"It seems undeniable that at the era of Elizabeth the condition of the labouring body of the people was getting rather worse than better." "An important cause was the general conversion of the class of yeomanry—occupiers of small farms at low fixed rents or services, and consequently in one sense part proprietors of the soil—into farmers at rack-rent, and day-labourers ;—a change which it seems impossible to prevail in any country, without checking, at the same time, the growth of opulence and civilization ; and which cannot happen without much temporary suffering, perhaps without a permanent worsening of the condition of some part of the people : for it never has been shown—it cannot be shown—that the enormous increase of surplus wealth which follows the change benefits the hands which produce it. Each state of society has its evils. The small yeomen of England in the middle ages were slovenly cultivators, they often fell into want from carelessness, or into extreme distress from temporary scarcity. They were a race among whom improvement in habits took place very slowly. But, on the whole, in the enjoyment of physical comfort, no less than in that of the jewel independence, theirs was probably a superior condition to that of landless

labourers, even in the most advanced and opulent communities." "So far as such speculations can be formed, we are inclined to imagine that the agricultural labourers (still the mass of the people,) had reached the lowest point in their condition, generally speaking, at the end of this period, and to fix upon the reign of George II. as representing as nearly as any the happy age of old England. There was then a singularly long succession of good seasons, together with a steady increase of employment; and the consequence was that real wages, according to Mr. Malthus's estimate, were higher in amount than at any other time since the fifteenth century. There was neither civil war nor tumult to ruffle the general composure; there was no rapidly increasing population of artizans, with its turbulence and immorality; numbers were augmenting very slowly, and so as not to outrun employment."

"Called to take our part in the conflicts of a more eager age, and without understanding its peculiar advantages, it is not always without envy, we confess it, that we look to this portion of the past; and feel sometimes tempted to exchange all our refinement and luxury, all our vast wealth and outward civilization,—nay even the opulence of imagination exhibited in our era, and the ardour of purpose which belongs to it—for the quiet industry, the rude plenty, the tasteless habits, and unpoetical cast of thought of the first Brunswick reigns."

"'Doubtless, what is strictly and distinctively to be called civilization, has now been carried to a very considerably higher point in this country than it had arrived at by the middle of the last century; that is

to say, along with a greatly improved condition of all material and mechanical arrangements, the moral dominion of law and order is more firmly established; crimes of violence, and violence in every shape, have diminished; human life has come to be held on all hands in higher estimation: great economical irregularities, such as famines and pestilences, have been much reduced in frequency and severity; the general rate of mortality has been lessened; in short, the whole system of circulation upon which our existence as a community depends, has been brought to act with more freedom and more efficiency. But our existence as a community is a different thing from our existence as individuals or families; and an advance in civilization is not necessarily the same thing as an advance either in happiness or virtue. It does not even follow, as a matter of course, that with a more submissive obedience to the law, and with actually a lower amount of what the law calls crime, we are in a more healthy condition, either socially or politically. With less crime there may be more vice; the spirit of legality, to borrow a phrase from the theologians, may have weakened the spirit of liberty. At the same time, while it is but fair to the past to keep these possibilities in mind, it would be the most fatal of all errors to assume that liberty and order, civilization and morality, might not exist in the highest degrees together and in harmony.'—(Pict. Hist. p. 856.)" *

* Edinburgh Review, January, 1842.

Towards the end of the last century, when society was shaken to its foundation by the conflict between old and new principles,—when for a time the bonds of long-established usage were loosened and unfelt, the generally-received axioms of social polity were freely re-examined. Among other points that came in question was that of the present constitution of property. “Generally speaking, no mode of life has effected so much alteration in the minds of men, as agriculture combined with the enclosure of land. While it produced arts and trades, villages and towns, and in consequence, government and laws, it necessarily paved the way for that frightful despotism, which from confining every man to his field, gradually proceeded to prescribe to him, what alone he should do on it, what alone he should be. The ground now ceased to belong to man, but man became the appurtenance of the ground.”* Rousseau also had said, “He who first enclosed a piece of land and said *this is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe it, was the real founder of civil society. How many wars, crimes, massacres, how many miseries and horrors would that man have spared to the human race, who levelling the boundary and filling up the ditch, should have cried to his fellows, ‘Beware of listening to that impostor; you are lost if you forget that the fruits belong to all, and the earth to no one!’” “But though,” remarks the French writer who quotes his exclamation, “he detested the institutions of property and the advantages which it gives to the idle, whom he calls *thieves*, he proposed no

* Herder's *Phil. of Hist.* vol. 1, p. 372.

plan for repartitioning in a manner useful to society, this 'earth common to all.'"

The various theories and projects of equality propounded and experimented upon during the convulsions of the French Revolution, present us with an ill-digested confusion of philosophy and absurdity, common sense and extravagance, and most of their visible effects disappeared when the reaction took place, and the former system was partially restored. But the doctrines then stormily agitated concerning the natural right of man to what makes life desirable, had struck deep into many philosophic and inquiring minds, and from them an impulse has been given to Social Reform, of which the effects are powerfully and increasingly felt. In England the echoes of the French Revolution were spread widely through the writings of Godwin and others of his school, and the rights and claims of man as a social being, became themes of discussion among all classes. They had often been descanted upon by learned men and philosophers, but now for the first time the minds of the many were awakened to them.

Godwin's "Political Justice." In "Godwin's Political Justice," published in 1793, he asserts the right of man as man, possessing a common nature, to common advantages;* and that the only inalienable right to property is the right every one has to that, "the possession of which being awarded to him, a greater sum of benefit or pleasure will result, than could have

* Montesquieu asserted nearly the same thing when he said, that the State owes to every citizen "proper nourishment, convenient clothing, and a kind of life not incompatible with health."

arisen from its being otherwise appropriated." Political Justice implies, according to this author, the admission of these principles, and he anticipates a perfect equality of condition when society shall have adapted itself to them. The following are some of the leading ideas of his concluding chapters on Property :—

The good things of the world may be divided into four classes,—subsistence, the means of intellectual and moral improvement, unexpensive gratifications, and such gratifications as are by no means essential to healthful and vigorous existence, and cannot be purchased but with considerable labour and industry. It is the last class principally that interposes an obstacle in the way of equal distribution. It will be matter of after-consideration how far, and how many, articles of this class would be admissible into the purest mode of social existence. But in the mean time it is unavoidable to remark the inferiority of this class to the three preceding. Without it we may enjoy to a great extent, activity, contentment, and cheerfulness. And in what manner are these seeming superfluities usually procured? By abridging multitudes of men to a deplorable degree in points of essential moment, that one man may be accommodated with sumptuous, yet, strictly considered, insignificant luxuries. Supposing the alternative could fairly be brought home to a man, and it could depend upon his instant decision by the sacrifice of these to give to five hundred of his fellow-beings, leisure, independence, conscious dignity, and whatever can refine and enlarge the human understanding, it is impossible to conceive him to hesitate. But though this alternative cannot be produced in the case of an individual, it

will perhaps be found to be the true alternative, when taken at once in reference to the species. The possession of these things is chiefly prized from the love of distinction inherent in the human mind; and this love of distinction may be diverted into other channels. The monopoly of wealth, or of luxury, may come to be associated with public reprobation and contempt, while generous, exalted sentiment, talent, and virtue, may be as conspicuously honoured.

There are three degrees of property, the first, already mentioned, being a permanent right in the means of subsistence and happiness; hence it follows that no man may in ordinary cases make use of my apartment, furniture, or garment, or of my food, in the way of barter or loan, without having first obtained my consent. The second degree of property is the empire to which every man is entitled in the produce of his own industry, even that part of it the use of which ought not to be appropriated to himself; but still it is in the nature of a trust, the possessor is the steward, and these things must be trusted to his award, checked only by the public opinion around him. The third degree of property is that by which one man enters into the faculty of disposing of the produce of another man's industry: this it is clear is in direct contradiction to the second, but it is in vain to attempt to abolish it by positive institutions, until men's dispositions and sentiments have changed. The distribution of wealth in every community, must be left to depend upon the sentiments of the individuals of that community. If in any society wealth be estimated at its true value, and accumulation and monopoly be regarded as

the seals of mischief, injustice, and dishonour, instead of being treated as titles to attention and deference, in that society the accommodations of human life will tend to their level, and the inequality of conditions will be destroyed. A revolution of opinions is the only means of attaining to this inestimable benefit. But where laws and practices not common to all civilized communities, but peculiar to some ages and countries, tend to increase the evils of the accumulation of wealth, such as the system of ranks, entails, distinctions in landed property, the claim of primogeniture, &c., they ought to be abrogated by the express decision of the community; not, however, suddenly. "It may be doubted whether the genuine cause of reform ever demands that in its name we should sentence whole classes to wretchedness: persuasion and not force, is the legitimate instrument of the human mind."

The established administration of property leads to a mean servile spirit of dependence of one class upon another, and exhibits a perpetual spectacle of injustice. The rich man stands forward as the principal object of general esteem and deference. In vain are sobriety, integrity, and industry,—in vain the sublimest powers of mind and the most ardent benevolence, if their possessor be narrowed in his circumstances. To acquire wealth and to display it, is therefore the universal passion. All riches, and especially hereditary riches, are to be considered as the salary of a sinecure office, where the labourer and the manufacturer perform the duties, and the principal spends the income in luxury and idleness. Hereditary wealth is in reality a premium paid to idleness, an immense annuity expended to retain man-

kind in brutality and ignorance. The poor are kept in ignorance by the want of leisure. The rich indeed are furnished with the means of cultivation and literature, but they are paid for being dissipated and indolent. The most powerful means that malignity could have invented, are employed to prevent them from improving their talents, and becoming useful to the public. This leads us to observe that the present administration of property, is the true levelling system with respect to the human species, by as much as the cultivation of intellect is more valuable and characteristic of man, than the gratification of vanity or appetite. Accumulated property treads the powers of thought in the dust, extinguishes the sparks of genius, and reduces the great mass of mankind to be immured in sordid cares, besides depriving the rich, as we have already said, of the most salubrious and effectual motives to activity. If superfluity were banished, the necessity for the greater part of the manual industry of mankind would be superseded; and the rest, being amicably shared among the active and vigorous members of the community, would be burdensome to none. Every man would have a frugal, yet wholesome diet; every man would go forth to that moderate exercise of his corporeal functions that would give hilarity to the spirits; none would be made torpid with fatigue, but each would have leisure to cultivate the kindly and philanthropic affections, and to let loose his faculties in the search of intellectual improvement. How rapid would be the advance of intellect, if all men were admitted into the field of knowledge! If all adopted the suggestions of truth, and the lethargy of the soul were dismissed for ever!

All great occasions of crime would be cut off. All men by nature love justice; the fruitful source of crime consists in the circumstance that one man possesses in abundance that of which another is destitute.* Hence oppression, servility, fraud, envy, malice, revenge. No man being obliged to guard his little store, or provide with anxiety and pain for his restless wants, each would lose his individual existence in the thought of the general good. Were the stumbling block of accumulation removed, each man would be united to his neighbour in love and kindness a thousand times more than now; but each man would think and judge for himself.

As the equality contemplated would be the result, not of force and requiring to be maintained by positive institutions, but of the serious and deliberate conviction of the public at large, it would be permanent—and until then it could not be realised. And as this presupposes a state of great intellectual improvement, motives for exertion could not be wanting. It is thought, acuteness of disquisition, and ardour of pursuit, that set the corporeal faculties at work. Thought begets thought.

It is desirable to reduce as much as possible all manual labour which is not our uninfluenced choice, but society would not therefore lose the comforts and conveniences of civilization; for, after its joint industry

* "Most of the crimes which disturb the internal peace of society, are produced by the restraints which the necessary, but unequal laws of property have imposed on the appetites of mankind, by confining to a few the possession of those objects that are coveted by many."—Gibbon's *Rome*, vol. 1, p. 113.

had supplied the rigid necessities of life, considerable time would remain; how would men dispose of it? Not probably in idleness, not all men, and the whole of their time, in the pursuits of disquisition and science. A large portion would probably be devoted to the production of such accommodations as give real pleasure, apart from all the insinuations of vanity and ostentation. Thus it appears that a state of equality need not be a state of stoical simplicity, but is compatible with considerable accommodation and even splendour, if by splendour we understand copiousness of accommodation and variety of invention for the purpose of accommodation.

If it be feared that such an equality of condition would increase population beyond due limits, it may be answered, that Europe might by better cultivation be made to support five times its actual inhabitants, and that three-fourths of the habitable globe are yet lying waste.

In this equality of condition, Godwin strenuously maintains the right of natural independence, or freedom from all restraint except that of reason and understanding; he disapproves, therefore, of supererogatory co-operation in labour, magazines, or meals. He holds that all co-operation implies a diminution of private liberty, and consequently the necessity for it is to be reduced as much as possible by simplifying wants, and the mode of supplying them, and by making machines execute the work of men, in proportion as "mind becomes omnipotent over matter." This dread of the infringement of intellectual independence he carries so far as to make it an objection to the institution of

marriage, as it now exists ; his speculations upon this subject, and upon the possible future dominion which the mind of man may acquire over his physical frame, to the annihilation of the gratifications of sense—of pain—and even of death, seem more extraordinary than sound ; but he gives them chiefly as speculations.

Godwin proposes no plan for the realization of his system of equality ; his aim is to exhibit principles which by effecting a gradual revolution in the sentiments of mankind, shall in time produce the change he contemplates. He addresses himself to the feelings and ideas prevalent at a time when the outrages of the French Revolution had associated the idea of violence with innovation. He deprecates strongly any change in established customs, except from reason and calm conviction, and he does not believe that the rich and the great will be callous to views of general happiness, when such views are brought before them with that evidence and attraction of which they are susceptible. They are peculiarly qualified to judge of the emptiness of that pomp, and of those gratifications which are always most admired when seen from a distance. They will frequently be found indifferent to these things and to resign them without reluctance ; but, however this may be, they will fight in vain against truth. In the progress of modern Europe from barbarism to refinement there has been a tendency to the equalization of conditions. In proportion as the monopolies of rank and incorporation are abolished, the value of superfluities will decline. Increased liberality of dealing and distribution will follow, and the pursuit of wealth will gradually give place to the love of liberty, of

equality, the pursuits of art, and the desire of knowledge. In the meantime the contemplation of such a state will impress us with a just apprehension of what it is of which man is capable, and in which his perfection consists, and will fix our ambition and activity on the worthiest objects.*

The principles enforced in this celebrated work lie, with more or less of close application, at the foundation of more than one plan of social regeneration which claims especial notice.

St. Simon and
his System.

The system of St. Simon, which has excited much attention in France, may be called a system of united interests, although he disclaims a community of property. It is founded on religious zeal, like most of the Christian societies we have alluded to, and its aim is to introduce *Le Nouveau Christianisme*, by which is understood the Roman Catholic Religion, in a state of perfect purity, but it embraces exalted views of universal philanthropy.

Claude Henri, Count de St. Simon, was born at Paris in 1760, of an illustrious house, which claimed descent from Charlemagne. The nobility of his birth was a powerful and ever present stimulus to his mind, and he was early impressed with the conviction that he was called to a high destiny—that to the glory of having produced a great monarch, his family would, through him, join that of producing a great philosopher. “Rise, Monsieur le Comte, you have a great work to perform,”

* See Political Justice, vol. 2, Book 8.

were the words with which at seventeen he caused himself to be awakened every morning. At the age of eighteen he entered the American army, and served five campaigns under Washington. Interested deeply in the object of the war, he supported the painful and irksome duties of the military profession, but they were repugnant to his taste. He says of himself, "My vocation was not that of soldier; I desired a different and even contrary field of action. To study the march of the human mind, and then to work at the perfecting of civilization—this was the end which I proposed to myself,—to this I consecrated my whole life, and from that period this new work began to occupy all my powers. The rest of the time that I remained in America, I employed in meditating on the great events which I witnessed; I sought to discover their causes and foresee their consequences. From this moment I discerned in the American Revolution the beginning of a new political era; that this revolution would necessitate an important progress in general civilization; and that in a short time it would cause great changes in the social order which then existed in Europe."

During the French Revolution which followed, filled with pain at the horrors which accompanied the struggles of a nation to regenerate itself, he avoided taking part in the purely destructive movement, and occupied himself with efforts to perfect a doctrine which should re-establish society on new foundations. He aimed at instituting "a grand Establishment of Industry, and a School of Scientific Perfection;" and spent nearly all that he possessed in the attempt, before he was obliged

to relinquish it for want of pecuniary means, or of efficient assistance; he then for many years devoted himself to the study of philosophy, and to scientific undertakings. Several productions of his pen upon these subjects appeared from time to time, and attest both his genius and enthusiasm.

But it was chiefly towards a social, practical object, that he strove to stimulate the learned. He perceived the new character which the development of industry must impress on society, and the forms of government. For ten years his writings tended to point out to the industrious classes the new social part which they are destined to perform. In 1814 he published his tract on the "Re-organization of European Society," which closes with the often-quoted sentence, "the golden age is not behind but before us; it consists in the perfection of social order; our fathers have not seen it; our children will realise it; we must smooth the road for them." "L'Industrie" followed in 1817, in which the representative system is considered as a transition step between the feudal system and the new order of society to be introduced by industry. "L'Organisateur," "Le système Industriel," and "Le Catéchisme des Industriels," were published in succession. During this time St Simon suffered from poverty, neglect, and an utter want of sympathy, from any quarter, in his exalted views, and at length his spirit sank—he attempted to put an end to his existence. The shot was ineffectual, and subsequently his enthusiasm revived, and he believed that a mission still was committed to his hands—that in addition to his character of sage—of the Apostle of Industry—he was the prophet of "the new

Christianity." In the enthusiastic language of his followers, "Moses has promised to men universal fraternity; Jesus Christ has prepared it; St. Simon has realized it. At length the true Church Universal comes; the reign of Cæsar ceases, the military gives way to the peaceful; henceforward the Church Universal embraces the temporal as well as the spiritual, that which is external as well as the internal. Knowledge is holy—industry is holy, for they serve to ameliorate the condition of the poor, to bring them to God. Priests, men of science, the industrial classes—these compose our Society. The Chief of the Priests, of the learned, of the industrious—these compose our Government. All wealth is the wealth of the Church, each profession is a religious function, a grade in the social hierarchy. TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY: TO EACH CAPACITY ACCORDING TO ITS WORKS. The reign of God comes on earth—all prophecies are accomplished."

From this crisis of St. Simon's life until his death, his mind became more calm and peaceful; still poor, deserted, despised, or forgotten, he laboured to establish his principles, until in 1825 he expired, in the presence of one disciple and two or three friends, exhorting them "to be of courage and go forward constantly."

The spirit of the master animated the hearts of the devoted few; with much personal sacrifice they preached and published his doctrine; until within a few years from his death, the two or three followers had become a numerous association united in a generous devotion to the common cause—the moral, intellectual, and industrial elevation of the future gene-

rations of man. "Already," says a writer in the *Monthly Repository* for Feb. 1831, "crowds of auditors, nobles, deputies, persons of rank, consideration, and talent, flock to hear the eloquent expositors of this doctrine; some persons of considerable ability write in its support; one at least of the public journals (*The Globe*,) strenuously advocates its principles, and there are some indications of its extending in the provinces." 3000 persons were said to attend the meeting of the St. Simonites, 23d November, 1830, in their Hall at Paris. In the article just quoted it is observed, "that although their leading object is the amelioration of the condition of the lower classes, they admit into their society only persons of some influence, either from their station or talents." St. Simon was himself of "gentle blood," and his system is marked with his aristocratic predilection, for although his rulers and nobles were to be those distinguished by benevolence, talent, or industry, still society on its new basis presented itself to his mind in the form of a monarchy, or more correctly, as a hierarchy, rather than as a republic. Some of his leading views we extract from the French volume published in 1828-29, "Doctrines de St. Simon. Exposition."

According to St. Simon, society has exhibited itself in the alternation of two distinct phases, which he calls the *organic* and *critical* epochs. During the continuance of the first, the arrangements of society are made on a general theory, and the end of social action is clearly defined; in the second, unity of action has ceased, and society presents only an agglomeration of individual interests, clashing one against the other;

its object is the destruction of the established order of things, and a complete divergence of feelings, reason, and action, is the result.

Twice have these alternations taken place in the history of civilization. The first *Organic Epoch* preceded the general breaking up of Paganism, led on by the writings of the Greek Philosophers, and which was the commencement of the first *Critical Epoch*. This terminated in the consolidation of the power of the Christian Church, which remained firmly established during the continuance of the second *Organic Epoch*. The second *Critical Epoch* commenced with the Reformation in the 15th century, when the regularly organized power of the Church was invaded. The proof that society is still in this state is found :

First,—in the political struggles between power and liberty which everywhere distract society.

Secondly,—in the want of general philosophical theory, and unity of design among the followers of science, owing to which the vast heaps of isolated facts collected do not contribute as they ought to do to its advancement; while governments and society withhold their patronage from all speculative philosophy, and attach reward only to that which is susceptible of immediate and *profitable* application.

Thirdly,—in the non-application of theoretic principles to industrial occupation, each artizan depending upon his individual intelligence, and working out with infinite difficulty improvements in his manufactures for himself, which a scientific education would have imparted at once to the whole body, and which he strives, thanks to competition, to keep secret from his fellow-

labourers ;—in these he sees only enemies, and their ruin is his advantage. He cares little for the interests of society,—his family, his tools, his hard-earned gains—these constitute his humanity, his universe, his God. Are the workshops, and the instruments of industry in the hands of such as could make the best use of them? Far from it. They are, generally speaking, in the possession of unscientific operatives, whom *individual interest* has not yet taught what it is necessary for them that they should know.

In order to harmonize production with consumption, political economists give us the sole general principle of *laissez-faire*, or of *non-interference*, but they have confided to individual interest the realization of this grand principle, without reflecting that no individual capacity is competent to apply it. Each seeks from his circumscribed point of view to ascertain the exigencies of consumption. Does one branch of production offer a fair chance? Labour and capital blindly precipitate themselves in that direction, without calculating the necessary limits—and political economy rejoices that competition is called into play. A few succeed—but at the price of innumerable victims. The balance of production and consumption is every moment disturbed; hence commercial catastrophes and crises, and the temptation to add fraud to industry in the struggle for success.

Besides, the principle of *laissez-faire* supposes individual interest and general interest to be the same, which a thousand facts disprove. Society sees its advantage in the adoption of steam machinery; the

operative who lives by the labour of his hands cannot look upon it as society does. Competition says *everything will find its level*—true—but until then what shall be done with the millions of the starving?

Land, machinery, capital, can only be employed to the greatest advantage in production when confided to industrial *talent*; at present the talent to make use of them is a feeble title to their possession. To acquire it is first necessary to possess, and the chance of birth distributes blindly the instruments of production. Hence it results that great as are the present effects of industry, its powers would be infinitely better developed with unity and co-operation of design, and that without the miseries which are now its inevitable concomitants.

Fourthly,—the want of unity and general aim is exhibited in the languor and depression of the Fine Arts, in which term St. Simon includes all the developments of the finer human feelings and sentiments, which now lie chilled and spiritless in an age of universal selfish, calculating, interest. Our finest poems are anti-social, they are either mournful or satirical—breathing passionate regrets, or the spirit of contempt which despoils all sacred things. Man is not now to be touched by appeal to his sympathies, he only dreads attack on his purse.

If the social affections are thus dead and inert, are the individual ones all the more intense? On the contrary we find that pecuniary interest too often forms the marriage bond, and that filial tears are assuaged by the transports of inheritance.

This aspect of humanity would be heart-rending did not a bright future even now reveal itself, when men united in affection, opinion, and action, shall advance in peace towards a common destiny;—when the sciences will progress in unison towards a rapid development,—industry, regulated by the interest of all, be no longer a system of strife,—and the fine arts, animated by the enthusiasm which will proceed from mutual communion, shed their sweetest influence over the joys of private intercourse.

This glorious future—is it attainable? It is the *necessary* consequence of the past. Humanity is a collective being, and perfectibility the law which guides it; from the progress which it has made, may be demonstrated that which it will make. History presents us with a uniform advance from the earliest rude association of man with man, towards one in which love, knowledge, and wealth will flow in a full tide of happiness. Whenever a nation or a people has ceased to progress, it has fallen to decay and become extinct, whilst the seeds of advance have been transported elsewhere; and the race of man first united in families, in clans, in castes, in nations, in confederacies, is travelling towards this universal association, which, while it will be the *perfection* of society, will ensure the rapid and unlimited *progress* of man. Our efforts must therefore be directed to transform education, legislation, property, and all social relations, so as to realize as soon as possible this future.*

* The St. Simonians complain that Guizot in reviewing the course of history has borrowed the ideas of their master.

Slavery, the use of man by man (*exploitation*), was the reigning principle of society in its first stages; a remnant of it still exists in the relation of proprietor and workman. The workman is no longer the direct property of the master—it is true that the condition of service is temporary, agreed on by both parties—but is the transaction free on the part of the workman? It is not, for he must accept it on pain of his life, or what is the same thing, the means of life. In a degree the labourer is subjugated physically, intellectually, and morally, even as the slave formerly was, and these labourers are the immense majority of the population in all societies.

If we hold that this use of man by man must cease that we are advancing to a period when all men, without distinction of birth, will receive from society such an education as shall develop to the utmost their several capacities, and, being classed according to these, shall be rewarded according to their works, it is evident that the present constitution of property must be altered which permits the transmission of wealth by inheritance, and consequently some to be born with the privilege of being idle, and of setting others to work for them. But, it will be said, the labourer must pay for the use of the productive powers possessed by the capitalist. Granting for a moment that these productive powers are real, who has the right to dispose of them, of whom are they the property, to whom ought they be transmitted? Three principles have been appealed to in order to determine this question, divine right, natural right, and utility.

But if man be a progressive being these rights must progress with him. What then is their decision at the present point of his advancement?*

Property has been generally considered sacred, yet legislation has never ceased to regulate its nature,

* “The object of political economists does not relate to the principle of property so much as to show how wealth is produced, distributed, and consumed; it signifies little to them to ascertain if this wealth, produced by *labour*, is always to be distributed according to *birth*, and the larger portion of it consumed by *idleness*.”

“Neither Montesquieu, Grotius, Puffendorf, nor any of the other writers on the Laws of Nations have remounted to the principle which legitimates the principle of inheritance, nor examined whether this constitution of property be susceptible of improvement; whether it has been the same in all ages, or why it was made hereditary. They have done nothing in fact to prove the applicability of the feudal transmission of property by right of birth, to the present entirely different state of society, nor to reconstitute it on a basis adapted to the present and future wants of humanity.”

“Monsieur de Sismondi, in his chapter on ‘The laws intended to perpetuate property in land to families,’ attacks forcibly the opinion of Legislators that property acquired by labour may be retained for ever in idleness; but he speaks only of property in land, and does not perceive that this reasoning applies no less to property in general.”

The St. Simonian writer can scarcely be considered as correct in asserting the silence of writers on jurisprudence and political economy with relation to the origin and constitution of property: the subject is too important not to have been frequently treated of. Whether it has yet been fully and sufficiently discussed is another question.

The writer of the volume on Political Philosophy, recently published by the Useful Knowledge Society, (understood to be Lord Brougham,) mentions the uncertainty concerning the real nature of the original feudal tenure of land. “Upon the establishment of the Feudal system,” he says, “what degree of property was conferred originally, in what way the possessions were held, or what was the tenure in the lands thus distributed, is matter of some doubt, and has given rise to much controversy. The great

usage, and transmission. Man was once the property of man ; the moralist and legislator have declared this kind of property no longer tenable. Three different laws for the transmission of property have been sanctioned by custom and the legislator within our series

majority of authors have considered that all grants were originally during the pleasure of the Chief or donor, and that for some ages the land was resumable by him at his pleasure. Of this opinion are Montesquieu, Mably, Hume, Robertson. But one consideration seems to be very important: the idea of a permanent property in the soil is not naturally of early growth in any society. At what period the transition was made from the grant resumable at pleasure, or at the grantee's death, we have no means of accurately ascertaining in any country, but as late as the end of the sixth century the lands which had been parcelled out returned to the prince in most of the European states upon the grantee's death, and were only continued to the family as a matter of favour, and by a new gift, although undoubtedly instances occurred even at this time of hereditary tenure." (p. 272.)

With respect to the *principle* of hereditary succession, the historian Gibbon asserts that it is so universal as to appear to be founded in nature, the *order* alone being various, as established by convenience or caprice.

Upon the same subject, a writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica, makes the following observations:—"We are apt to conceive at the first view that the right of inheritance has nature on its side; yet we often mistake for nature what we find established by long and inveterate custom. It is certainly a wise and effectual, but clearly a political establishment; since the permanent right of property, vested in the ancestor himself, was *no natural*, but merely a *civil* right. It is probable that the right of inheritance arose from the fact that a man's children or nearest relatives are usually about him at his death-bed, and are the earliest witnesses of his decease; they become generally the next immediate occupants, till at length this frequent usage ripened into general law. And therefore in the earliest ages, on failure of children a man's servants, born under his roof, were allowed to be his heirs; being immediately on the spot when he died. For we find Abraham expressly declaring 'That as God had given him no seed, his steward Eliezer, one born in his house, was his heir.'" Article on Property.

of civilization. By the first the proprietor could dispose of his wealth arbitrarily, in or out of his family ; by the second it was restricted to his eldest son ; later still the law requires its equal division amongst all his children.* These revolutions could not be effected without the general moral sanction, and whatever this demands the legislators must eventually confirm. The rights of property are visibly on the decline. The advantage which capital has over labour is decreasing, as is proved by the lowered rates of interest. The privilege of living in idleness is more and more difficult to preserve. Another change is become necessary ; it is for the moralist to prepare it ; in the course of time it will be for the legislator to prescribe it. The law of progression is tending, notwithstanding the general feeling of the inviolability, one may almost say the sanctity, of the present law of property, to establish a new modification of it—one which shall convey to the

* This of course relates to the descent of property in France. Gibbon says, " Among the patriarchs, the first-born enjoyed a mystical and spiritual primogeniture. In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance. At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers. In England the eldest son inherits all the land. The jurisprudence of the Romans appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown ; the two sexes were placed on a just level ; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal portion of the patrimonial estate ; and if any of the sons had been intercepted by a premature death, his person was represented, and his share was divided, by his surviving children." Rome, vol. 7, p. 292.

state, become an *Association of Labour*, the right of inheritance. The privileges of birth will cease, and the sole right to riches will be the capacity to make use of them.

This change is necessitated by the progress of the human race. The title to property has been founded in the right of conquest, in force, or a delegation of force; henceforward the title will be labour, *pacific* labour, conferred directly on each proprietor, but only in the nature of a trust for further production. All will have to labour, except the young who are preparing for it, and the old who are reposing after it, and they who now live on the sweat of the aged labourer, or the tears of the orphan, will work to provide bread for infancy and age.

By property is understood the wealth which is not immediately consumed—or *capital*—either in land or money, or as it is in effect, *the instrument of labour*. At present this instrument is in the hands of individuals incompetent to determine its direction and distribution, so that the harmony of production and consumption may be preserved. To this end it is necessary that the system of industry should be organized.

In the past ages of the world, when the physical strength of society was devoted to war, when riches were sought in conquest, and the force of man was held to be most worthily employed in the exercise of arms, we find a systematic organization for the purpose in the feudal system. Prior to its establishment we find an individualizing spirit in warlike labours, like that which now prevails in our industrial operations;

the principle of competition, of liberty, reigned in the hostilities not only of different nations, but of those in the different provinces, towns, or castles, of the same country. In this age this same principle of free competition, of animosity, exists between the merchants and manufacturers of each country, province, town, trade, and shop, and the same remedy is required of a systematized organization of the pacific industry, in which the physical activity of man is, in future, only to be developed.

The institution of corporations was a step to the realization of this idea ; in this system the admission of each new trader implied that his capacity had been recognized by competent judges, and that judges equally competent had decided upon the existing deficiency of capital and labour in that particular branch of industry.* But these associations, first intended as a defence against the military institution, and in this point of view highly useful, were founded in the hostile anti-social principles of the times, and tended to the monopoly of every species of industry, treating the consumer as the soldier had formerly treated the *villain*,

* " If the history of inventions be the greatest praise of the human intellect, guilds and corporations have been their school ; as by the separation of the arts, and methodical regularity of instruction, by the mutual emulation of many, and by the stimulus of want, things were produced, which the favour of the sovereign or the state scarcely knew, seldom promoted or rewarded, and rarely if ever excited." (Herder.) Perhaps the most remarkable instance of commercial association carried into effect is the union of the Hanse Towns. " It originated in fraternities of travelling merchants—danger and necessity extended the union higher and farther, until it grew into a wide-spreading commercial republic which extended over the Euxine and Mediterranean, the Atlantic Ocean, the

while each individual corporation was at war with all the rest, like the barons of old. There is reason, therefore, to rejoice at the breaking up of these institutions; but still nothing better replaces them. The principle of unlimited competition is negative only. Without unity of action, no balance, no harmony, no proportion exists between the different orders of labour, and crises and commercial convulsions are the result. What in effect is the realization of unlimited competition but war to the death, in a new form, between nation and nation, individual and individual?

In the midst of this disorder, the germ of the true system of industrial organization evolves itself, as if by an instinctive effort. It is to be found in the system of BANKS. These serve as the medium between the labourer who wants the instruments of labour, and the possessors of these instruments, who either know not how to employ them, or will not; they fulfil in part the function of distribution, so ill exercised by capitalists and proprietors. *A general system of Banks* may serve then to designate, provisionally, the future organization of social industry which is required, but

North Sea, and the Baltic. The Towns lay in Germany, the Netherlands, and the Northern Kingdoms, Poland, Prussia, Russia, and Livonia. Lubeck was their head, and the chief trading towns in England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, joined their association; forming perhaps the most efficacious alliance that ever existed. This contributed more to give Europe the form of a commonwealth than all the crusades and Romish rites: for it rose superior to religious or national distinctions, and founded the connexions of states on mutual advantage, emulative industry, probity and order. Cities accomplished what was beyond the power of princes, priests, and nobles: they formed of Europe *one common co-operative body.*" (Ibid.)

this will not realize itself in its plenitude until the *Labour Association* shall be prepared by education, and sanctioned by the Legislature ; it cannot be completely realized until the law of inheritance shall have been changed.

In the system of St. Simon, then, a central bank would represent the government in the physical or industrial department ; this bank would be the depository of the entire productive fund ; that is of everything which now composes individual capital. Upon this central bank would depend banks of a second order, by means of which it would maintain relations with the principal localities, and ascertain their wants and productive power ; these again would command other banks more and more special in their objects, the more slender branches of the tree of industry. To the superior banks all demands would converge, from them all operations would diverge, and the chief bank would only grant *credits* to different localities after having balanced and combined the different operations concerned ; these credits would be afterwards apportioned to the operatives by the special banks, representing the different branches of industry.

In an industrial society thus constituted we see everywhere a chief, masters and inferiors ; everywhere *legitimate* authority, because the chief is he who is the most capable ; everywhere *free obedience*, because he is beloved ; everywhere order ; no workman in want of a guide and support in this vast workshop ; all have the tools they know how to use, the work they like to be employed upon. The artisan will possess tools, machinery, and capital, in the same sense only as the

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colonel possesses his military equipment, his soldiers, his arms; and nevertheless all will work with ardour, for he who produces can love glory, can feel the stimulus of honour, even as he who destroys. The only tax upon labour will be the portion reserved to supply the physical wants of those whose office it will be to develop the intellect and moral powers of all.

As the object proposed is to change the system of feelings, ideas, and interests, without upsetting society, to construct, not to destroy, to introduce gradually and by evolution a regeneration of the world, the primary agent in effecting it must be education.

Education will, no less than industry, require to be systematically organized, made accessible to all without distinction of birth or fortune, and distributed according to individual capacities and tastes. Moral, or general education,—the object of which is to initiate into the relations of social being, to inculcate the love of all, to direct all desires, all efforts, to the common happiness,—as the most important, will be given to every one as the foundation on which all special training must rest. The first series of education will include, besides this, a general education of the intellectual and physical powers up to a certain point, when, according to the different capacities and vocations of the pupils, they will be distributed into the three great schools—of the *Fine Arts*, (including all that relates to the moral powers and sensibilities,) of *Science*, and of *Industry*. In these each class will receive a general preparation for the subordinate branches of each; and when this is completed, the young members will be placed in special schools for each profession and trade, until

society shall confide to them the office for which education has now thoroughly prepared them.

With respect to legislative power, the sole aim of the future system, the hypothesis on which it is built, is the organization of a supreme power which shall be, from its possession in the highest degree of the necessary qualifications, *loved, cherished, venerated,* and consequently implicitly *obeyed*. But as progress in itself implies imperfection, anomalous cases cannot be entirely excluded, and some error will have to be checked and repressed; there must be, therefore, a penal jurisdiction, and this will correspond to the above three general classes—the philosophical trinity of the St. Simonites.* Crimes against the moral sentiments and relations will be referred to a court composed of members trained in the school of moral science; offences against the interests of science will come under the jurisdiction of a scientific magistracy; while all conduct injurious to the progress of wealth, or development of industry, will be brought under the cognizance of industrial tribunals composed of men actively engaged in corresponding pursuits—the guardianship of the interests of industry will not be entrusted to the idle, in virtue of their inherited property. In our present Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce the incipient development of this system is to be discerned. The alteration in the laws of property will

* “To know whether an offence be crime against society, it is necessary to know the proper constitution of society; the possession of this knowledge implies superiority in the judge over the offender, therefore the principle of *trial by jury*, or by a man's equals, is erroneous.”

cut up by the roots the endless litigation to which they give rise.

Neither will legislation be solely, as now, *penal*, occupied in the repression of palpable crime, but it will be remuneratory, and distribute the honour and glory due to pre-eminent virtue, as well as the corrective punishment due to error.

The completion of the St. Simonian doctrine is to be found in the future full development of the religious sentiment which it contemplates. "The religion of the future will not be merely the result of inward meditation, a feeling or idea isolated in the assemblage of feelings and ideas of each individual; it will be the expression of the collective mind of humanity, the synthesis of all its conceptions, the rule of all its actions. Not only is religion called to take place in the social economy, but the social institution of the future will be no other than a religious institution." The existence of a God, of a Providential Plan, of an Immortality, will be its fundamental axioms; obedience to the will of God will be its instrument of action; universal love or benevolence its manifestation. He in whom this love glows with the purest, most intense, flame, will be exalted highest, and will be placed at the head of the social hierarchy, as God's vicegerent on earth.

The opinions and views of this sect seem to be, in the more important characteristics, identical with those of the advocates of a community of property; but St. Simon carefully repudiates this idea; and his successor in his *Apostleship*, and in the absolute devotion of his followers, *the Father* *Enfantin*, repels in a letter which

closes this "Exposition," a charge on this and another subject, made in the Chamber of Deputies, Sept. 1830. His answer includes a summary of his own doctrine, whilst it proceeds upon a misapprehension of the other. He says, "The system of a community of goods is universally understood, of the equal division amongst all the members of society, of the productive fund, and of the fruits of the labour of all. The St. Simonites reject this equal division of property, which would constitute in their eyes a greater violence, a more revolting injustice, than the unequal division formerly effected by conquest; for they believe in the *natural* INEQUALITY of men, and look upon this inequality as the basis of association, as the indispensable condition of social order. They reject the system of a community of goods; for this community would be a manifest violation of all the moral laws which they are commissioned to teach, and which ordain that in the future *each one will be placed according to his capacity, and rewarded according to his works.*

"But in virtue of this law they demand the abolition of all the privileges of birth *without exception*, and consequently the destruction of INHERITANCE the greatest of these privileges, which in fact comprehends them all, and the effect of which is to leave to *chance* the partition of social advantages among the small number of those who can claim them, and to condemn the most numerous class to *vice, ignorance, and misery*. They demand that all the instruments of labour, land, and capital, which now form the mass of private property, shall be united into a social fund, and that this fund shall be employed by association and HIERARCHI-

CALLY, so that the task of each shall be the expression of his *capacity*, and his riches the measure of his *works*. The St. Simonites only attack the constitution of property in so far as it consecrates to some the impious privilege of IDLENESS, that is, of living on the labour of others; and in so far as it abandons to the *chance of birth* the social classification of individuals.

“Christianity has emancipated women from slavery, but has condemned them to inferiority, and throughout Christian Europe we see them submitted to religious, political, and civil interdiction. The St. Simonites announce their enfranchisement, and their complete deliverance, but without seeking on that account to abolish the holy law of marriage proclaimed by Christianity: on the contrary, they come to fulfil this law, to give to it a new sanction, to add power and *inviolability* to the union which it consecrates. They demand like the Christians that one man shall be united to one woman, but they teach that the wife shall be equal to the husband; and that according to the especial grace which God has accorded to her sex, she shall be associated with him in the exercise of the triple functions of the temple, the state, and the family: so that the *social individual* which has until now been *man* only, shall henceforth be *man and woman*. The religion of St. Simon seeks only to put an end to that shameful traffic, which, under the name of marriage, consecrates so frequently the monstrous union of devotedness with selfishness, of intelligence with ignorance, of youth with decrepitude.”

In the enthusiasm which the first preaching of these doctrines excited in France, numbers associated

together to reduce them to practice, including men of high capacity, moral purpose, and wealth. The property of all was thrown into the *productive fund*, and given out in *credits* to the members, *according to their capacity*, at the discretion of the appointed rulers. With new modes of thought and action, new habits of life and manners were associated; upon broad and exalted principles were engrafted trivialities and absurdities. The members established themselves in a community in Paris; the fraternity dressed in uniform; the men wore long beards, and the women absurd and uncouth garments. According to the remark of a highly intelligent countryman of our own, who has been intimately acquainted with their leading members, and cognizant of their proceedings, it was not long before the vital error of the political arrangement of the system began to work. Irresponsible power defiles the hand which holds it, however pure and unsullied it might seem before. Disorders, economical and social, crept in, and when the money which had been poured into the common fund was all dispersed or wasted, the society, as a society, dissolved away, but its doctrines remained firmly impressed on many minds of superior order, have been widely diffused, and are exerting great influence at the present day in France.

Robert Owen. In our own country the cause of social union has been advocated by Robert Owen, for more than twenty years, with an ardent patient zeal that has perhaps never been equalled. His leading object appears to have been to give to the world a

practical exemplification of the truth of the doctrines which others before him have preached. He re-published, in 1818, the "Proposals" of John Bellers, and with great candour and ingenuousness admitted that these exhibited the main features of his own plan for improving society.

Mr. Owen was born at Newtown, in North Wales, in 1771. He was early devoted to trade, first in London and subsequently in Manchester, where, at the age of twenty, he was employed in the management of a large cotton spinning factory. In the year 1799, he removed to New Lanark, having, in conjunction with his partners, purchased the cotton mills of Mr. David Dale, whose eldest daughter he soon after married. In consequence of a dissolution of partnership, the whole property was subsequently sold, including the village of New Lanark. Mr. Owen purchased it for himself and the partners whom he had been fortunate enough to unite with himself in a new firm—six individuals who sympathized warmly in his benevolent views—Messrs. Walker, William Allen, Joseph Fox, and Joseph Forster, members of the Society of Friends; Mr. Michael Gibbs, and the late Mr. Jeremy Bentham. Mr. Owen retained five shares for himself, and, besides the profits arising from his shares, he was allowed one thousand per annum for his superintendance and management.* The mills had been erected near the Falls of the Clyde, by Mr. Dale, in 1784, for the advantage of the water power, otherwise the spot was not well

* See Owen's sketch of his life, in the Appendix to his "Development of Principles and Plans, &c." 1841. "Hampden of the Nineteenth Century."

chosen. The country was uncultivated, the roads bad, the inhabitants few and poor. Manufacturing labour and confinement in a mill were then so disliked by the Scotch peasantry, that none but persons without friends, employment, or character, could be induced to submit to it.

As a means of raising up labourers, five hundred children were collected from workhouses and charities in Edinburgh, and accommodated in a large house erected for them, where they were maintained and educated. But the proprietor being compelled to make use of their labour to defray the expense of the establishment, his wise arrangements for their happiness and improvement were nullified. Their labour throughout the day, and education at night, became so irksome that numbers ran away, and most left when their apprenticeship expired. The adult population was in a wretched state, they lived in idleness, poverty, dishonesty, and almost every kind of crime; consequently in debt, out of health, and in misery.

In this state Mr. Owen found them when he entered upon his task of superintendence, and commenced his arduous attempt to reform and make them happy—well qualified by previous experience among similar classes in England, but ignorant of their local habits, manners, and prejudices. His mind had been long impressed with the evils of society, and intently turned upon the means of cure; he had formed the resolution of devoting his life to the endeavour to relieve the miseries of mankind. He attributed their cause to men's having forsaken the paths of experience, and sound deductions from real facts. The only mode in

which he conceived it possible to remedy these miseries was, not by giving precept upon precept, but an actual example of the possibility of reforming men's characters and habits, and of placing them in such circumstances as should lead them to take as much pains to make each other happy as they had before done to make each other miserable ; and at the same time to use to the best advantage the means they possessed, of living in health and comfort. He had tried the effect of his principles on a limited scale ; he was now anxious for a more enlarged field of action.

The people were strongly prejudiced against a stranger, an Englishman, and one of a different creed ; they took it for granted, that his design was to make the greatest possible gain out of their labour. For two years he combated their perverse opposition, and he ultimately prevailed ; the population could not continue to resist a firm well-directed kindness administering justice to all ; they began to give him some portion of confidence, and by degrees he was enabled to develop his plans for their improvement. To remedy the prevalent dishonesty no person was put in restraint, no punishment was used ; but checks and preventive regulations were introduced, which made theft more difficult, and more easily detected ; while short and plain expositions of the immediate benefits they would derive from different conduct were given to them by some, instructed on purpose, among themselves. They were led at the same time into lawful and useful occupations more gainful in fact than the former. Intemperance was attacked in the same manner ; it was discountenanced by the superiors, and its baneful effects

were commented upon by his wiser comrades, when the individual was suffering in soberness from his excess; public-houses were gradually removed from the close vicinity of the people; they were led to feel the benefit to health and comfort of temperance; and by degrees drunkenness disappeared. When disputes occurred, the manager represented to each party the wrong which usually attached to both in such cases, and the superior advantages of forgiveness and friendship. Sectarian jealousies were cured by the same friendly admonitions, which aimed to convince them that inasmuch as all believed conscientiously, they were all upon an equal footing, and that it was great folly to neglect the essence of religion, whilst they cherished its worse than shadow, sectarianism. Other kinds of misconduct were met in a similar manner, and were beyond expectation lessened. Children under eight years old were no longer employed in the mill, and their parents were exhorted to allow them health and education until ten; they were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic from five to ten in the common school. Modern improvements in the art of giving instruction were adopted, and it became a pleasure to the children to learn; they were more anxious for the hour of school-time than for its conclusion, and of course their progress was rapid.

In the meantime the houses were made more comfortable and the streets improved; the best provisions were purchased, and sold to the inhabitants at a low rate, though covering the expenses. Fuel and clothes were furnished to them in the same manner, and they were taught how to proportion their expenditure to

their income. They were taught to be rational, and they acted rationally; those employed became industrious, temperate, healthy, faithful to their employers, and kind to each other, while the proprietors were deriving services far beyond those of a mere mercenary connexion. In the space of sixteen years, a complete change was effected in the general character of the village, containing eventually 2,000 inhabitants, notwithstanding the disadvantages of a continual influx of new comers, and the daily intercourse maintained with the borough of Lanark, which was within a mile of the works.

That which had been hitherto done for the community of New Lanark chiefly consisted in withdrawing some of the unfavourable circumstances which had caused their bad habits; at this period arrangements were made for surrounding them with circumstances of a different character; for leading them into valuable domestic habits, neatness and cleanliness in their dwellings, the most economical methods of preparing food, and above all for teaching them how to train up their children into valuable members of the community. As a means of effecting these ends, a building called the "Institution for the Formation of Character," was erected in the centre of the establishment, with an enclosed space in front to serve as a play-ground for the children, from the time they could walk alone until they entered the school. Each child was made to understand, upon his admission into this play-ground, that he was to do all in his power to make his companions happy. At meal-times and at night they returned to their parents with a pleasure and eagerness

enhanced by the short separation. A room in the lower story of the building was appropriated to receive them in bad weather. The parents at first demurred at the idea of sending their infants of two years for so many hours from under their own charge; but in the course of three months the superior intelligence and moral promise of those who had been thus sent were so conspicuous, that before the end of the first year every child in the village was sent to the school, and before the conclusion of the second, the parents petitioned that their children of thirteen and fourteen months might be introduced. As they advanced in years they were admitted into the preparatory schools, where, before the age of six, they were initiated into the rudiments of common learning. After passing through these schools, they entered the general school-room for reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing and knitting; at ten years of age they were taken into the works. Boys and girls were taught to dance; the boys were instructed in military exercises, and such as had natural talents for them, in singing and music. This was the first model of our Infant Schools, and if Mr. Owen had rendered no other service to mankind, this would have merited a rich meed of praise.*

At the close of each day the apartments, after being cleaned and ventilated, were thrown open for two hours of the evening, for the instruction of the children and youth who had been employed at work during the day.

* The first Infant School established in London was the one in Vincent-square, Westminster, under the management of Buchanan, a teacher from New Lanark. "Hampden in the 19th Century."

The lower rooms were appropriated to the adults, who were provided with every accommodation to read, write, converse, or walk about, strict order and attention being paid to the comfort of each. Two evenings in the week the amusements of dancing and singing were indulged in by such as chose to join in them. One apartment was devoted to the occasional useful instruction of the older inhabitants, concerning the best management of domestic concerns, the training of their children, and the wisdom which directs our intercourse with each other to the end of mutual happiness. The school-room was fitted up to serve as a chapel for the purpose of religious instruction.*

For nearly thirty years Mr. Owen conducted this interesting undertaking with a degree of success which justified his anticipations, and attracted considerable notice both in our own and foreign countries; visitors distinguished for character, talent, and rank, resorted to New Lanark, to witness and admire the results of the judicious experiment. In 1829, however, he resolved upon quitting this position for the sake of devoting himself, altogether, to the preaching of the truths which it had served to demonstrate, throughout the civilized world, and of persuading Governments to act upon the principles which he had elicited. Perhaps he forgot for a moment his own maxim, that "to act is better than to speak." Like the hermit of old, he has carried his cross through the nations, but they have not yet risen to welcome its approach; and notwithstanding his unwearied exertions during repeated visits

* See Owen's "Essays on the Formation of Character."

to the United States, to Mexico, the West Indies, and at a later period, to France, Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony, besides the different portions of the British kingdom, he still points to the establishment at New Lanark as the only satisfactory instance in which his plans have been, though partially, tried. But although we may regret that a full trial of his system was not made on a spot, which, for almost the space of a generation, had received the benefit of his philanthropic exertions, and at a time when his practical mind was in full vigour and he had the prospect of long years before him in which to mature his design, yet it must be allowed that he has cast far and wide, seeds which may spring up, under future culture, to an abundant harvest.

New Harmony. Some years before he quitted New Lanark—in April, 1825—Mr. Owen had purchased the settlement of Harmony, in Indiana, of Mr. Rapp, on advantageous terms, and here he proposed to establish a society which should serve as a model for other communities, and in which the principles of union, common property, and co-operation should be carried out. In the March preceding he delivered an address at Washington, before the President of the United States and the Members of Congress, containing a detailed account of his plan, and proposing, as a step to the full realization of his scheme, a preliminary society in which members should be trained for the more perfect association; in this society they would not be upon an entire equality with regard to property, but all arrangements would be adapted to this end.

His views met with considerable sympathy among the Americans ; and during the first three months of his settlement at New Harmony, he was joined by about nine hundred individuals, chiefly agriculturists and artizans. Applications for admission were more numerous than could be received. The mechanics, who constituted about half the number of the settlers, were chiefly English, the other half principally backwoodsmen. The roving unsettled habits of these last made them soon grow impatient of social restraint, and most of them in a short time quitted the society. Difficulties seem to have attended the undertaking from its commencement ; the first influx of members was much larger than had been calculated for, or than could be well accommodated. The assemblage of persons was of a most heterogeneous description ; if some understood the principles which it was the object to exemplify, most of them were moved by the hope of gain, or of living upon the common stock in idleness. With no previous education, or training, it was not to be expected that such an ill-assorted collection of individuals could give to the world an example of a perfect community. Whilst the first impulse lasted, however, and their leader kept the helm, affairs were sufficiently prosperous to encourage hopes of ultimate success. The government of the society was vested in a Committee, appointed in the first instance by Mr. Owen, and afterwards, at his desire, by the members, assisted by a superintendent of each department of trade, or business, chosen by the workmen themselves. When, at the end of three months, Mr. Owen departed for England, confusion and discord began to arise ; religious

dissensions prevailed, and after a time a separate community formed itself of the more orthodox. In the succeeding January, another large portion of the body, impatient of the preliminary state, resolved itself into "an independent community," and this again divided itself into three smaller societies, the educational, the agricultural, and the manufacturing societies. A large school was established on the Pestalozzian system by M. Phiquepal and Madame Frétegot; the children were instructed in industrial occupations, and were to contribute by a few hours of labour each day to the expenses of the Institution, but it appears that this branch of education encroached upon that of the moral and intellectual faculties. Mr. Maclure, a man of considerable property, and an enthusiast in the cause of education, enabled the education society to purchase of Mr. Owen a large proportion of the land and buildings adjacent to the town. Two other communities were set on foot in the neighbourhood, the one chiefly consisting of English settlers, the other before mentioned, of backwoodsmen strongly tinctured with what is called "Methodism." Upon Mr. Owen's return he laboured indefatigably to establish order and unanimity, but within less than two years he was compelled to relinquish his connexion with the colony, which now consisted of at least ten smaller communities, with separate laws and regulations. Part of the land he sold to these societies, some of it he let on lease, and he finally withdrew, with much pecuniary loss, but with undiminished confidence in his principles and ardour in the cause. It is said that the result of this experiment convinced him, however, that a few members

well prepared and trained were more likely to succeed, even with small capital, in establishing a community, than a large number of ill-disciplined individuals with a still larger proportion of capital. Several other societies upon his plan had been formed during this period in America, but they probably failed from corresponding mistakes.

Orbiston. This was also the case at home. About the same time that the establishment at New Harmony was commenced, Mr. Abram Combe, Mr. Hamilton, and some other admirers of Mr. Owen, founded one with similar views at Orbiston, in Lanarkshire. Mr. Combe had visited New Lanark in 1820, and had become in consequence an enthusiastic advocate of the system which was there exhibited, partially at least, in operation. He made one or two attempts in Edinburgh to institute a society upon the same plan on a small scale, and published several treatises on the subject; but his most strenuous efforts, the larger portion of his property, and eventually his life, were spent upon the undertaking at Orbiston. The labour and anxiety which he underwent sapped his strength and prepared the way for the disease which terminated his life in August, 1827. He died before the result of his enterprise became evident, and with enthusiastic confidence in its successful result.

The Company formed under the auspices of Mr. Abram Combe and Mr. A. Hamilton, of Dalzell, was a Joint-stock Company of Proprietors, instituted with the double object "of obtaining a sure and profitable investment for capital, and of enabling those who

provide all the necessaries and comforts of life for the rest of society, to better the condition of themselves and their children." The Company of Proprietors was to be totally distinct from the Company of the Tenants, and the one was to have no more concern with the other than any other proprietor with his tenants, or than a capitalist with the borrower. The capital of the Company was to be expended on Land, Buildings, Machinery, Utensils, Implements, and Furniture; the use of these to be let to the tenants, at a rent of so much per cent. on the whole outlay. Each subscriber to have the privilege of admitting one tenant for every share. The tenants to have a right to conduct their affairs in their own way, whilst they fulfilled their contract. "The idea of philanthropy," observes Mr. Combe in this Prospectus, "is not introduced, because it is believed that nothing will ever become extensive but that which yields a good return for capital expended."

In the Prospectus of the Tenants' Company, the proposed advantages of their union are, the doing away with the necessity of *distributors*, the enabling of the producers to sell their labour for its true proportional value, and the having their children fed, clothed, and educated in the best manner and at the least expense.

In the Articles of Agreement drawn up for the Tenants, they agree "to rest satisfied with the distinctions which exist in nature, and which arise from superior habits and attainments; to renounce as useless and pernicious all supposed advantages which could not be attained by all; and to admit of no arrangement which tends to place the interest of one individual in

opposition to that of another. To decide all disputes by the dictates of experience as far as possible. To constitute a Committee of Management consisting of all the members, male and female, and to choose one individual, annually or otherwise, and dismissible at pleasure, in whom the executive power should be vested. To introduce no artificial rewards or punishments, until it shall be proved that those which God has appointed in the Natural Law are really defective. That the store shall include arrangements for cleaning the clothes, furniture, and dwellings of individuals; for cooking their food and serving them at table, and for the charge of the necessary horses and carriages. That each member shall have liberty to labour as little as he pleases, provided that his demands on the store do not exceed the value which he has previously conveyed to it. That each individual should prepare an estimate of the hourly value of his own labour, and this, when satisfactory, be the amount of his claims on the general store. That the affairs of the community shall be conducted by Committees in the several departments. That from the commencement the general profits be divided equally among the members, and that the children be clothed, fed, and educated, at the expense of the community until they attain their eighteenth year. That in no case shall more than one private apartment be allotted to one individual, nor more than two have the use of the same. That cleanliness, temperance, and the means of living, be the only further indispensable qualifications for admission, and the right of withdrawing be in the power of all. And lastly, to endeavour to give to the spirit of religion, of

loyalty, and ambition existing in the human mind, the direction which experience proves to be most conducive to the general welfare and happiness of mankind.”*

From these articles it appears that this society was not based upon the full principle of community of property to which Mr. Owen adheres, and that it resembled more nearly the Preliminary Society of New Harmony in its provisions. In pursuance of the proposed plan the company purchased the estate of Orbiston, “containing 291 statute acres, and lying nine miles east of Glasgow, and almost contiguous to the south road from that city to Edinburgh, for a price of £20,000: they erected extensive buildings, capable of accommodating upwards of 300 individuals, with public rooms, store-rooms, and other conveniences for common occupation; and also a manufactory on the Calder river, which bounds the property on the south east.”†

Like the sister society in America, however, that of Orbiston failed, and from similar causes, aggravated by deficiency of capital, since the sums subscribed were absorbed in the erection of the large and substantial buildings. It was observed of Mr. Abram Combe, that “influenced by a disposition to compassionate, rather than to blame, those who, in mind, as well as in circumstances were little to be envied, he admitted with a fatal want of due selection, persons into the Orbiston establishment who were totally incompetent to do anything in this world save talk: he believed his principle to be so powerful, that *out of any materials* he could construct a beautiful edifice—a lasting mo-

* Sphere of Joint-Stock Companies, by Abram Combe.

† Memoir of Mr. Combe, Co-op. Mag. Dec. 1827.

nument of co-operative superiority; but in this he was mistaken."*

The consequences of this mistake are recorded by his brother, Mr. George Combe. "The establishment at Orbiston, in Lanarkshire, set on foot ten years ago, by the admirers of that gentleman, (Mr. Owen,) fell closely under my personal observation; and there, the same disregard of the principles of human nature, and the results of experience, was exhibited. About three hundred persons, very improperly educated, and united by no great moral and religious principle, excepting the vague idea of co-operation, were congregated in a large building; they were furnished with the use of 270 acres of arable land, and commenced the co-operative mode of life. But their labour being guided by no efficient direction or superintendence, and there being no habitual supremacy of the moral and intellectual powers among them, animating each with a love of the public good, but the reverse,—the result was melancholy and speedy. Without in the least benefiting the operatives, the scheme ruined its philanthropic projectors, most of whom are now in premature graves, or emigrants to distant lands, while every stone which they raised has been razed to the foundation."†

From the time when Mr. Owen began to reap the first fruits of his labours at New Lanark, he occasionally stood forth as the public advocate of the principles

* Gray's Social System, p. 353.

† Combe's Moral Philosophy.

Lady Douglas, who purchased the property, levelled the buildings to prevent the establishment of any public works near her own estate.

upon which he had worked. He first attracted general attention by an address delivered at Glasgow, at a dinner given to Joseph Lancaster, in 1812, in which he adverted to the wonderful power of machinery, and the immense amount of human labour which it superseded. Soon after this he published his "Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System; with hints for the Improvement of those parts of it which are most injurious to Health and Morals." To the third edition, in 1818, were added a Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, on "the Employment of Children in Manufactories;" one to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on "the union of Churches and Schools;" and an "Address to the British Master Manufacturers." The most important and widely circulated of Mr. Owen's writings are his "Essays on the Formation of the Human Character," first published in 1813.

In the autumn of 1817 there were several meetings at the City of London Tavern, at which Mr. Owen delivered eloquent addresses, and excited a strong sensation among the crowds who flocked to hear him. When, however, his profession of religious faith was found wanting in the opinion of one large class of his admirers, they deserted him, and refused to listen to any propositions connected with his name. During an excursion to France, Germany, and the Netherlands, in 1818, he visited Fellenberg's educational establishment at Hofwyl, in Switzerland. Whilst on this tour, the Memorials to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle were presented, quoted in the foregoing work. The year 1819 found Mr. Owen an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in Parliament; but the same year also found two

members of the Royal House lending an ear to his suggestions. The Duke of Kent, supported by the Duke of Sussex, presided at a meeting convened at Freemason's Hall, in furtherance of his views. A Committee was appointed under the presidency of the Duke of Kent, to examine into the proposed plans, and a resolution was ultimately adopted to raise a subscription for the purpose of founding a single establishment as an experiment. Several thousand pounds were subscribed, and 500 acres of land purchased at Motherwell, near Hamilton; but as an adequate sum could not be obtained, the design was abandoned, and the land resold. In furtherance of the object, however, meetings of the principal gentry of the county had taken place in 1821, and Committees of investigation were appointed. It was on this occasion that Mr. Owen published his "Report to the County of Lanark," in which he proposed his plan of a Labour Exchange Note, in lieu of the old circulating medium.

Mr. Owen visited Ireland in 1823, held several public meetings, and was listened to, as everywhere else, with eager attention.*

His appeals made in the first instance to the higher classes, were responded to with enthusiasm by many of the intelligent and illustrious among them; but the impression was, generally speaking, evanescent, or not sufficiently deep to ensure their active co-operation. Neither from the middle, or already "comfortable" classes, was there much chance of obtaining it. But with the ranks just below these, sufficiently educated

* "Hampden," vol. 2.

to understand his reasonings—sufficiently harassed in the struggle for subsistence to hail his offered prospects, the case was very different. Numbers of these attached themselves to the cause, which spread like a message of

Co-operative
Societies.

good tidings through the land. Co-operative Societies sprang up on all sides; Brighton was the head-quarters of one, and also of a periodical, called the Brighton Co-operative, under the editorship of Dr. King. About the end of the year 1824, the London Co-operative Society was formed, for aiding in the establishment of communities, and for diffusing information upon the subject by lectures, public discussions, and publications; and this was followed by others in Dublin, Exeter, and many other places. Co-operative Magazines, Miscellanies, and Tracts were widely circulated, and Co-operative Trading Societies were established in great numbers. From a list of these published in the British Co-operator, it appears that there were, in 1830, forty-two of these Societies in London. Their object, as detailed in the Laws of the Birmingham Society, was to raise a common capital by weekly subscriptions; to employ that capital in trade, and when sufficiently accumulated, in manufacturing for the benefit of the Society; and lastly, upon further accumulation, in the purchase or rental of land for the establishment of a community. The trading to be carried on with the fund raised by subscriptions or loans, by laying in goods at wholesale prices, and retailing them at the usual profits; the profits to be added to the capital of the company, and not in any case to be divided among the members. No credit to be given or taken in the sales or purchases

of the Society. The members were expected to purchase from the Society's store what they might require of its articles. But here again the difficulty occurred of finding fitting agents to carry out wise and sound principles. The apparent impossibility of securing able and *honest* managers of the joint concerns was fatal to their success in most instances.

A movement had, however, taken place throughout the country, and a tendency is apparent in the writings of philanthropists, of different parties, to the conclusion that some change has become necessary, although the weighty consequences of the admission seem to deter them generally from meeting the question full in the face. An able writer admits, in a review of Godwin's "Thoughts on Man," published in 1831, that "the present constitution of society sanctions startling iniquities, and that communities are far indeed from being, in their best regulated departments, what they might be, what they ought to be, what they shall be,"—and looks forward to a time when by the more equal distribution of labour, "individual capacities will be more easily distinguishable, and as a consequence of this, the rewards of labour more appropriate and sure."

The writer of an admirable article on Co-operation in the Monthly Repository for August, 1832, remarks, "When we read such a statement of the condition of the working classes as that presented by Dr. Kay, of Manchester,—when we see, amidst all the whirl, and bustle, and fever of excitement, which the commercial world exhibits, the difficulties which persons in the happy middle ranks find in directing their sons to any pursuit which is not pre-occupied to excess;—when we

consider the reduced profits of the masters, bolstered up as far as possible by the sadly reduced wages of the workers, and by the pernicious alchemy which coins the blood and spirits of hapless and joyless *infancy* into the odd halfpence and farthings ;—when we perceive, through the whole band and chorus of society, a grand, resistless, and prevalent thorough bass of present discontent, and painful anticipation, we incline to the imagination that there is something in our existing predicament which ought to be changed. * * * Let us ask, *what is* the present state of society, about which such heavy complaints are made, and whose defects call on thousands to co-operate for their removal? The answer shall be taken from the Edinburgh Review, (Dec. 1831, p. 367.)

“ ‘How much among us may be likened to a whited sepulchre ; outwardly all pomp and strength, but inwardly full of horror and despair, and dead men’s bones ! Iron highways, with their wains fire-winged, are uniting all ends of the firm land. Quays besides, with their innumerable stately fleets, tame the ocean into a pliant bearer of burdens. Labour’s thousand arms of sinew and of metal, all-conquering everywhere, from the tops of the mountain to the depths of the mine and the caverns of the sea, ply unceasingly for the service of man,—YET MAN REMAINS UNSERVED. * * * He has subdued his planet, his habitation and inheritance, yet reaps no profit from the victory. Sad to look upon, in the highest stage of civilization, *nine-tenths of mankind must struggle in the lowest battle of savage, or even animal man,—the battle against famine.* Countries are rich, prosperous in all manner

of increase beyond example, but the men of these countries are needier than ever. The rule *sic vos non nobis*, never altogether to be got rid of in man's industry, now presses with such incubus-weight, that *industry must shake it off*, or be utterly strangled under it; and, alas! can as yet but gasp and rave, and aimlessly struggle, like one in the final delirium. Thus *change, or the irresistible approach of change, is manifest everywhere.*" "Dr. King, of Brighton, author of the 'Co-operator,' has boldly preached the desired change. He heads one of his chapters thus:—'Co-operation is the unknown object which the benevolent part of mankind have always been in search of, for the improvement of their fellow-creatures.'

Several of the co-operative societies above-mentioned projected the formation of a community—one in the neighbourhood of London in particular; another was actually commenced at Exeter; but both schemes proved abortive. In Ireland, however, an interesting experiment was made, and with better success, by Mr.

Ralahine. Vandaleur on his estate of Ralahine in the county of Clare. His tenantry were of the lowest order of Irish, poor, discontented, disorderly vicious. Anxious to amend their character and condition, and also desirous for his own sake of obtaining steady and useful labourers, he determined in 1830 upon trying Mr. Owen's principle, with modifications adapted to the circumstances. About forty labourers willingly entered into his plan, and he formed them into a society under his own government and superintendence. To this society he let the estate of Ralahine, containing 618 English acres, about 267 acres of which

was pasture land, 285 tilled, 63½ bog, and 2½ acres of orchard; the soil was generally good, some stoney. This land, together with six cottages and an old castle which were converted into dwellings for the married people;—all the farm buildings, barns, cowhouses, stables, sheds, &c., part of which he had converted into a public dining-room, and committee and school-rooms with dormitories above them, for the children and unmarried males and females,—he let to them for £700 a-year, tithe and tax free. There were also included a saw-mill and threshing-mill, turned by a water wheel, and the shells of a factory and of a weaving shop, but no machinery in them. For the tools, implements of husbandry, live stock, and advances made to them for food and clothing till the harvest was got in, they were to pay (which was reckoning about 6 per cent. interest) £200 more. They were to live together upon the estate in the buildings provided, in common, and they were to work upon the common capital for their joint interest. After paying the above rent and charges, the remainder of the produce was to be the property of the adult members of seventeen years old and upwards, share and share alike, male or female, single or married. The tools, implements, and machinery, were to be kept in as good repair as received, and when worn out replaced, and the cattle and other live stock were to be kept up both in number and value. The rent was to be paid in the produce of the estate always; the first year it was to be a money rent,—£900 worth of produce at the prices at the time in Limerick market; in future years it was to be a corn rent, consisting of as many bushels of grain, and

hundred weights of beef, pork, butter, &c., as were paid in the first year; and whatever improvements the society might make on the estate, no advance in rent was ever to take place, and as soon as they had acquired sufficient capital to purchase the stock, a long lease of the property was promised at the same rent.

Mr. Vandaleur kept possession of the stock, crops, and premises, until the society should be able to purchase them; the rent and interest being more than he had ever been able to realize from the land himself. In 1831 the rent and interest were paid in money. In 1832 the value of the produce was nearly £1700; the advances made to the society for food, clothing, seed, &c., that year being about £550. The extra advances made for building cottages, furniture, &c., absorbed the surplus produce; but comfort was increasing, and a foundation laid for future prosperity and happiness.

The members of the society were to work as many hours, to do as much labour, and to draw no more from the common fund, than he would have paid them for wages as common labourers; and they were to continue to do so until they had a capital of their own. To effect these objects, a regular account was kept by the secretary, of the time and labour of every individual each day, and at the end of the week, the same sum was paid to each for his or her labour as Mr. Vandaleur formerly paid for wages. The prospect of a share of the surplus profit of the crops afforded a strong motive to industry, and these people did twice as much work in a day as any hired labourers in the neighbourhood. The money advanced from the fund was in *labour notes*, payable only at their own store.

This enabled the proprietor to support them without actual advances in cash, and tended to prevent intemperance, as no intoxicating drinks were kept at the store, and their money would not pass at the dram-shops. The store was furnished with goods of the best quality, charged to the people at wholesale prices, According to Irish custom, potatoes and milk constituted the chief articles of food, and the allowance which was received from the subsistence fund was proportionably low ; but the advantages which the members of the society received from their union, raised their condition far above the common standard of their class. Agricultural labourers received 4s. per week ; their expenditure was, for vegetables, chiefly potatoes, 1s. ; milk, 10 quarts, 10d. ; washing, &c., 2d. ; sick fund, 2d. ; clothing, 1s. 10d. The women received 2s. 6d. per week ; their expenses were, for vegetables 6d. ; milk, 8d. ; washing, &c., 2d. ; sick fund, 1½d. ; clothing, 1s. 0½d. Married members, living in cottages by themselves, paid 6d. per week rent to the society, and perhaps 2d. more for fuel. All the children from fourteen months old upwards, were supported from the fund without care or expense to their parents. They were provided for in the infant school until they were eight or nine years old, and afterwards in the public dining-room with the unmarried members. The adults had nothing to pay out of their wages for rent, fire, lectures, school, or amusements. They purchased every article on an average 50 per cent. cheaper, and they had better articles in their own store than they could buy elsewhere. Every member was insured full work, and the same amount from the fund every day in the

year, and the price of food was always the same at their store. The sick or incapacitated received out of the sick fund as much as when at work. If a father died, his family were provided for.

The society gradually increased to double the original number. Their dwellings and furniture were clean and neat, their cooking was done well and economically, and they availed themselves as much as possible of machinery in every department. The youth of both sexes, under the age of seventeen, fulfilled the usual offices of servants by turns. The hours of labour were from six in the morning until six in the evening in summer, with one hour of intermission for dinner. The Committee met every evening to arrange the labours of the following day in such a manner as should best suit individual tastes and capacities. The youth were engaged to learn some one useful trade besides agricultural labour; and each individual was bound to assist in field labour, particularly in harvest-time. The store-keeper distributed the food, clothing, &c.; the gardener the produce of the garden. Mr. Vandaleur sold the surplus produce, and purchased articles for the farm and for the store. All disputes were settled by arbitration amongst themselves, and no instance occurred during the three years they were together of an appeal to a lawyer or a magistrate. Mr. Craig, the zealous and able assistant of Mr. Vandaleur, relates the admiration of the visitors to Ralahine, at a system "which could tame the wild Irish, and make them forsake poverty, rags, and misery, for cleanliness, health, and comfort."

It is painful to record the abrupt breaking up of this

society at a time when it was progressing rapidly, and the melancholy cause of such a termination. Mr. Vandaleur was allied to the aristocracy, and, with all his excellencies, he shared one of their vices. A habit of gambling reduced himself, his family, and his system, to ruin. He fled from his country, and his creditors, seizing upon his property, without staying to inquire into the justice of the claims of the labourers at Ralahine, disposed of all they found there to satisfy their own. The society was not enrolled, nor had Mr. Vandaleur given them a lease of the premises, therefore the law afforded them no protection or redress.*

Poor Colonies
of Holland.

Another instance in which Mr. Owen's suggestions have been followed out, is that of the "Poor Colonies" of Holland. He proposed a plan to the British Government for the employment of the pauper population, which was not adopted. It was subsequently transmitted to that of Holland, through the Dutch Ambassador, in 1816. The plan was accepted and acted upon; it met with a valuable coadjutor in General Van den Bosch, with whose previously formed scheme for benefiting his country it entirely accorded. Whilst residing in Java this officer had witnessed the superior agricultural methods of a Chinese colony settled near to his own farm. Upon his return to Holland he published the knowledge of their processes which he had thus acquired, and proposed that the poor of his own country should be employed in fertilizing and cultivating the worst soils, on the Chinese system.

* See Ralahine, by John Finch.

A meeting was held at the Hague in 1818, and a Society of Beneficence organized under the sanction of the King. Two Committees were appointed for its superintendence and management. The subscription was scarcely 5s. per annum, but as 20,000 members were speedily enrolled, a large sum was collected, and the society shortly purchased a tract of sandy heath and bogland near the town of Steenwyk, on the east side of the Zuyder Zee, consisting of from 12 to 1300 acres. The society paid £4660 for it, and the money was raised by loan at 6 per cent., the association engaging to liquidate the principal, by instalment, in sixteen years. A school-house, warehouse, spinning-house, and fifty-two cottages were built, and the little river Aa was rendered navigable. The place was called *Frederick's Oord*, in compliment to the King's second son, President of the Society. The works were finished in the November of the same year, and occupied by fifty-two indigent families. The association found them in food and clothing until the first harvest, and employed them in reclaiming and preparing the land for the first crop: for this labour the colonists were paid by piece-work, as other labourers would have been. Seven acres of land were allotted to each of the cottages, and it was calculated that each family of seven or eight persons would require an outlay from the society of £141. 13s. But most of the houses since built have cost less than this estimate. The labour of building was performed by the colonists at a fixed rate of wages, the clay for bricks being found upon the land.

The total expense of each family was as follows:—

Building each house	£41	13	4
Furniture and Implements	8	6	8
Clothing	12	10	0
Two cows, or one cow and ten sheep		12	10	0
Cultivation and seed, first year	33	6	8
Advances in provisions	4	3	4
Advances of other kinds	4	3	4
Flax and wool to be spun	16	13	4
Seven acres uncultivated land, net	...	8	6	8

Total establishment £141 13 4

The estimate is between £22 and £23 for each individual, and they are expected to repay it to the society in rent and labour, besides maintaining themselves, in about sixteen years. Each allotment of seven acres is laid out in a rectangle, having the house toward the road with one end, and the other reaching fifty feet into the allotment. The dwelling occupies the part next the road, then comes the barn, after that the stalls for cattle, and behind these the reservoir for manure, in which every particle of vegetable and animal refuse is carefully made up into compost, with the heath and moss of the land. The preparation of this compost is one of the most essential of their labours, and each cottager is bound to lay eighteen tons of manure per annum upon each acre of his land, as also to cultivate it properly, otherwise the society would have it done for him and charge it to his account. Each head of a family is obliged to work three days in a week for the society, until out of its debt, for which he is paid by piece work. The colonists

are subjected to a kind of military regulation; they assemble at six in the morning, and those who do not answer to the roll-call get no wages for the day. When the labour of the day is over, each receives a ticket, stating the amount of wages, and for that he may procure food from the store at fixed rates. Those who are at first unable to support themselves, obtain credit for a short period. The women spin, weave, knit, as soon as possible from the produce of their own flocks and fields. On the first arrival of a family the men and boys are taught the colonial method of spade agriculture; the women and girls the lighter labour of the garden and dairy; and before a family can obtain possession of a cottage, it is a rule that the women of it shall be instructed in cookery and household work, if before ignorant how to manage it in a cleanly and economical manner. Each family is furnished with a printed paper, in which is clearly stated the duties to be performed, the sums to be repaid to the society for the farm and the stock, and the regulations which must be observed till the repayment is completed, as also the annual rental to them afterwards. An account book is also given to them with an account of the stock, tools, &c. supplied to them, and in which is set down once a week the sums they have earned and paid off—a certain portion being deducted uniformly from their earnings towards the payment. It is left to their own option to pay more, or to lay out the surplus in articles to be procured from the directors of the colony. A superintendent is placed over every twenty-five families, and a sub-director over every four of these quarter-masters, as they are called.

“The produce of a certain amount of work every week is allowed for the support of the sick or infirm. The whole of the appointments are inspected with military care, and such as have been wasteful, are obliged to make good what they have destroyed. The careful preparation of manure, the most remarkable feature in Chinese husbandry, is the grand resource, and its results are encouraging, since rich crops have been raised from soil which was before scarcely able to support the lowest species of vegetation. The system now pursued is to lay down one-half of the seven acres in grass, to sow one acre with rye, and one with potatoes; the remaining acre and a half being devoted to flax, mangel wurzel, clover, cabbages, &c., one quarter of an acre round the house being reserved for kitchen garden and fruit-trees.”

In two years after their first arrival, the fifty-two families were found to have discharged one-fifth part of the debt originally contracted, and, notwithstanding this outgoing, their condition appeared comfortable. The total number of cottages at Frederick's Oord, in 1833, was 370, each with its seven acres of land in complete cultivation. There were also at this time a large school, to which parents were required to send all their children from four to twelve years of age, a spinning and weaving-house, four storehouses, a good inn, a house for the resident director, and a navigable canal, which had just been completed. Another colony had been added in the neighbourhood called Wellem's Oord, consisting of 159 cottages. The society also possessed an establishment at Watereen for instructing sixty boys in the theory and practice of agriculture,

from which to supply the settlements with efficient agricultural directors. In another and larger establishment, 1200 orphan children were boarded and educated, in a great measure earning their subsistence by agriculture and the connected trades. Nine farms, of 100 acres each, were located in the neighbourhood, and the elder boys and girls were sent thither, in the day-time, to assist in the work of the farm and dairy, for which services they were compensated by the instruction received from the farmers.

Besides these Free Colonies, the Society had an establishment of Paupers, founded in 1822, the Government contracting to pay a certain sum for their maintenance. One containing a thousand persons was situated in the vicinity of that for the orphans, and another at Ommerschans. In these institutions the settlers were subjected to more rigid discipline, the rule that "he who will not work shall not eat," being carried into practical effect. In 1826 the number of beggars settled at the last-mentioned place amounted to 1300. They were divided into classes according to age and strength; a certain sum was fixed which the members of each class were obliged to earn in a day, and for which one plentiful meal was received; all beyond this he must pay for by extra labour, and if industrious he could with ease earn two or three times the amount. Whenever a colonist had saved forty shillings, and had conducted himself properly, he was at liberty to leave the colony.

A writer who visited these Home Colonies in 1833, with the express purpose of ascertaining their condition, speaks highly of the apparent comfort and happiness

of the colonists; but it must be allowed that to assemble a large body of paupers of the lowest description, and place them in an isolated community, is a hazardous experiment. Mr. Porter, in his "Progress of the Nation," informs us that the Belgian Colonies, founded in 1823, upon the model of those in Holland, have proved a decided failure.*

A colony for the reformation of juvenile offenders was founded sometime ago at Mettray, near Tours, in France, upon the estate of the Viscount de Bretignières, who shared its direction with M. Demetz, the projector. The principles upon which it was established were strictly analogous to those of the Dutch orphan schools above described. The first step taken was to institute a school of monitors of unstained character, and chosen from respectable families, as in the first instance when example would be all-important, this was considered essential. Afterwards it was intended to elevate the most exemplary among the reformed criminals to this post, and thus to give them the means of reinstating themselves in society. The youths to be employed in agriculture and the trades subservient to it. The sum which the Government agreed to give with each offender was 60 centimes (6d.) per day, which it was reckoned, with the profits of their labour, would cover the expenses. It was proposed to commence with about 60.†

A subsequent account of the progress of this institution was published in the 'Phalange' of June 9, 1841,

* Quarterly Review, 1829. New Moral World, July 3, 1841.
"An Account of a visit to the Dutch Home Colonies in the Autumn of 1833." Porter's "Progress of the Nation," vol. 1, p. 109.

† "Colony of Mettray," Chambers' Journal.

from which it appears that it is in an encouraging state. M. Le Comte de Gasparin is its President, and it has been endowed by the Count d'Ourches with the sum of 140,000f. It is now suited for the reception of about 300 youths. An excellent discipline has been established, and considerable improvement has taken place in the morals and also in the health of the young inmates.*

Labour Exchange. Mr. Owen was busily engaged in the years 1832-3 on a scheme which he intended as an immediate measure of relief to the working classes, and as a step towards the adoption of his system of society. This was the establishment of Labour Exchange Bazaars, designed to enable the producers to exchange their articles immediately with each other, together with the substitution of *labour notes* for the current money; the object of the first being the saving of the heavy per centage of the shopkeepers;—by the second it was proposed to make the medium of exchange the representative of the *real* value of the article; the producer would also by this plan have the advantage of obtaining an immediate representative of the worth of his goods. For instance, the shoemaker brought his pair of shoes to the Bazaar, with an invoice of the cost of the material and the time employed in manufacturing them. A person, supposed to be competent and disinterested, was appointed to sanction or correct the valuation. A *labour note* of so many hours was then given to the shoemaker, which

* See New Moral World, July 31, 1841.

he was at liberty to exchange immediately, or at any future time, for any other deposit in the Bazaar—say a hat, a tea kettle, or a joint of meat. Upon each transaction a commission of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was charged, payable in *cash*, to defray the expenses of the Institution. These were found to be very heavy, and although the plan seemed attractive, and large deposits and exchanges were made for a season, these expenses, the great difficulties of the management, and the losses attending the removal of the Bazaar from Gray's Inn Road to Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, soon put the *labour notes* to a discount. Notwithstanding the high expectations of success entertained by the promoters of the plan, and the support which it received from numbers of working people, to a degree which had occasioned the establishment of several branch institutions, it proved entirely delusive,—as all attempts to engraft a new system upon the old must be without any corresponding change of principles and habits of action.

“Essays on
the Formation
of Character.”

The “Essays on the Formation of Character,” containing Mr. Owen's leading tenets, are written with the vigour of a mind fresh from the practice of its principles. The general object of these Essays is to prepare the public mind for the introduction of a system, afterwards to be developed, founded upon common labour and common property. Mr. Owen sets out in them, with stating, that there are twelve millions of the poor and working classes in Great Britain and Ireland; that one portion of these are trained to commit crime, for the commission

of which they are afterwards punished; the other is instructed to *believe*, or acknowledge, that certain principles are *unerringly true*, and to *act* as if they were *grossly false*; thus making society a scene of insincerity and counteraction. To remedy this state of things, the principle which by universal experience is proved to be true, must be admitted in practice as well as in theory; namely, that "any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means; which means are to a great extent at the command and under the controul of those who have influence in the affairs of men." The adoption of this principle will eventually banish all the complicated and counteracting motives for good conduct which have been multiplied almost to infinity, and cause to be recognised the one single principle of action, "the happiness of self, clearly understood and uniformly practised; which can only be attained by conduct that must promote the happiness of the community." These principles only require to be known to establish themselves, and the outline of future proceedings becomes clear and defined. All facts prove that children can be trained to acquire "any language, sentiments, belief, or any bodily habits and manners, not contrary to human nature." Plans must therefore be devised by the governing powers of all countries, to train children from their earliest infancy in good habits of every description, (which will of course prevent them from acquiring those of falsehood and deception;) they must afterwards be rationally educated, and their labour

usefully directed. That health of body and peace of mind may be preserved sound and entire, it is necessary that the irresistible propensities that form part of the nature of man should be so directed as to *increase*, not *counteract* his happiness.

Withdraw those circumstances which tend to create crime in the human character, and crime will not be created; replace them with such as are calculated to form habits of order, regularity, temperance, industry, and these qualities will be formed; the worst formed disposition, short of incurable insanity, will not long resist a firm, determined, well-directed, persevering kindness. "On the experience of a life devoted to the subject," Mr. Owen hesitates not to say, "that the members of any community may by degrees be trained to live without idleness, without poverty, without crime, and without punishment; for each of these is the effect of error in the various systems prevalent throughout the world. They are all the necessary consequences of ignorance. Train any population rationally, and they will be rational. Furnish honest and useful employments to those so trained, and such employments they will greatly prefer to dishonest or injurious occupations. It is beyond all calculation the interest of every Government to provide that training and that employment; and to provide both is easily practicable. The first is to be obtained by a national system for the formation of character; the second by Governments preparing a reserve of employment for the surplus working classes, when the general demand for labour throughout the country is not equal to the full occupation of the whole: that employment to be on useful

national objects, from which the public may derive advantage equal to the expense which these works may require. The national plan for the formation of character should *include* all the modern improvements in education, without regard to the system of any one individual; and should not *exclude* the child of any subject in the empire."

It is of little avail to give "precept upon precept and line upon line," unless the means shall also be prepared to train them in good practical habits. It is the duty therefore of the Government of every country to adopt, without delay, the proper means to form those sentiments and habits in the people which shall give the most permanent and substantial advantages to individuals and to the community. In the fourth and last Essay, several intermediate measures of amelioration are proposed to the British Government. These are chiefly the revision of the poor laws, the abolition of state lotteries, a uniform national system of education and of rational training, and the reform, not abolition, of the national church. The two former have been adopted, the two latter have not yet been tried.

Mr. Owen's Doctrine. The fundamental tenet of Mr. Owen's system, that "the character of an individual is formed *for* him and not *by* him," is a direct, and in no respect new inference, from the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, so far as the proposition can be said to be correct; the mode of stating it is open to objection. The mental and bodily constitution of an individual constitute *himself*, and these determine his

character to a certain extent. It is true "himself" is but a link in the chain of causation, and therefore the effect of foregoing causes, but it is the immediate antecedent, or cause, of "his character," therefore "himself" causes his character—his character is caused *by himself*. The proposition, as intended for popular use, is liable to misconception, since the intellectual and physical constitution influence the character largely, not only directly, but indirectly; for according to this constitution, given external circumstances affect, or not, the character. There is the more reason for this objection to the terms of his statement, in that Mr. Owen himself appears to overrate the force of external circumstances; for though he admits that the differing inherent inclinations and faculties lead to the "lesser varieties" among men, he makes so little account of them that he affirms, "that the infants of any one class in the world may be readily formed into men of any other class."

Mr. Owen also seems to suppose that while man is the unresisting creature of the circumstances which affect himself, he has in return an absolute control over those which affect others. In the words of an eloquent opponent, "he can create a character for every individual of the human race but himself."*

In the "Outline of the Rational System of Society," a sort of text-book of his opinions published more lately,

* Upon the proposition that "man's character is formed for him, not by him," all Mr. Owen's followers, without exception, take their stand; by a resolution of the proprietors at Orbiston, the tenants were obliged to sign their assent to it before admission into the society.

Mr. Owen makes ample provision in words for the influence of original organization, but the objection above made still applies to the spirit of many of his positions. The "Outline" bases the rational system of society upon "*Five Fundamental Facts*," the general correctness of which it would be difficult to impugn, notwithstanding the metaphysical confusion of the second and third:—

"1st, That man is a *compound being*, whose character is formed of his constitution or organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it, from birth to death; such original organization and external influences continually acting and re-acting each upon the other.

"2nd, That man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his *feelings* and *convictions* independently of his *will*.

"3rd, That his feelings, or his convictions, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the *will*, which stimulates him to act, and decides his actions.

"4th, That the organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth; nor can art subsequently form any two individuals, from infancy to maturity, to be precisely similar.

"5th, That, nevertheless, the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed into a *very inferior*, or a *very superior* being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth."

The "*Fundamental Laws of Human Nature, or First-Principles of the Science of Man*," are then

given in accordance with those developed in the present work. The "*Conditions of Human Happiness*," which will be secured to all under the rational system, are thus enumerated:—

"The possession of a good organization, physical, mental, and moral.

"The power of procuring at pleasure, whatever is necessary to preserve the organization in the best state of health.

"The best education, from infancy to maturity, of the physical, intellectual, and moral powers of all the population.

"The inclination and means of promoting continually the happiness of our fellow-beings.

"The inclination and means of increasing continually our stock of knowledge.

"The power of enjoying the best society; and more particularly of associating, at pleasure, with those for whom we feel the most regard and the greatest affection.

"The means of travelling at pleasure.

"The absence of superstition, supernatural fears, and the fear of death.

"Full liberty of expressing our thoughts upon all subjects.

"The utmost individual freedom of action, compatible with the permanent good of society.

"To have the character formed for us to express the truth only upon all occasions,—and to have pure charity for the feelings, thoughts, and conduct of all mankind,—and a sincere good-will for every individual of the human race.

"To reside in a society whose laws, institutions, and

arrangements, well organized, and well governed, are all in unison with the laws of human nature."

The "*Practice of the Rational Religion* will consist in the promotion to the utmost of our power of the well-being and happiness of every man, woman, and child, without regard to their class, sect, sex, party, country, or colour; and its *Worship* in those inexpressible feelings of wonder, admiration, and delight, which, when man is surrounded by superior circumstances only, will naturally arise from the contemplation of the Infinity of Space, of the Eternity of Duration, of the Order of the Universe, and of that Incomprehensible Power, by which the atom is moved, and the aggregate of Nature is governed."

The "*Elements of the Science of Society*" are composed of—

"A knowledge of the laws of human nature, derived from demonstrable facts which prove man to be a social being.

"A practical knowledge of the best mode of producing in abundance the most beneficial necessaries and comforts for the support and enjoyment of human life.

"A practical knowledge of the best mode of distributing these productions most advantageously for all.

"A knowledge of the principles and practice by which to form the new combination of circumstances for training the infant to become, at maturity, the most rational being.

"A knowledge of the principles and practice by which to govern man in the best manner, as a member of the great family of mankind.

"A knowledge of the principles and practice for

uniting in one general system, in their due proportions, these separate parts of the science of Society ; to effect and secure in the best manner for all, the greatest amount of permanent benefits and enjoyments, with the fewest disadvantages."

" *A rational Government*" will devise and execute the arrangements by which the conditions essential to human happiness shall be fully and permanently obtained for all the governed ; and its laws will be few, easy to be understood by all the governed, and perfectly in unison with the laws of human nature." It will secure "*Full Liberty of Mind and Conscience*," it will "*Provide for and Educate the Population*,"—

" Every one shall be equally provided through life, with the best of everything for human nature, by public arrangements ; which arrangements shall give the best known direction to the industry and talents of every individual.

" All shall be educated from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known at the time.

" All shall pass through the same general routine of education, domestic teaching, and employment.

" All children, from their birth, shall be under the especial care of the community in which they are born ; but their parents shall have free access to them at all times.

" All children shall be trained and educated together, as children of the same family ; and shall be early taught a knowledge of the laws of their nature.

" Every individual shall be encouraged to express his feelings and convictions only ; or, in other words, to speak the truth solely upon all occasions.

“Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges, and personal liberty ; their marriages will arise from the general sympathies of their nature, uninfluenced by artificial distinctions.”

After the children shall have been trained to acquire new habits and feelings derived from the laws of their nature, to know these laws, and to obey them, there shall be no *useless* private property, no individual punishment and reward. Society shall not be composed as at present of single families, but of associations of men, women, and children, in such numbers as local circumstances may determine. As these communities increase in number, unions of them shall be formed for local and general purposes, in tens, hundreds, thousands, &c. Each shall possess around it land sufficient for the support, for ever, of all its members, even when it shall contain the maximum in number ; and all the communities shall be so arranged as to give to all the members of each, as nearly as possible the same advantages, and to afford easy communication with each other.

Each community shall be governed in its home department by a general council, composed of all its members between the ages of thirty and forty ; in its foreign department by those between forty and sixty.

“All individuals trained, educated, and placed, in conformity to the laws of their nature, must of necessity, at all times, think and act rationally, except they shall become physically, intellectually, or morally diseased ; in which case the council shall remove them into the hospital for bodily, mental, or moral, invalids,

where they shall remain until they shall be recovered by the mildest treatment that can effect their cure."*

The general conclusion deduced from these facts and principles is, that "the period for remodelling the character of man, and for governing the population of the earth in unity, peace, progressive improvement, and happiness, is near at hand; and that no human power can resist the change."

The principal points of Political Economy which Mr. Owen deals with are those of distribution, the effects of the growing power of machinery, and the possibility of extracting an indefinitely increasing produce from the soil,—passing by the subject of exchange, and many others which occupy chiefly the attention of political economists. His reasonings in this direction coincide so perfectly with the line of argument taken in this work,† that it is needless to recapitulate them. With relation to the Domestic Economy of Society, Mr. Owen's position seems to be irrefutable; his only error being, apparently, the supposition that society is prepared to adopt them. He has recently re-issued his scheme of a community, with such modifications as he imagines will induce the middle and higher classes to give it their sanction. The publication emanates from a Society which has already raised a considerable amount of capital in furtherance of his object.

Mr. Owen's Plan. It is proposed to form Joint-Stock Companies of Proprietors, who, after having

* Mr. Owen's system admits of neither reward nor punishment; but this "moral hospital" savours very much of the last; there seems to be a distinction here without a difference.

† Philosophy of Necessity: Social Science.

purchased the land and erected the buildings, shall let them to Companies of Tenants, as in the case of Orbiston. That each "Home Colony" shall be devised to accommodate ultimately from 2,000 to 2,500 individuals, but to be so arranged as to contain temporarily, and during the "transition state," a larger number. The dwelling-houses and public buildings to be erected in the form of a square inclosing an area of about 65 acres, as nearly as may be in the centre of an estate of 2 or 3000 acres. The whole edifice, with its Schools, Libraries, Laboratories, Museums, Places of Worship, Refectories, &c., and the space enclosed containing Pleasure Grounds, Gardens, Conservatories, Gymnasias, Baths, &c., to constitute a magnificent Palace, containing within itself the advantages of a Metropolis, an University, and a Country Residence, without any of their disadvantages, and situated within a beautiful Park of 2,000 or 3,000 acres; the whole scientifically arranged, and placing within the reach of its inhabitants at a moderate expenditure, advantages economical, moral, and political, never yet possessed by any classes of society. It is intended to combine provision for the *individuality* of our nature with the economical and social benefits of union, more particularly until this feeling, at present so strong, shall have become modified under a different system of education. It is therefore designed that these shall be "Transition Colonies" merely, consisting of four Classes:—1st, of Hired Labourers or Servants—say one-third of single women who can earn, on the average, £25 per ann.; two-thirds of men, who now earn £39 per annum each. These persons will be lodged, fed, clothed, instructed,

and furnished with means of recreation, under circumstances that will gradually improve their language, habits, and general conduct; and thus prepare them to become candidates for membership. When they marry their places must be filled up by other single persons, unless their conduct shall have qualified them to aspire to membership; in which case, arrangements will be formed for them, and for educating their children, *outside* the square, but yet within the domain of the colony.

The 2nd Class, or Candidates for Membership, to consist of mechanics, artisans, and the superior kind of servants who now earn about £65 per annum, and who, when educated and trained in principle and practice, will be admitted as full members or colonists, and in the meantime will enjoy many advantages unattainable elsewhere.

The 3rd Class will be the *Members* of the Colony, who will take the establishment from the proprietors, reserving the right to fine down the rents, and ultimately become the owners at a stipulated price; and who will direct the general affairs of the colony, enjoy its full privileges, and transmit them to their children.

The 4th Class will consist of independent Families, or Individuals, who desire to enjoy all the benefits of a superior home, and society, at a reduced cost, and without trouble or anxiety; and who do not object to live under colonial rules and regulations, these having been framed to secure the happiness of all. They must be of good education, manners, and habits; they will be allowed more or fewer private apartments, according to their desire and means of expenditure; their meals may be private; they will have the free use of

the public institutions, and of superior education for their children.

The employment of the members will partly depend upon the localities of the situation. In some colonies agriculture would be principally attended to ; in others agriculture and manufactures ; in others agriculture and fishing ; in others agriculture, fishing, and manufactures ; in others agriculture and mining : but it is proposed that agriculture should be the basis of all ; and that this should be carried on to such an extent as to supply, in average seasons, the whole of the inhabitants with a full quantity of the best food ; and likewise that the clothing required should be manufactured by themselves. Beyond the production of these necessaries there will be a large surplus of labour to be employed for the benefit of society, and this will be directed to the extension of agriculture, manufactures, &c.—each person being well instructed in agriculture, and at least in some one other art, science, manufacture, or useful occupation. Great facilities will be afforded to agriculture by the power of calling out an extra number of hands, at those times and seasons when additional aid is required ; and it will be a primary object to introduce all scientific improvements, which, rightly applied, are calculated to render manual labour only a healthy and agreeable exercise. If there should not be at first a sufficient number of persons in the colony fully competent to the management of the different branches of industry, the Governor and Committee will be empowered to engage the assistance of skilful practical men from general society. Every regard will be paid to the inclinations of individuals in

regulating their employments. The estate would be divided into four farms, cultivated as far as possible with the spade; the agricultural buildings being near the centre of each. The manufactories, gas apparatus, washing, bleaching, and dyeing arrangements, stables, and coach-houses, &c., would be placed at some distance without the square, surrounded by plantations.

In a Transition Colony of 3708 persons the annual costs are calculated as follows:—

864 individuals of 1st class, at £15 per ann.	£12,960
324 2nd ... 25 ...	8,100
360 3rd ... 40 ...	14,400
432 4th ... 50 ...	21,600
1728 children, lodged, boarded, and educated with every advantage, £30 ...	51,840
<hr/> 3708	<hr/> <u>£108,900</u>

Estimate of the cost of Land, Buildings, &c.

2000 Acres of Land, average quality, including timber, at £70 per acre ...	£140,000
72 Dwelling-houses, at £3500 each ...	252,000
4 Colleges	16,000
4 Central Buildings for Adults	32,000
4 Culinary and Refectory arrangements	24,000
Furnishing the whole Establishment	60,000
Water, Gas, Heating Apparatus ...	60,000
4 Farm-houses and appendages for Farms	16,000
Stocking ditto	16,000
Baths, Gymnasia, Cloisters for each side	24,000
Drainage, laying out interior of the Square, and Terrace outside	20,000
4 Towers over the Culinary Establishments for Chimnies, Observatories, &c. ...	20,000
Contingencies	20,000
	<hr/> <u>£700,000</u>

£700,000 at 5 per cent	£35,000
Annual Repairs	10,000
Annual Cost	<u>£45,000</u>

Socialism. The most important result of Mr. Owen's labours, acting upon the minds of a multitude prepared to receive his views, has been the rise of a considerable and regularly organised Society, pledged to the support of the principles which he espouses, and, generally speaking, looking up to him as their respected, and now venerable, head. The *Socialists*, as a body, adhere to the metaphysical, moral, and economical doctrines which Mr. Owen maintains; but the class includes many who dissent from some of his views upon the subject of religion, and of others who doubt whether in following the dictates of his ardent enthusiasm, his judgment has always equalled his sincerity and zeal.

The Society was first established in a double form in May, 1835. "The Association of all Classes of all Nations" was chiefly intended for the dissemination of principles;—the "National Community Friendly Society," for the collection of funds to realize the desired objects. In May, 1839, these two Societies were incorporated into one, and enrolled by Act of Parliament, under the title of the "Universal Community Society of Rational Religionists." The title of "Religionists" being adopted, apparently, to secure for the Society the protection of the existing laws in favour of religious bodies. From the "Constitution and Laws" of the Society are deduced the following rules, which regulate its operations so far as its means and extension permit.

The Government of the Association is vested in a central Board of Directors, chosen annually by the "Congress," or general meeting of delegates from the Branch Societies, which is held every year in one of the principal towns of the empire, usually Manchester or Birmingham. The Central Board consists of a President, Vice President, Treasurer, General Secretary, and three other members. Three persons are annually appointed by the Congress as Trustees of the Society, who, in virtue of their office, are also members of the Board. It is the duty of this Board to direct and control the proceedings of the Society; to see that the laws are obeyed; to receive from the District Boards applications for charters, and reports upon them, and to grant charters when expedient; to examine and appoint Missionaries, and direct their proceedings; to publish tracts; to appoint subordinate officers; to summon the annual or special sessions of the Congress: and generally to take the most efficient means of disseminating their principles and of applying them to practice.

Great Britain and Ireland are divided into Districts, with Missionary stations in each. At each station a District Board is formed, consisting of the Missionary and six members of the Branch Society at the station. The Branch Societies consist of persons to whom a charter has been granted by the Central Board, when it has been ascertained that the applicants are by character and knowledge fitted to promote the objects of the Society. If the individuals wishing to form a Branch Society be fewer than twenty-five, they are required to form a class in connexion with the nearest Branch until they reach the required number.

The district Missionaries and stationed Lecturers of the Society are required to produce testimonials of good character ; to give proof of their knowledge upon the subject they are required to teach, by reading, and afterwards defending, before their examiners, an original essay upon some important topic of the science of society ;—and likewise of their oratorical powers, by delivering and defending an extempore address upon a subject proposed without previous notice. The members of the Society are selected with care, chiefly from the most liberal, industrious, and moral of the working classes. Before an individual can be admitted as a member, he must be entered on the roll of candidates for three months ; at the end of this period he is required to be examined by the Committee of the Branch Society to which he desires to belong, and if he is found qualified by knowledge of the principles, objects, and laws of the Society, and general fitness, he is passed as member.

The General Fund for defraying the expenses of the Society is maintained by weekly subscriptions of three halfpence from each single member, and of one penny from the wives of members. The Community Fund, for carrying out the formation of Communities of United Interests, is raised by weekly payments of not less than sixpence. The sum required with each member to ensure the full benefits of the Society is £50. The candidates for admission into the communities, when they are formed, will be elected by the Society on the recommendation of the majority of the members of the Branch to which they belong. Other qualifications being equal, those whose payments have been kept up fully shall be *first eligible* ; but as it may happen that the members

best fitted in the most important respects are least able to furnish the pecuniary quota, it will not be required, in all cases, that the £50 should have been actually paid. Labour being recognized as the only true source of wealth, active and industrious producers, intelligent and of good disposition, would soon be able to realize an equivalent to the Society for the deficiency in their pecuniary qualification.

The rules with regard to the contemplated communities proceed upon the principle of common property. The members will have an equal right in all communities; and every accommodation in buildings, stock, machinery, and scientific improvements, will go to augment the transferable value of the £50 investments of members, as in a joint-stock company. Under the working of this principle the members will enjoy the advantages of easily changing their locality of residence.

It remains to be seen what has been the progress of a Society with an organization so systematic. Their last published Report contains a list of 65 Branch Societies in England and Scotland. The number of enrolled members is upwards of three thousand; of these the London Branches furnish nearly one-third. Eighteen Missionaries and salaried Lecturers were in appointment the preceding year, whose weekly audiences are stated to have been on the average ten or twelve thousand persons. The last meeting of their Congress was held at Manchester in May, 1841, Mr. Owen attending as President of the Society. An application was then reported as having been made, and granted, to a Branch Society at New York.

In Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Worcester, Bristol, and several other large towns, 'Halls of Science' have been erected, and in others 'Social Institutions' are supported, in which lectures are delivered, and social meetings are held for the instruction or recreation of the members, or for the general purposes of the Society.

The subjects upon which the Missionaries are charged to treat in the fulfilment of their duty are the principles of the social theory adopted by the Society; but the discussions into which they are drawn by the attacks and misrepresentations of those parties who dread innovations upon old established customs and privileges, divert them too often from the main object of their mission. Instead of spreading a practical knowledge of the advantages of co-operation, of social union, and improved domestic economy, these lectures degenerate frequently into skirmishes with the partisans of the Church, or occasionally with some political party; although, generally speaking, the Society disclaims all interference with political objects. Many of the Missionaries are men of native talent but of little education, and the strength and fervour of their convictions are not always supported by the power of logical reasoning, or by steadiness of intellect sufficient to enable them to steer clear of these rocks of social offence. The marriage subject is an ever-fruitful source of calumny and mis-statement. The freedom of divorce which Mr. Owen contends ought to be permitted to the poor as well as to the rich, is all which his disciples seem to demand, in addition to the recent improvements in the established law of marriage in this country.

If Mr. Owen himself pursues the subject farther, it is, according to his own declaration, with relation to a far superior state of society to the present, considered in its moral aspect,—but these speculations are irrelevant to the practical object of introducing a union of interest among all mankind in the means of life, comfort, and improvement. This is, however, a ready handle for accusation, and it is not suffered to lie idle. The careful consideration which the Society requires from its members before they enter the married state, might be held as a guarantee for their respect for it. By the laws of the Society, “persons desirous to marry announce their intention publicly in the Sunday assemblies—if at the end of three months their intention remain unaltered, they make a second declaration ;—which declaration being registered in the books of the Society, constitutes the marriage.”

The conditions of entrance into the Society serve in some measure as vouchers for the general morality and intelligence of the body ; and if any other were required, the character and tone of the periodical which circulates among them, “The New Moral World,” as compared with those which corrupt the minds and taste of other classes of the same level, is more than sufficient. It would be a contradiction to the laws of the human mind if the constant handling of the great topics of natural morality, and the adoption of the tone of elevated sentiment and benevolence, did not leave some effect upon the character and conduct. In consideration of such effects some portion of self-conceit and sufficiency may be tolerated, until superior education shall have reduced them to a just proportion.

There seems to be a growing anxiety among the members of the Society to realize some of the objects of their association ; they have been endeavouring to work on the public mind for some years, and they find in it an additional disposition to enquire into the soundness of their views ; but operatives with small means can scarcely be expected to continue making pecuniary sacrifices for the sake of "working upon the public mind,"—and yet little else can be calculated upon at present from their unaided exertions ; and supposing they could by the union of their efforts form communities, they cannot yet be considered as sufficiently advanced in knowledge and wisdom to escape the difficulties which overwhelmed New Harmony and Orbiston. It appears to be the general opinion, and Mr. Owen gave expression to it at the last meeting of their 'Congress,' that until the members of such associations shall have been qualified by training and education to take their natural rights and responsibilities, affairs must be managed for them by one Head, competent to direct them in accordance with their acknowledged principle, and with power to choose fitting officers to assist in the same object. This is in effect a reduction to the St. Simonian maxim of government—of rule by "the most capable," and must be open to the same objection, that the very possession of power produces disqualification, by its corrupting influences, unless that power is the power of the proprietor whose interest depends upon the success of his plan, and is therefore strictly connected with that of the governed. The success of Mr. Owen at New Lanark, as of Mr. Vandaleur at Ralahine, seems to have resulted from

the fact of his being proprietor, and retaining absolute power over the disposal of his property.

Two years ago the Society under notice took possession of a leasehold estate of 500 acres, at Tytherley, in Hampshire, for the purpose of forming upon it an experimental community, with the advice and sanction of Mr. Owen; and upon this the attention of the members has been anxiously fixed. The land is held of the proprietor with the power of ultimate purchase; it is beautifully situated, and, under proper cultivation, is considered likely to be highly productive; but the soil had been previously exhausted, and much outlay has been required for its improvement. Many difficulties and discouragements have been encountered, some of which have been surmounted, while some remain. The accommodation for residents at Queenwood, upon the estate, is small, and was utterly inadequate for the numbers who at first were admitted as members. Much discomfort and confusion were the consequence. At present the number of inmates is reduced to the few who can be lodged with tolerable comfort; and buildings are in process of erection which will accommodate a much larger number. From the Report of the proceedings at Tytherley, published in May, 1841, it appears that there were fifteen adults and five children then resident at Queenwood. The weekly cost of each of the former was calculated to be 7s. 1d., exclusive of rent; including, for food, 4s. 7d.; for fuel, light, washing, &c., 11d.; clothing, 7d.; and pocket money, 1s. The whole sum expended from the commencement of the undertaking in October, 1839, had been £6580. 10s. 1d.; of which the Community Fund had advanced

above £6000. Additional money has been obtained by means of loans, the interest of which is charged upon the estate, and which are to be paid off as the profits will permit. At the time the Report in question was made, the concern, owing to the heavy expenses of the cultivation, showed a balance of loss, but since the crops were gathered in the prospect has improved, and is said to be encouraging for the future. Much internal happiness and concord seem to prevail at present in the little community. The time and attention of the members are much engrossed in their field labours, in which they have the assistance of about twenty hired labourers, but they have their evening studies and occasional recreation. The women take the household management and domestic offices by turns of a month each, in the several departments. They seem to be respected by their neighbours, and to have overcome the prejudice which existed at first against them. Their Governor had been applied to by the local authorities to put his name upon the list of nominees for the Board of Guardians, and upon one occasion sat as chairman of a vestry meeting in the parish church. It is in contemplation, if sufficient funds can be raised, to found an educational establishment at Tytherley, to introduce also such trades as are adapted to the locality, and to set up a printing establishment for the Society, to be worked by its own members. Tracts to the amount of 18,000 have been distributed by the Society within the last three months.

In comparing St. Simonianism with Owenism it has been well and forcibly said,—“the first electrified the

world with its vivid representations of universal order and harmony, but it was not adapted for taking root in the earth. The second is adapted for taking root in the earth, but not for captivating the fancy. The first was spiritual, imaginative, elegant. It drew forth abundance of zeal and noble resolution. The theory was sublime, and the intentions were benevolent; but it is a law of nature that all growth shall begin at the root, and that a house shall not be built by beginning at the chimney tops. The imaginative is a superstructure to be reared upon the foundation—not a foundation upon which to build—practically. In this latter respect, therefore, Owenism is to all appearance the most natural and probable basis of a social system; its very materiality and mechanical character are strong arguments in favour of the supposition; its philosophy is the influence of physical arrangements on the character of man. Both systems may be said to be based upon a religious principle, the one upon that of universal unity and harmony, and the law of progress which pushes society forward to universal association; the other upon the formation of the character upon the basis of philosophical necessity.* “The idea of God,” says St. Simon, “is for man the conception of unity, order, and harmony, the belief that he has a destination, and the explanation of this destiny. The sciences derive their power from an idea essentially religious—that there is consistency, order, and regularity, in the succession of phenomena.” But admitting as he does its main principle, necessitarianism seems in some sort

* Rev. J. E. Smith.

distasteful to him. "The future is *necessary*," he allows, "but when the feelings, the sympathies are interested in its realization, it becomes *providential*."

Fourierism. The desire of social union and perfection puts on a third aspect in our times. Fourierism presents the same leading features with those of the two foregoing systems;—partaking in some measure of the characteristics of each, while it has strong distinctive peculiarities of its own. Fourier, like St. Simon and Owen, believed himself to be the discoverer and herald of the true system of society, and devoted his life, amidst discouragement and disappointment, to declare it to the world—a world which would not hear; deaf to the living voice, yet listening to its echoes. St. Simonianism and Fourierism are illustrations of the frequently observed fact that a sect receives an impulse from the death of its founder. When the interest and sanctity which attaches to the memory of the dead is added to the truth which he taught—when the doctrine is taken up by minds of a more practical character than are those which generally enunciate new truths, or old truths in a new form, and which in pruning away the luxuriant and superfluous growths with which enthusiasm and inventive power have encumbered them, can adapt them to the understanding and wants of the multitude—then only are they likely to spread beyond the limited circle of personal devotion. "That which thou sowest is not quickened unless it die"—or seem to die.

Charles Fourier was born at Besançon in France, in 1772. He was well educated, although his parents

were in trade, and he himself was destined to similar pursuits. "He showed considerable talent at an early age. At seven he wrote a poetical essay on the death of a pastry-cook, which astonished the professors of the college at which he was placed, and in 1785 he carried off the two chief prizes of his class for Latin poetry. His favourite study at this time was geography, and he passed whole nights over maps which he had purchased with his pocket-money. The culture of flowers was his favourite recreation. His room was a flower-garden, in which he had collected plants of various countries, and for which he adopted various modes of culture. He was passionately fond of music, and at a subsequent period continued to cultivate the science, and made it, as it were, the natural algebra of his writings. The heart of Fourier was always in harmony with his professions. When at school, he shared for a long time his breakfast with a poor half-starved peasant, and this self-abnegation was not known until the individual in whose favour it was exercised; could by the absence of Fourier, speak of it without wounding his delicacy."* Upon leaving school Fourier was placed in a commercial house at Lyons, in connexion with which he afterwards travelled through France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium. In 1793 he entered into business on his own account at Lyons, and invested his patrimony in colonial produce. By the decree of the Convention which declared Lyons in a state of siege, he was suddenly ruined. His life was several times in danger during those fearful times, and

* *Social System of Fourier*, by Gibbons Merle, *Chambers' Journal*.

he was shortly compelled to enter the army, in which he served for six years. At the end of that time he returned to Lyons.

During these years of hard-earned experience, Fourier had observed and thought much; he had sympathized with the miseries of humanity and endeavoured to trace their cause,—and this he believed to be ignorance. His whole mind was intent upon finding a remedy, and to this he now applied himself. Two facts are recorded which gave a bent to his speculations. At five years old he noticed the falsehoods which his father's shopman uttered to a customer in recommending his goods; the child innocently revealed the imposition to the purchaser, and in his simplicity looked to his father for applause, but to his great astonishment he met with a severe reprimand. At the age of nineteen he was required to assist in the destruction of a quantity of grain at Marseilles, for the purpose of enhancing the price of the remainder. These two incidents indelibly impressed his mind, and caused him to reflect on the falsehood and fraud which are imposed upon man from his infancy; and upon the nature of competition and monopoly which require, for the benefit of some, the destruction of the gifts of Nature. Had Nature made these anomalies essential to the state of man, when nothing corresponding was to be found in the rest of her domain? And if she had not, how were they to be removed? The principle which guided him in his search was, that pain, either physical or moral, is the sign of error—pleasure, that of truth. Two instincts have been held to be in man, the good and the bad. Philosophy has been trying for five thousand

to suppress the bad, to no other end but to prove they are as fixed and unconquerable as the good, therefore of an equally superior origin. Instead of repressing them, they must be directed,—therefore to civilise the passions—to assure to them a free and development, so that all may act beneficially, none injuriously—to associate the faculties and energies”—constitute the aim and object of Fourierian philosophy.

published, in 1808, a development of his views in a work entitled “*La Théorie des Quatre Mouvements*” which contains the essential points of his system, his later works being chiefly explanations and applications of the first. The philosopher, commercial for such he was, ventured not to affix his full name to his production. Under the simple title of “*Théorie des Quatre Mouvements*,” the author modestly invited the objections which society should make to his theory. “He did not wish so much the applause and sympathy of the many as the pecuniary resources of the few. He sought the means to realize the idea of his mind. He cared little about gaining converts to the theory, but only looked for the benefits of experience. He hoped that the magnificence of the results—the beauty of the system—their mathematical rigour—the pomp of his theory—their grandeur and utility, would determine in our favour the co-operation of some great capitalist or distinguished personage. Thus did Fourier patiently make little noise, but strong in faith, looking forward with confidence to the dawn of a new era. But he died in vain.” “Charles” had few readers, nor 514, a single convert, when he gained his first

disciple, M. Juste Muiron, who gave pecuniary aid to the publication of his next work, "Traité de l'Association Domestique Agricole," which appeared in 1822; M. Muiron also attempted to set on foot a trading co-operative establishment, which was effectually opposed by the Academy at Besançon.

Fourier consoled himself for the neglect of the world by developing still farther the details of his plans. "Le Nouveau Monde Industriel," published in 1829, and several lesser productions, were written with this object. Deprived of the means of realizing his project, he occupied himself in describing the arrangements relating to it with astonishing and ridiculous minuteness. These eccentric accompaniments were the only garments in which Fourier would clothe his system, and he met with derision and disappointment. He applied to the different philosophers who enjoyed popular favour, but they one and all rejected him; neither the followers of St. Simon, nor Owen, whom he besought to make trial of his system in some one of his prospective communities, would lend him a helping hand, and in his anger he called them quacks and egotists in a spirit which he afterwards deeply regretted. For some years he had maintained himself as a letter-copier, and in 1832, at the age of 60, he retired upon a small income, to indulge in the dreams of his enthusiastic imagination. In these he saw the full accomplishment of his scheme, the only happiness he could enjoy. No monarch, no capitalist seconded his wish; but at length a few disciples gathered round him, and among them one who brought the energies of a scientific and practical mind to bear upon the cause which he had espoused. M.

Victor Considérant, impressed with the idea that beauty and truth were in the system, desired to introduce it to the world freed from its speculative trappings; but Fourier, with the idolatry of a man who has given up his life to an idea, clung tenaciously even to its puerilities. At length conferences were opened at Paris, in which Fourier developed isolated parts of his system, whilst his new proselyte opened his first course of public lectures in the town of Metz.

It was at this critical period that St. Simonianism, after having shone brilliantly for a short period, was overwhelmed, and its followers dispersed. From its fugitive ranks Fourier gained many valuable recruits; among others M. Jules Lechevalier and M. Abel Transon, whose pens, besides those of M. Considérant, M. Muiron, and of many others, were engaged in support of his theory. A journal called "Le Phalanstère," was established in 1832 as the organ of their views. But talking and writing did not suffice for these ardent reformers, an attempt was made to realize the ideas of Fourier. Operations were commenced on some large estates at Condé-sur-Vesgres; the land was put in cultivation, buildings were begun, but the funds were insufficient; the disciples became aware that it was necessary first to count the cost, and to provide ample means before resorting to practical measures. This failure damped the spirits of many; the Phalanstère was given up, and Fourier found himself again alone and deserted. His last work, "La Fausse Industrie," was published in 1835;—in 1837 he died, sad and dejected at the disappointment of his hopes and aspirations.

In society, Fourier appeared grave, reserved, and indifferent. Accustomed to feel that the world did not understand or appreciate him, he contemned the world; but among friends he was cheerful and communicative, indulgent to the ignorant, but severe upon philosophers. He sought the poor rather than the rich, rarely refusing the invitations of the former, while he seemed to shun those of the latter. He was fond of animals,—and of children, as yet uncorrupted by the “incoherent institutions” of society. He was particularly scrupulous in putting no one to trouble or expense on his account, and exact in keeping his promises. By constant order and economy he made the most of his narrow means; when his family resources fell below £100 a-year, he made up the sum by spending part of his time in earning the deficiency; but as bequests occasionally fell to him from relations, he was often for years together devoted to his studies entirely. At his death he had an independent income of £60 per ann., besides the profits of his works. He was small and well-proportioned in person, with eyes and forehead mild and poetic. His works abound with quotations and illustrations which prove the extent of his information and research. The traces of his early tastes are visible in his writings; he was particularly fond of clothing his ideas, to the effect perhaps of hiding them, in the terms peculiar to his favourite sciences—of music and astronomy most especially. Upon his tombstone at Montmartre is engraven the leading maxim of his philosophy,—“*Les attractions sont proportionnelles aux destinées,*”—*The destiny of man is proportioned to his desires.*

Victor Considérant, after Fourier's death, revived the drooping cause, and became the editor of a new periodical called the "Phalange," which he still conducts; a party of seceders set on foot a second, called the "Chronique du Mouvement Sociale." "Le Nouveau Monde" was also devoted to the same service. In the course of a few years Fourierism reached an importance which obtained for it the patronage of the Duke of Orleans, and of many of the Deputies of the Chambers, and the assistance of some of the diplomatic corps at Paris.* Like St. Simonianism it has engaged in France the attention of men of cultivated minds. "In this respect we believe there is a very notable distinction between France and England. The social system has never, up to this very hour, been patronized or encouraged, (to any extent,) by men of education and learning. In France the very highest order of nobility and talent do not hesitate to avow themselves friendly. Probably the repression of public opinion by the severity of Government has a tendency to create this social prepossession in private. The remark has been frequently made that the principles of genuine liberty have been vulgarized in Britain, by the unlimited scope which is given to the expression of opinion, both by the tongue and the pen. This evil will ultimately cure itself with us;‡ but in the meantime we have to overcome the obstacles with which it has impeded our progress, and the difficulties which we experience in so doing, will give the people some lessons in

* See Series of articles on Fourier, New Moral World. Chambers' Journal. London Phalanx.

true philosophy, which it is indispensable for them to learn before they can be happy.”*

In his system Fourier professes not only to show, as others have done, the advantages of union and co-operation, but to give to the world a new social theory. He divides the history of humanity into four forms or periods, *incoherently social—savagism, patriarchalism, barbarism, and civilization*, which is the state in which the greatest part of Europe now exists, and which “creates the elements of happiness, but not the happiness.” This is reserved for the combined societies of the future, fruitful in good and in riches. To this future Fourier gives the name of *harmony*. Civilization and all the historic periods known, have their narrow foundation on *family management*, or *morselling*; harmonized society will have the larger basis of an *industrial phalanx*, or an *associated commune*. By *duality* Fourier understands the opposite effects of a natural law, or desire, according to the different circumstances in which it acts. Under the name of industry he comprehends all scientific, artistic, educational, as well as agricultural and manufacturing labour—all labour useful to humanity. *Attractive Industry* he holds to be the active destiny of man. The first of the numerous conditions of a good social organization, is to produce the greatest possible sum of wealth, in order that this wealth may flow back to every one, and give to all the means of satisfying the wants of their nature, so that life may be to all a splendid banquet and well served; not, as to day, a poor and

* Rev J. E. Smith.

miserable table where the famished guests snatch the morsels from each other. Civilization devotes a large proportion of its power and labour to *produce nothing or to destroy*. The evils of this state, including the unprofitable consumption of wealth, the miseries produced by competition, and the injury inflicted on producer and consumer by the system of trading, founded on the principle of buying cheap and selling dear, Fourier details no less forcibly than St. Simon and Owen.

“ The different phases of civilization are its *Infancy*—characterised by exclusive marriage, and patriarchal feudalism with its chivalric spirit. Brute force no longer governing, but trick, fraud, and hypocrisy developing themselves largely. In the second phase of *Adolescence*, the industrious are enfranchised, the ancient vassals become people and citizens, the sciences and arts are cultivated, and to the illusions of chivalry succeed those of liberty,—we say *illusions*, for truly to realize liberty there are other conditions than writing the word on a monarchical or a republican constitution. The *Plenitude* of this second phase evolves great industrial resources, from the progress of the arts and of science, particularly from the discoveries of chemistry, and the means of rapid nautical communication, but the growing opposition of individual to general interest delivers over the soil, in the mass, to *anarchical culture*. At the same time fiscal loans contain the germ of political decadence, and tend to the formation of industrial feudality. In the third phase of *Decline*, social power no longer reposes on the escutcheon and parchment, but on money. The spirit of the epoch contains the germ of a new feudality—the financial,

industrial, or mercantile, of which the workmen are the vassals and slaves. The power of great fortunes, multiplied by joint-stock concentration, by fabrication on a large scale, the employment of machines, and the operations of large houses, crush the middling and lower industrious and traders.* The destitute work-

* "The immense superiority of large over small manufactories has been sufficiently demonstrated by facts. Wherever a great manufacturing establishment, with its machines, capital, vast workshops, and division of labour, comes to instal itself, it suddenly crushes the small concerns of the like kind throughout its proximity. Also, when a machine comes to be introduced, it instantaneously breaks the arms of a multitude of workmen. It is known that we have not dared to realize the use of mechanical saws in the quarries of stone about Paris, because this immense power would take the bread from a crowd of workmen. M. Lafitte wished to establish a grand central brew-house, and he shrunk back from the idea of a similar result. Again at Paris, we have not dared to establish machines to sew slop pantaloons, because this invention would be fatal to thirty thousand women who now live by this work.

"Political economists say the evil is transitory. What, would they have science stop? Does it not daily produce inventions and mechanical improvements? And this evil called *transitory* is renewed every day, and consequently *permanent*. Again, these Doctors say the introduction of a machine is good for the workman in two ways; first the objects manufactured fall in price, and the workmen can procure them cheaper. So, then, a workman who gained twenty-pence a-day in making cotton caps, ought to think himself very happy when he is deprived of work by the introduction of a machine, for then the cotton cap, which used to cost eight-pence, will only cost five-pence, afterwards. Happy workman, take off thy cap to these Doctors! The second reason they give is, that the lowering the price augments consumption, and consequently the quantity of fabrication, so that as many hands are employed as before. Ah! but before it comes to this, during the time that passes between the reduction of hands and their return to work, what happens then, my masters? Productions would lower in price, truly; but it is also true, that the working class 'would strictly not have a penny to procure them.'" Victor Considérant.

man marches hand in hand with pauperism, and revolutions are made for social rather than political rights. The principle of free competition produces an *anarchical commerce*, and the illusions of the age are those of political economy. In this state of things, the usurpation of the princes of finance upon territorial possessions will tend to bring in the fourth phase. This last phase of *Conducity* is marked by the regular constitution of industrial feudality, when not only commerce, manufacture, and circulating capital, but the soil of the country will be in possession of the princes of finance, or the large capitalists and joint-stock companies; for their own interest they will organize the system of industry, which will then be under their sole control; they will regulate production, consumption, and distribution, and give universal education, as the precise means of realizing the largest profits on their capital. They will have the power—their interest will suggest the means, and thus the true system of industrial association will by degrees introduce itself, even from the depths of social crime. It becomes us to elevate ourselves, with the resources and instruments we possess, to a superior period without passing through the social infamy of the fourth.”*

“Human nature having received all the passions, or inherent faculties, necessary to association, cannot escape individual sufferings and general calamities, whilst, despising the social permanent revelation, it persists in living in *industrial incoherence* and *family partyism*. Admitting a real progress in the chain of

* “Social Destiny.”

the savage, patriarchal, barbarous, and civilized states, —a progress characterized principally by the development of the sciences and great industry,—these are but the four phases of human infancy, the unhappy period of the *movement subversive*." All the calamities that history records, all the miseries that afflict us now, are the punishments due to a creature who resists the law of his own being which stimulates him to association, and not to disunion. Providence would be in contradiction to itself to allow of the same happiness to individualized, which it has designed for associated, society.

The first thing which ought to be done before *moral harmony* can be introduced, is to make a rapid increase of produce to extirpate indigence, the scourge that falls upon the inferior classes. For this reason it is necessary to organize the whole system of industry, by which its products will be increased "four-fold," and to begin with the most common and productive employments, in which every family from the highest to the lowest is engaged,—those of domestic economy and housekeeping. If the theory of association is found, this ought to be its first application. But we must know how to associate capital and labour together, and not the labourers by themselves alone; we must associate interests, and we must discover a *process of association*.

Fourier bases his social theory upon certain doctrines of moral philosophy strictly analogous to those of Phrenology, although he has a classification of his own, and a mode of treating them peculiar to himself; he also disclaims any acquaintance with Phrenology. The key-stone of his philosophy is this—that the

natural impulses, desires, or, as he calls them, *attractions* of man, spring from his Creator and point unerringly to his happiness. That they are the cause of evil to him now is a proof that the system of things in which he lives is wrong, and therefore duty, restraint, punishment, are all words relating to a social state which is not in harmony with his indestructible passions. "Present society is so constituted that one can hardly be allowed to satisfy his desires without doing injury to himself or his fellows. Every man desires riches, for example, but the greatest number is denied them. Labour, and the practice of truth are seldom the ways of fortune. In almost every direction falsehood and fraud prevail. Does any one desire to procure the pleasures which civilization presents, it is an almost certain method of ruining his purse and his health. We cannot abandon one passion without sacrificing others. Love does wrong to friendship, and ambition causes us to forget both, &c. These observations are trivial; but instead of considering, as heretofore, these miseries as inherent in human nature, M. Fourier calls this all a world turned upside down. As he has faith in the *integrality of Providence*, he lays down as a first principle, that there exists a social mechanism appropriate to human nature, a mechanism which will make the interest of every man concur with the practice of truth, which will open to all a simple path to riches and happiness, and this path will be the obedience of each to the impulsions which he receives from nature. Attraction is the one and universal law of all movements, social as well as material."*

* "Have I occasion to observe," asks M. Abel Transon, "that Fourier does not attempt to justify the errors into which man is

Attraction passionnée is the term given by Fourier to the impulses which nature gives anterior to reflection ; its essential springs being twelve radical passions, to each of which the social scheme ought to give the fullest satisfaction.† Of these, five relate to the *external senses*, and they tend to the luxury or happiness of the individual :—four to the affections which bind man to family and immediate friends, tending to the formation of particular friendships, or *groups*,—they are *friendship*, *ambition*, (the source of political groups,) *love*, *affection for family* :—and three which are the essential sources of social organization,—the *cabalistic*, or the spirit of party, of speculation, of intrigue, the *composite*, the spirit of enthusiasm, of accord, and *alternativeness*, or *restlessness*, which produces the love of frequent change. “ Let these twelve passions have free and uncontrolled exercise, and the result will be the religious sentiment, or passion for social harmony, or universal unity, just as the blending of the prismatic colours produces the white solar ray.”

That which constitutes character is the dominion of one or more of these passions, in phrenological language, the superior development of one or more faculties ; the rank of the character in the scale is determined by the

drawn by his passions in the present state of society ? In the *subversive order*, the *piecemeal system*, the Christian law which commands man to suppress his passions is infinitely wise and superior to every other.”

† Fourier uses the word *passion* in a scientific sense, as the motive force of our nature, quite apart from the morality of the acts consequent ; he considers the passions as the *steam* by which the whole engine of society is worked, and the machinery must be so adapted as to avail itself of the whole power for useful ends.

number of these dominant faculties, and the greater their number the more elevated is the social destiny of the individual. Ordinary characters, whom Fourier calls *solitones*, have but one dominant passion; these are, in the scale of character, that which private soldiers are in a regiment. Nature does not produce these characters by chance, but in a fixed and determinate proportion, so that when society shall have passed from its present incoherence to a state of social organization, every individuality will have its proper place, and every character will be in the universal order like a necessary note in one immense concert. "Nature is wiser than man; she does not produce characters in one monotonous mould such as custom and fashion would dictate; but she produces such varieties as will form when united, one harmonious whole. As with wonderful precision she adjusts the proportion of the sexes, so she adjusts the character of the individual to the wants of the social regime."

The four passions which tend to form mankind into groups have each a material and spiritual principle;—thus the groups which friendship forms may be produced by the spiritual affinity of character, or the material affinity of industrial propensities; those formed by ambition,—by the spiritual affinity of combination for glory, or by the material affinity of interest; those formed by love,—by the material affinity of the charm of the senses, or the spiritual affinity of real affection; those of familism,—by the material affinity of consanguinity, or the spiritual affinity of adoption. In the groups formed by friendship and ambition, the spiritual principle holds the first rank, the material principle

rules in the other two. In the two first, man has the superiority; in the two latter, it belongs undoubtedly to woman. Groups may be formed by the spiritual or material principle of each of these passions; but the attachment is most perfect when formed upon both. Groups may also be formed by the mixture of passions, but one will always be dominant. Groups may also be formed sometimes by the *contrast* of character.

The object of association is to afford scope for *attraction passionée*, or the impulses and faculties bestowed by nature.* The next thing to discover is a mode of association which shall permit their free development,—“which shall ratify the alliance of sound reason with nature, by guaranteeing the acquisition of riches and happiness, which are the wish of nature, to the practice of justice and truth, which are the decrees of sound reason, and can only reign by association;—which shall produce *unity internal*, or peace of man with himself, by ending the internal war which is occasioned by putting passion and attraction at variance with wisdom and law;—and *unity external*, or the relation of man with God and the universe. . The universe communicates with God but by attraction, no creature from the stars down to the insects arriving at harmony but by following the impulses of attraction, it follows that man must by attraction attain the end of the Divine plan—harmony and unity.”

Almost all social reformers, Fourier remarks, are

* The definition which St. Simon gives of the object of association—“the moral, intellectual, and physical amelioration of the most numerous class,” Fourier censures as comparatively vague and barren.

more occupied with the constitutions to be given to empires than in determining whether the present domestic system, the isolation of families, and the dissociation of industry ought to continue. Whereas "it is the commune which is the corner-stone of the social edifice, however vast it may be, and it signifies little what may be the system of government, if interests are divided and opposed in the commune. Here then social amelioration must be begun."* Fourier accordingly commences the process of association by the formation of small knots, or groups, consisting of seven or eight individuals united in affection, character, or pursuits. Each individual will be the member of several groups, in each of which some one or more of his dominant "passions," or faculties, will find exercise; in some the passion of friendship will be the bond of union; in others, that of ambition, or love of glory; in some the feelings of love or admiration will be called into play; in others, those of the family affections. The *material affinity* of union in some specific pursuit or labour will strengthen the bonds of attachment in these groups, or form the principal tie of union among other groups. The workman, therefore, will not be solitary or isolated; he will be stimulated to his labours by the attraction of his adhesive tendencies. He will also be urged on by the titles and distinctions which each group will award to its members. Fourier thus admits the principle of emulation and competition in his groups, and also between one group and another which will rival each other in the perfection of their

* Victor Considérant.

labours, but he assumes that it will be a friendly competition, a generous rivalry. Each group will also determine the wages of its members. The great principle of Fourier's industrial system is to make *labour attractive*, so that every one shall be drawn to it *freely* and by *passion*. "It is the grand, the fatal characteristic of civilized industry to be repugnant, to have for *pivotal* motive nothing but the fear of death from hunger!" In *Harmony* then every arrangement will be made to obviate the causes of this repugnance, labour will be made a social pleasure in which even the rich will eagerly participate, and in which all will join with friendly zeal and enthusiasm. The workshops will combine salubrity, neatness, and elegance; and the manners and exterior deportment of the workmen will present nothing gross or offensive. In Fourier's second leading industrial principle of "short sittings," he provides for the "restless" faculty of our nature. No kind of labour will be continued for more than two, at most three hours, at a time, except in some especial departments of art or science. Thus every one will be able to devote himself, in the course of a day, to many different occupations, some of mental, some of bodily labour. The formation of workmen into groups admits of this, since ten or twelve individuals will perform in one hour the labour which occupies a single workman for a day. Minute division of labour is therefore necessary, that every one may acquire a real skill in the different and numberless employments in which he will take part.

The association of the groups working at the same branch of industry, the culture of the vine, or the

manufacture of a fabric, will constitute a *series*, and every facility will be given to the labourers to pass from one series to another, when wearied of any one particular occupation. With respect to the distribution of the rewards of labour, Fourier differs with both Owen and St. Simon, although he agrees with the latter in condemning the principle of equal participation, or community. The series will be classed in the order of *necessary, useful, and agreeable*. The reward allotted by the community for the labour of each series will not be determined by the quantity of its products, but upon the rank which it holds in this classification, and will be proportioned to the wealth of the whole society. For instance, a series devoted to a productive labour, such as the cultivation of fruits, will be perhaps less remunerated than that charged with the care of young children, if this last labour be considered more useful or less attractive. Each individual, by the very nature of the system, will be engaged in a great number of series, therefore it will be his interest that justice should be done in all, or else he will lose in one what he unjustly gains in another. The dividend allotted to each series will be distributed among its groups upon analogous principles, but the groups will dispense it to their constituent individuals upon another principle, which Fourier claims as peculiar to his own theory—in certain fixed proportions to *labour, capital, and talent*; this proportion being—to labour, five-twelfths; to capital, four-twelfths; to talent, three-twelfths. To the poorest associate will be allotted a minimum of lodging, clothing, and food, and even of pleasure, as the privilege of hunting or fishing, admis-

sion to public entertainments, &c. Industry being rendered *attractive*, the community will be able to afford to make this advance without risk ; but so long as industry is *repugnant*, the workman must be stimulated by indigence.

“ The aggregate of the series of each community will form the social household, the ‘Phalange,’ (Phalanx,) and when it is determined how many individuals shall compose this, how much land it should occupy, the form of its habitation, the mechanism of its functions of production, distribution, and consumption, then we come to consider the association of the Phalanges of the same district, and ultimately rise to the organization of the whole globe.”

With respect to the administrative power, each group, series, and phalange, will elect its chief. No one will have a deliberate voice in a group, series, or phalange, in which he has not employment. The electoral right will necessarily be proportioned to the capacity, because the number of an individual’s votes will depend upon the number of groups and series of which he is a member, and the number of these will depend upon the number of his dominant passions, or faculties, upon which we have seen that his rank in the scale of character depends. The authorities thus constituted by election exercise only the power of opinion ; any farther constraint would be opposed to the whole spirit of the system which works by attraction. Their advice will be *passionately* followed, but it will not be binding ; a group would be free to delay its harvest in opposition to the judgment of the *Areopagus*. There can be no danger of a series compromising the interests of the

phalange through obstinacy or caprice, for the members of one series will be allied to perhaps thirty others, so that their interest in one will be checked by their interest in others. This mingling of interests is the effect of "short sittings of labour."

"The Phalange will be composed of the grand series of classes, namely, Household, Culture, Fabrication, Science, Fine Arts, &c. Each of this series of classes is divided into series of orders:—Forests, Meadows, Orchards, Gardens, &c. The subdivision is continued into species and varieties, and we thus arrive at groups, or elements, of these different industrial series. Thus, industry organized in the natural method, in logical order, and as pure good sense would require, is far from resembling the anarchy of civilized industrialism. In the associated method convergence is complete: the Phalange is a compact body, acting as a wise army."

In the social domestic establishment the play of the twelve radical passions must be provided for, and first those which relate to the senses—internal health, and external luxury. "He who wishes to know how to form an association of men must know how to lodge, feed, and clothe them." M. Considérant in his exposition of Fourier's system, entitled "Social Destiny," contrasts in glowing colours the wretched arrangements of actual cities and habitations, with relation to the health and comfort of their populations, with those which science and art might construct in harmonious proportions, at an infinitely smaller cost, and to the gratification of the taste for beauty and order. "Is it God that made Paris, London, St. Petersburg, Madrid? Is it God or men? No; permanent misery, periodical

plague, and the poisoning of the atmosphere, are the work of men. God has made the golden clouds of heaven, the wild thyme and the moss, the bird and the wood, the flower of the field and the lily of the valley." "Civilization has some rare palaces, and myriads of paltry dwellings, as it has rags for the mass, and cloth of gold and silk for its few favourites." Where there is concentration of will, edifices are raised proportioned to its power; even now the town-hall, the theatre, the church, are distinguished because a public principle has raised them. In *Harmony* all will be lodged in palaces. Fourier dwells, like Owen, upon the superior economy in construction and management obtained by the institution of a single cellar, magazine, granary, and kitchen, for hundreds of each; on the saving effected by the reduction of the number of individuals employed in domestic labour, and in the simplification of buying and selling, as well as the preventing of loss of time from the state of the atmosphere, or of the seasons, by the combination of labour. He expatiates upon the luxuriant and picturesque beauty of a country in which the different kinds of cultivation are mingled together, with no restriction but the adaptation of the soil and situation to the different productions; instead of narrow enclosures crowded with twenty different sorts of produce. In the masses of our corn-fields and woods many spots may be found that would suit other cultures, and among the inferior plains many which might become cultivated glades.

Fourier carries forward his ideas to the time when by the force of associated action, deserts will be fertilized, the sterile hills re clothed with woods, and by

the indirect results of man's exertions, even climates be tempered and improved. Unity of enterprise will ensure the prompt destruction of hurtful races of animals. "Observe how well civilization takes its measures, when the *wolf-hunter* is precisely the man who has most interest in the preservation of wolves; for without wolves there would be no wolf-hunter. Truly, *ma pauvre civilisation*, thy philosophers have well perfected thee! And, moreover, it is thus in everything. A rivulet runs through the valley, and the proprietors of the meadows which it traverses make it a subject of legal contest. In *Harmony* basins will be made at the head of the valleys, and the rivulet will be distributed, doubling and trebling the crops."

Mr. Owen's community is to be located in a *Parallelogram*, Fourier's in a *Phalanstère*. The *Phalanstère* is to be occupied by the industrial phalange of from sixteen to eighteen hundred persons, cultivating about nine square miles. The construction of the edifice is not arbitrary, as it must vary with different social periods and localities. As described by Fourier, it is to consist of a street gallery, with rows of houses on each side. The gallery is to be a covered street, heated or cooled according to the different seasons and climates. The floor of this covered way will be on a level with the first story of the houses, which will be of three stories, looking over the country or interior courts laid out with agreeable plantations. Each associate will have his private dwelling proportioned to his fortune, and for this, as well as for board, he will have a fixed subscription with the phalange, with extras at command; and each, with the exception of

furniture, linen, and objects for individual use, will share his moveable and fixed property with the community. All labours, interior as well as exterior, being exercised by groups and series of groups, the edifice will include a great number of public halls called *seristères*. The centre of the Phalanstère will be adapted for peaceable employments, for halls of repast, exchange, council, library, &c. In the centre also will be the temple, watch-tower, telegraph, observatory, &c. One of the wings will contain the noisy workshops, and the industrial assemblages of children, who are commonly noisy in industry as in recreation. The other wing will contain the caravansera, with ball-rooms, halls for strangers, &c. All the children, rich and poor, will lodge in the *entresol*, (an apartment between the ground-floor and first-floor, to which we have nothing in England corresponding,) to enjoy the benefit of the services of the night-guards, and because they ought to be separated from the adults. Each *seristère* will have apartments and cabinets attached to it for the groups and committees of each division. Every one will be at liberty; every one will create his circle; he may be *passionately attracted* to take part in the labours, the pleasures, or the repasts of some group—or he may stay at home and dine by himself—no one will rebuke him. Employment in short sittings will demand the luxury of sheltered communications, since without this the health of the workmen would be endangered during bad seasons. The whole Phalanstère is to be ventilated in summer, heated in winter, so that in *Harmony* each one will pass to his duties, his pleasures, without knowing whether it rains or blows,

whether it is cold or hot. In agricultural operations each group will have its moveable tents to protect it from the heat of the sun; its booths in which to deposit clothes and instruments, and refreshments and collations, sent from the Phalanstère. Here the same principle of "short sittings" will be acted upon; if "agriculture be the basis or 'pivot' of the social domestic establishment," it is partly because it offers in the great variety of its labours a powerful charm for all ages, and everything will be foreseen and arranged in such a manner as to add to its attractions.

When the domestic system of association shall have been established, each community will be employed upon certain productions, the exchange of which with those of other remote communities, will bring them into correspondence; and each district will furnish an industrial cohort, to which will be reserved great advantages, to join during a campaign with those of other phalanges in works of common interest, such as roads, mining operations, &c., which will require by their nature an additional impulse of attraction.

Universal education will be given, collectively, by the commune. This alone can obviate the diversity of style and manner which now prevents the union of the extreme classes in common pursuits. General politeness, and unity of language, can only be established by a collective education which gives to the child of the poor man the manners of the rich. In this education woman will equally partake; she will be qualified equally for entering the field of industry, freed from all that renders it degrading to her sex, and her right to share the road to fortune and honour with man

be admitted. Her talents and powers developed, she will be respected and independent, and no longer be compelled to exchange her best feelings and sympathies for mere support and protection. There will be no conventional impediments to marriage, which will be entered upon early, and without dowry; until that period, while mingling constantly in the industrial groups with the other sex, no other security for propriety will be needed, than the ever present eye of friends and equals of her own.

Fourier's mind was not contented with working out the social problem; his philosophical theories embraced the whole province of matter and of mind, of things visible and invisible, of life and immortality; he "extended his speculations through time and space to the very skirts of the universe," to bring into harmony "science, nature and revelation. These are the ornamental and atmospheric, or aerial departments of Fourierism, not necessarily connected with it as a practical system, but vastly entertaining to the imaginative mind which loves, at times, to rise above the clods of the valley, and shake off the dust it has gathered on its brogues."*

That these were not necessary to the theory of the combination of industry, and that they were but speculations, Fourier himself admitted, deprecating a condemnation of the former because the latter might be founded in error. "Strange indeed," he says, "would be the disposition which would condemn all the productions of an author because some of them are defective!" He claimed the discovery of the *instinctive* and the

* Rev. J. E. Smith.

social movements, or the attraction of the passions and instincts, and the attraction of man towards his future destinies, as the completion of the discovery which Newton made of the *material movement*, or attraction of matter. The three principles of nature are, according to him, God, matter, and justice, or *mathematics*. This last singular combination expressing, apparently, his doctrine of the universal analogy between moral and physical nature—justice being to the moral world what the science of mathematics is to the physical. From the leading axiom of his philosophy he deduced the immortality of the soul. “If it be true that our destinies are proportional to our desires, or tendencies, we must live again; for all in quitting this earth feel that there is something else to be done, to be enjoyed. We quit this life with regret at parting with those we love, or at having known nothing but vanity and vexation of spirit. Each feels instinctively that ties yet bind him to this earth, that we have all still a task to accomplish here. Each expresses vaguely the desire of living again, of returning into this world, and there recommencing a life happier and wiser; this desire is satisfied by the metempsychosis of souls in humanity. The theory of Fourier explains to us how our immortal souls will alternate from this life into the *ultra mundane* life; a life where the soul is disengaged from the body, to return anew upon this earth, and take again a new covering, and participate in the future progress and enjoyments of humanity.”* Many times, he believes, the souls of the departed thus return.

* Extract from Madame Gatti de Gamond's Work on Fourier, New Moral World.

Fourier was a firm believer in Christianity as a Divine Revelation, but his notions were free and liberal, and he anxiously avoided the making of his school a religious sect, his task being, he considered, "to conciliate all parties, by the benefits of quadruple produce, attractive industry, and the mechanism of the passions." The Kingdom of Heaven which Jesus preached, Fourier held to have a double significance—a state of happiness in another life, and social regeneration in this. Jesus Christ came to reveal the first, the last he left to the operation of human reason. In Fourier's creed, ignorance and immorality constitute the crime against the Holy Spirit; and future punishments are not those of fire and brimstone, but the sufferings of a guilty conscience, whose thoughts and deeds are fully exposed; and future blessedness the ineffable rewards of a good conscience and universal approbation. The precepts of Christianity, he maintains, cannot be practised whilst the interests of men are jarring and divided, but the intensity of our sufferings, in the present iniquitous state of society, is pre-ordained as a powerful stimulus to the discovery of a superior system of social organization.

"Fourier and Owen agree on many points concerning the economy and moral advantages of association, but they differ entirely with respect to the principles of religion and distributive justice. Fourier believes that absolute community could only be realized with respect to such things as could be produced in such a relative degree of superabundance as would render them as common as air and water."* Notwithstanding these

* Mr. Doherty.

differences in doctrine, the Fourierites, who may be called the Socialists of France, are in friendly relation with those of England. Mr. Dogherty, one of their leading members, and editor of the *London Phalanx*, attended as their deputy at the last meeting of the "Congress" at Manchester.

The history of the two societies runs nearly parallel. The Fourierites have spread themselves and their writings widely through France and other countries, but the "model Phalanstère" is not yet completed. "The parent society has many partisans in Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, and the United States. At Lyons there is a division of Fourierites under the name of *L'Union Harmonieuse*, which boasts of having corresponding societies in thirty-four towns in France, in Switzerland, and Algeria. It would appear also that the system has been introduced into Texas by an enlightened German. Determined to try the effect of the social system on a practical scale, this gentleman has induced fifty German families of New York to emigrate to Texas, where they are to live in community under the direction of a Fourierite, and it is expected that another emigration of one hundred German families will take place in the autumn of the present year. This is the first practical attempt to carry the doctrines of Fourier into operation, but the parent society is endeavouring to make arrangements for doing it on an extensive scale in France. Fourier's disciples, less enthusiastic than himself, and more prudent, perhaps, inasmuch as they know that the deep-rooted prejudices of society must be indulged, if they cannot be respected, until they shall disappear under the influence of prac-

tical conviction, have confined themselves to such parts of the system as may at once be brought into operation without exciting the fears of any government, or of any class of persons. The greater part of the branch societies limited their views to the establishment of agricultural and commercial communities, governed by their own laws so far as may regard all their internal regulations, but demanding for themselves no greater degree of liberty, as regards the established institutions, than can be fairly conceded by any government and in any country. Hence it is that the modified Fourierites are gaining ground and receiving offers of capital, and even a certain degree of encouragement from the French Government.* According to the testimony of Mr. Doherty, in 1840, there were at that period a "party united on social principles in Spain, with a journal of their own; in Sicily another, in Germany several, and in New York a numerous body also having a journal of their own.† On the 7th of April of the same year several public dinners took place at Paris to

* Chambers' Journal, Sept. 1839.

† "The attempt at this universal harmony is being made in Germany, France, and Italy; but especially the two former, are eagerly engaged in the effort. In Germany it assumes the character of a mental philosophy, trying to harmonize and swallow up all philosophies. In France it assumes the character of a science, endeavouring to embrace all sciences. The St. Simonians, though defunct as a sect, have given very general circulation to the idea and the hope. And even the new Catholic party now forming in France, of which the Abbé de la Menais is an accomplished and eloquent representative, proceeds upon the same principle. Science, as now cultivated, creates as much evil as it removes; there is not a new discovery of importance in mechanics which does not slay its thousands. What is the cause of this? The sciences are not yet socialized." 'Shepherd,' 1837.

celebrate the birth of Fourier, at which many distinguished and influential persons attended. Among other toasts to his honour at one of these feasts, Lieutenant-General Bugeaud proposed one—‘ To the pacific union of the great human family by the association of individuals, nations, and races! To the annihilation of war! To the transformation of destructive armies into corps of industrious labourers, who will consecrate themselves to the cultivation and embellishment of the world!’ Upon this occasion a society was established for the carrying out of Fourier’s Social Theory, with a capital subscribed on the spot of 600,000*f.*”

In September, 1841, about a hundred workmen left Paris for Brazil, as the advance-guard of a body of 2000 colonists, who intended to establish a Phalanstèrian Society at St. Catherine, about fifty leagues from Rio Janeiro, where they have purchased land, by the assistance, it is said, of Mr. Young, a large capitalist, of Amsterdam. The same gentleman has recently purchased the old Abbey of Citeaux, in the Côte d’Or, for the sum of 1,300,000*f.*, for the purpose of erecting it into a model Phalanstère. It is reported that Mr. Young has also promised the further sum of 1,000,000*f.* in prosecution of the design, and that he is to receive a handsome interest for his money before the labourers divide the profits.*

Upon Fourier’s system “ all industry will become a public function, and there will be a social revenue before there will be an individual revenue. Forming at first

* See Spectator, Oct. 2, 1841. London Phalanx, Oct. 30.

one common mass of riches produced by the combined aid of the members, afterwards to be divided among them according to the part each has had in the production." As an actual example of the Cheesemakers of the Jura. association of labour on this system, M. Considérant adduces the mode of fabrication of the cheese called Gruyère in the Jura mountains. "The peasants rent a small house in two parts, the workshop and the dairy, with a cellar. In the workshop they place an enormous copper, destined to receive the milk of two hundred cows. A single man suffices to make two or three cheeses of from sixty to eighty pounds weight. These cheeses are then disposed in a cellar to be salted and cured. Every day the quantity of milk brought to the dairy is noted on two pieces of wood—one for the milker, the other for the manager. It is therefore known exactly how much each family contributes. They can even keep an account of the relative qualities of milk, by means of an acrometer. At the epoch of sale they treat at wholesale with the merchants, and charge the carriage. Then, in sharing the proceeds, they deduct rent, fuel, utensils, &c. ; they pay the manager in proportion to the general benefit, and divide the rest amongst the families, proportionably to the value of their respective investments.

In the same mountains the advantage of the combination of agricultural with manufacturing labour is shown by the men, who in favourable weather cultivate the land, and in winter and snow make the most finished clock-work, rivalling Geneva, which can scarcely compete with them in price from this circumstance. The

peasants in the neighbourhood of Lille, and the single-hand ribbon weavers of St. Etienne, may also be cited in illustration.*

Colonies of Francia. Fourier quotes, in "La Fausse Industrie," the colonies of Francia, the remarkable dictator of Paraguay, as presenting an approximation, if a very imperfect one, to the realization of his own theory. "Francia has founded two hundred agricultural and social colonies, or phalanges, of fifteen hundred persons each, which already yield an enormous produce, more than double that of our cultures on the morselled family plan. Their numbers increase every year by sending out swarms; these social unions, although loaded with burdensome, unprofitable drudgery, such as the quadruple military service, have succeeded because their mechanism approaches, although in a very feeble degree, to the natural means. The phalanges of Paraguay distinguish three classes, high, middle, and low, and yet they live in good cheer, and burn annually one-third of their crops, because their suspicious dictator forbids external commerce, or carries it on himself as a monopoly, and surrounds his dominions by deserts.

"As a result of his new method, Francia's colonists have arrived at abundance and gaiety, they prevent indigence, and guarantee an ample minimum to the

* The account here given of Fourier's system is chiefly extracted from M. Abel Transon's "Théorie Sociétaire," published in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, under the sanction of Fourier himself, a translation of which appeared in the "Shepherd;" from a "Series of articles on Fourier," in the *New Moral World*; and from the "Social Destiny" of M. Considérant.

infirm of each phalange; they have various diversions, they are happier than their neighbours the *civilized*, whom they do not join though free to quit their societies; but they are still far from the degree of attraction necessary to induce imitation by the charm spread over their labours. Francia has erred in this and in many things. He destroys a third of the produce; he ruins his civilized neighbours; he dismisses at the age of forty-five the chiefs of families; he refuses to admit rich families; he establishes a desert round his possessions; he paralyzes commerce by restricting it to a single harbour; he forcibly reduces the number of domestics. But notwithstanding these and other faults, he has made certain points of progress. He has simplified finance by substituting a direct impost for all taxes; he has granted a minimum to the infirm, and united all for the relief of the people; given lucrative employment to the women, and saved the time expended on separate households; secured healthfulness and good guardianship to the infants in public chambers, both by day and night, and profit by the children's labours exercised in joyous groups; prevented waste on Sundays and revels at the public-house, by abundance of amusement gratis; assured resources to the infirm, and to the community, by funds of reserve taken from the crops; he has united magnificence and salubrity in the habitations of each social reunion, and given to each an internal gallery of communication at the first story. He has given an example of numerous unities of action, in military, agricultural, and domestic service; and powerful introductions into other unities, by initiations into short sessions, four

hours of labour only being required each day, besides the military service ; he has rendered commerce to be suspected and subservient to the mass, although his system of commerce is false ; and finally, he has smitten the argument of impossibility, which is the battle-horse of the snarling critics against combined culture ; he has given the lie to philosophy by proving, *by experience*, that great reunions are possible, and that they may maintain themselves spontaneously, by the single support of general well-being, without equality." " And what have been with Francia the means of success ? Moralism has employed three thousand years in persuading us that sensual pleasures should be despised, and that the people ought not to be hungry when the rich have dined well. Here is an innovator who, by an anti-moral digression, causes the people to live in abundance and good cheer, and having had the good sense to speculate on this lever, has necessarily succeeded.

" Politicians, truly friends of progress, ought to fix their attention on this social germ whose numerous faults it would be so easy to correct."

General Bugeaud, Governor of Algeria, whose enthusiastic toast at the commemoration of Fourier's birth has been before mentioned, has proposed not very long ago, to establish military agricultural villages in the new French colony. " He has been known to have been impressed with the truth and advantages of co-operation, having realized them to some extent upon his own estates. An elaborate report has appeared from him, developing the mode of management to be adopted in these military colonies, for the better and more econo-

nical management of the cavalry department of the French army in Africa, showing how great a saving would be effected according to the plans proposed. The Pasha of Egypt has also begun an attempt, after the example of Russia, to adopt a sort of co-operative military colonies."*

Hofwyl. A happy illustration of Fourier's views in training youth to agriculture by *attraction*, and in connexion with the other departments of instruction, has been exhibited in M. de Fellenberg's educational establishment at Hofwyl. This consists of "a model farm; an experimental farm; a manufactory of agricultural implements; a workshop employed in the improvement of agricultural mechanism; a school for industry for the poor, in which the boys very nearly cover the expense of a sound practical education, by their manual labour employed upon the farm—the workshops being instrumental to their instruction, and the means of teaching to each some trade in addition to that of husbandry; a seminary for children of the highest class, whose education is finished by a course of agricultural studies, illustrated upon the experimental farm by the assistance of the professors of the agricultural department of the institution; and lastly by a school for the instruction of the village school-masters from different parts of the Swiss Cantons."†

* See *New Moral World*, May 29, 1841.

† Reports of Count Capo d'Istria on the establishment of M. de Fellenberg.

Oberlin
Institute. Another instance which proves that industrial and mental labour may proceed advantageously together, and that also in connexion with the principle of working together for the common interest, is furnished by the Oberlin Institute.

About seven years ago forty young men withdrew themselves from the Presbyterian College of Cincinnati, in Ohio, rather than submit to the positive injunction of the heads of the college to abstain from all discussion, or even mention, of the subject of slavery. They left with high character, but with blighted prospects; they knew not what to do, or whither to turn; the stigma of Abolitionists was upon them. They resolved to establish an Institution, in which the rights of conscience should be maintained, in which the coloured person could be taught, and where he would be in all respects treated as a man and a brother. "About forty of the band repaired to the forest, and set to work to clear a tract of land in the north-east part of Ohio, about eleven miles from Lake Erie. They first raised for shelter a long rough house of *slabs*, that is, of split logs, the bark remaining on the outer half. They toiled in the forest during the winter of 1834-5. They had no endowments, and little pecuniary help. The fame of their virtue spread. Learned and accomplished men, whose hearts were as cultivated as their intellects, volunteered for the honour of being the instructors of such disciples, repaired to Oberlin, flung off their coats, felled trees for some hours of the day, and delivered lectures for the rest. Young men and women flocked to this spot in the forest, to beg such instruction as should fit them to be teachers

to the coloured people ; and when told that there were no funds, and seeing that there was not accommodation for the increasing members, the unfailing reply was, 'I will provide for myself, if you will let me stay.' Building went on rapidly ; a substantial building with brick, containing ninety-two rooms, besides the barns and wooden dwellings, which were the first work of their hands. A practical farmer superintended the labour of the young men. The young women, whose number is about one-fourth of the whole, keep the house, the dairy, and the clothes, and have yet found time to learn whatever fits them to be school teachers in their turn ; and some are sound Greek and Hebrew scholars. The three hours manual labour per day, which is the rule of the institution, is supposed to be the chief cause of the excellent state of health maintained among its members,—a state of health very unusual in fresh forest clearing. The members themselves believe that their abstemious mode of living is also largely concerned in this effect. When the concourse of members and the pressure of poverty became great, the members (including the professors and their families,) gave up first meat, (fermented liquors having been excluded from the beginning,) and then coffee and tea. They live on the corn, garden, vegetables, and milk, provided by their own labour ; and they not only live but thrive. When they have not money wherewith to buy new clothes, the best coats are lent about to those whose business it is to go forth on excursions of business.

“One student, Randall, by name, laid down for their use all the money he had in the world, 2500 dollars,

and goes without as long as the institution is pressed. A farmer at a great distance, was touched with the story of the founders of Oberlin, and drove over a cow—the only gift he could bestow. A farmer who lived eleven miles off, in a good house, named Jabez Burrell, invited the new comers who could not be accommodated at Oberlin, to take up their abode with him. He boarded and lodged seventy for a year and a half. His wife, worn out with the charge of such a household, in so wild a region, fell a sacrifice. She died exhausted, but with perfect willingness. She went into the affair, heart and hand with her husband, and preferred being worn out in such a cause to drawing back from it. Another settler, named John Holcomb, resident twenty-five miles from Oberlin, took in thirty students, with their professor, in the same manner, and for the same time. Other neighbours have given whatever they could—money, time, labour of head and hands. * * * There is one vacation in the year, and during these three months the members are as hard at work as any other season. They disperse themselves over the land, some teach; some preach; others organize schools, or establish anti-slavery libraries. At the end of the vacation, such students as can be spared from their new labours return to Oberlin. All are free to go and come, as they think right; and it does not appear that their studies suffer from this freedom.* The Institute comprises a Preparatory, Collegiate, and Theological department, and numbers above 400 students, including those of the “despised race,” with twenty-six professors

* London and Westminster Review, Dec. 1838.

and teachers. The interests of the institution have been hitherto promoted and sustained by voluntary contributions. Many of its original members have sacrificed their possessions and prospects by the very act of joining the Oberlin. There are twelve Trustees, or Directors, who perform their arduous duties gratuitously. There are twelve Professors, and fourteen assistant Teachers, who procure much of their support by the labour of their own hands. In March, 1839, the property of the institution was estimated at about 65,000 dollars; consisting of land, buildings, a small library, agricultural implements, and stock.*

Society of Port Royal. In like manner worked with their hands, nearly two hundred years ago, the illustrious Jansenists of Port Royal. "Bound by no monastic vows, the men addressed themselves to such employments as each was supposed best qualified to fulfil. Schools for the instruction of youth in every branch of literature and science were kept by Lancelot, Nicole, Fontaine, and de Saci. Some laboured at translations of the fathers, and other works of piety. Arnauld applied his ceaseless toils in logic, geometry, metaphysics, and theological debate. Physicians of high celebrity exercised their art in all the neighbouring villages. Le Maitre and other eminent lawyers addressed themselves to the work of arbitrating all the dissensions of the vicinage. There were to be seen gentlemen working assiduously as vine-dressers; officers making shoes; noblemen sawing timber and

* Appeal on behalf of the Oberlin Institute, 1840.

repairing windows; a society subject to no common superior; pursuing no joint designs, yet all living in unbroken harmony; all following their respective callings; silent, grave, abstracted, self-afflicted by fastings, watchings, and humiliations—a body of penitents on their painful progress through a world which they had resolved at once to serve and avoid. From year to year, till death or persecution removed them from the valley of Port Royal, the members of this singular association adhered pertinaciously to their design; nor among their annals will be found more, we think, than a single name on which rests the imputation of infidelity, or fickleness of purpose.”*

“The true organic principle of human regeneration runs down the stream of time, darkly visible and dimly seen, but still in being, and waiting the genial influence of a new era of scientific universalism and liberal intercourse to complete its formation.” While in the institutions of Sesostris, Moses, Minos, and Lycurgus, some of the earliest, wisest, and most successful legislators whom History records, it shone with more or less of clearness and brightness, in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, the two great lawgivers of ancient philosophy, the same principle is distinctly marked. It may be interesting to glance at the sketch of social perfection which Plato gives in his celebrated Republic.

Plato's Republic. The classes of Plato's citizens are three—the magistrates or sages—the warriors or

* Edinburgh Review, July, 1841.

guardians of the State—the mercenaries or multitude. The last class is supposed blindly to take the impress of the other two. The welfare of the Republic was to depend upon the careful education and training of the warriors. They were to dwell apart from the other citizens in the camp, their arms always in their hands, and their sole object to preserve profound tranquillity to the State. They were to be bred to the love of eternal justice and truth, to believe that the wicked are wretched in prosperity, and virtue happy though unrequited; to condemn death and to shudder only at vice. They were to be taught that the object of every thought and action was the public good, and that the infraction of the minutest particular which tended to this was a crime. Music and the gymnasium were the two chief instruments of education, the first to temper and tranquillize the mind, the last to give hardihood and vigour to the body. The reading of the poets was forbidden to them, lest their mischievous fictions and the vile characters they attribute to the gods should corrupt their imaginations. That no low cares should obtrude upon their minds they should be maintained in common, but in the simplest manner, by the country in which they dedicated their lives. They should be inured to hardship, abstinence, the severities of the seasons. Medical art should apply prompt and simple remedies to accidental maladies, but not be perverted to prolong a feeble, disordered existence. The destined wives of the warriors should be trained with themselves in the same principles, under the same masters, receive the same lessons of science and wisdom, and contend with them in the gymnasium for the

same prizes. The number of marriages to be regulated by the excess or deficiency of population of the State, between adults who shall be selected by the magistrates as worthy to raise defenders to the Republic. The choice of individuals to be determined by lot, and the parties again to be set at liberty to form fresh unions when the State demanded. The children taken at their birth from their parents, should be tended by the mothers in common, themselves ignorant of their true offspring, and thus brought up as one family bound in the strictest ties of affection. Deformed or sickly children, or those born of marriages made before or after the prescribed ages, of between thirty to fifty-five for men, and twenty to forty for women, to be brought up in obscurity.

Affection would thus be the common bond, and together with the sublime love of virtue, would animate them with a zeal surpassing their duty.

Out of this band would be selected those of rarest qualities, of most undeviating perseverance in their duties, to educate still farther for the office of the magistracy. At thirty they should be initiated into the study of dialectical philosophy, and for five years meditate on the nature of what is fitting and true; then returning to the business of the world and passing through purifying trials, at the age of fifty they would be invested with sovereign power. Henceforth occupied in promoting the good of the State, well-informed by experience and theory on every branch of their duties, they would become the representatives of the gods on earth; their people finding their happiness in a moderate but secure competence, (Plato does not

however give any precise regulations to ensure thus much, and no more,) and the warriors in their freedom from domestic cares, and the respect and approbation of their countrymen.* The object which Plato professes in his commonwealth is, "that every man should be placed in the position for which nature has best fitted him."

That the systems of Plato and others are full of imperfections, Godwin remarks, is no argument against their authority; but the contrary, since "the evidence of the truth they maintained was so great as still to preserve its hold on their understandings, though they knew not how to remove the difficulties that attended it."

It appears that Plato felt one of the greatest of these difficulties to be the danger of over-population; Aristotle who held the same doctrines, although he was the intimate friend of a monarch, saw this difficulty in a still stronger light, and considered that it would be quite impossible to preserve equality without regulating the numbers in a State.†

More's Utopia. Eighteen hundred years later an English philosopher and lawyer, in the full tide of practice and fresh vigour of manhood, gave to the world, in imitation of Plato, his idea of a perfect republic; and both productions remain to us as marks wherewith to measure the tide of human progress. Sir Thomas More's Utopia is a treasure of quaint wisdom not yet out of date, although the face of society

* Abbé Barthelemi.

† See Malthus on Population, vol. 1, book xiii.

has considerably changed since his day. After reviewing the abuses of laws and governments, he gives it as his opinion, "that the settling all upon a level was the only way to make a nation happy, which cannot be obtained so long as there is any property; for when every man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one title or another, it must needs follow, that, how plentiful soever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall into indigence. So that there will be two sorts of people among them, who deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged; the former useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter who by their constant industry serve the public more than themselves, sincere and honest men; from whence I am persuaded, that till property be taken away, there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed; for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties." Accordingly the principle upon which the society of his happy island is founded, is that of a community of goods, and he is more specific than Plato in his details of its economics.

The inhabitants of the Utopian towns, which, he tells us, are large and well built, interspersed with gardens, dwell in separate houses, which are changed by lot every ten years, but any citizen may freely enter into any house whatsoever. Each tribe of thirty families, placed under the superintendence of a magistrate called a *Syphogrant*, eat together in their own public hall, the men ranged on one side the tables, the women

on the other; the magistrate and his wife presiding; the children who are old enough serve, and are fed by the elders from the table; and the children under five sit among the nurses in a separate apartment. The families in the country eat at their own homes. Farm-houses, well contrived and furnished, are scattered all over the country district belonging to each town, and extending at least twenty miles round it; and the inhabitants of the towns are sent by turns to dwell in them; forty men and women constituting a family, besides two slaves. A master and mistress is set over every family, and over thirty families presides a magistrate, as in the towns. Every year twenty of this family return to the town, and are replaced by twenty more from thence, that they may learn country work from those that have been there one year already, as they must afterwards teach the next comers from the town. The country produce, after supplying its own need, is taken to the town markets, first for the supply of the hospitals, the house for strangers, the magistrates, and lastly for the public tables. But if any one likes to take provisions from thence to his own house, he may do so, because it is supposed he has a good reason for it, otherwise he would not prefer an ill-served meal to the public well-cooked plentiful feast.

Near these markets are others in which all manufactured articles are deposited, all things of a sort together. Thither every father of a family goes and takes whatever he needs for them, or himself, without leaving anything in exchange. There is no danger of a man's asking for more, since they are sure always to

be supplied, and there is room neither for fear of want, nor glory in pomp and excess. Their clothing is all of one fashion—simple, adapted to the climate, and clean, but coarse, and made at as little cost of labour as possible. Each family makes its own clothing. Besides agriculture, which is common to all, each man, and woman also, has a peculiar trade or manufacture. It is the chief duty of the Syphogrants to see that no man live idle, but that all may follow their trade diligently. They work six hours in the day, but if the markets are overstocked, the time of labour is shortened. That so few hours suffice to produce all that is necessary for the community may be easily believed, when it is considered how much labour is saved by the employment of women; by having to maintain no idle beggars, no idle priests, no idle rich; by making no useless articles of vanity and luxury; and from the practice of careful repairs of all works and buildings, so that new ones are seldom required.

As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grand-children, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their common parent, unless age has weakened his understanding, and in that case, he that is next to him in age comes in his room. No city may contain above 6,000 families, besides those of the country round it. No family may have less than ten, or more than sixteen, persons in it; if the children are too many, some are removed to another family where they are deficient. By the same rule, cities that do not

increase so fast are supplied from others that superabound; and if there is any increase over the whole island, colonies are sent to the neighbouring continent, where they take land that is idle and uncultivated; since every man has, by the law of nature, a right to such waste portion of the earth as is necessary for his subsistence.

The sick are taken great care of, and so carefully attended to in the hospitals, that few would choose rather to lie ill at home; and those who have fixed and incurable diseases they cherish in all possible ways; but if any is taken with hopeless and torturing disease, the priests and magistrates exhort him to suffer death rather than linger in it, and such death is accounted honourable.

Their women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before twenty-two; neither polygamy nor divorce being allowed except in case of crime or insufferable perverseness, and the guilty parties are not permitted to contract a second marriage. Slavery for the most part is the punishment for the greatest crimes, since even criminals may thus be made useful to the State; such persons are the only slaves, except prisoners taken in battle, and they perform all the sordid and disagreeable parts of labour; they are chained and kept to continual work; but those who bear their punishment patiently, are not left without hope of being restored to freedom. They have another sort of slaves who are treated better, the poor of neighbouring countries who offer themselves to serve them.

When they travel they are furnished with a passport, and are everywhere treated as at home, and if

they stay more than one night in a place, they follow their own occupation in it. There are no taverns, alehouses, nor places for corrupting each other, but after supper they spend an hour together in their halls, in conversation, music, and amusement.

Over every ten Syphogrants, and the families subject to them, is placed a superior magistrate called a *Tranibor*; the superior magistrate, or Prince, of each town is chosen by the Syphogrants out of a list of four named by the people. Three deputies from each town meet once a year in the chief city to consult about their common concerns. In this council they examine what towns abound in provisions, and what are under any scarcity, that so one may be furnished from the other, and when the whole country is well supplied they export the rest in large quantities. Of these goods they give a seventh to the poor of those countries, and sell the rest at a moderate price. In exchange they bring what few things of foreign produce they need, and much gold and silver, which they keep in case of war, or to lend to their neighbours. As they use no money, they adopt a singular expedient to preserve their treasure without corrupting the people. If it were hoarded in some tower or place in charge of the Prince and magistrates it might bring on distrust and suspicion of them; if it were made into plate the people might grow fond of it and loath to part with it in time of need, so it is employed for the meanest household utensils and to make chains and fetters for their slaves, some of whom as badges of infamy wear also ear-rings and coronets of gold. If by chance they find diamonds or pearls on their coasts or rocks, they give them to their children

to wear, but as they grow up they cast them aside with their puppets and toys.

Both men and women are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work in reading; some of peculiar aptitude for study, are allowed exemption from all labour by the suffrages of the magistrates. Out of these learned men they choose their priests, (of whom there is one to each of the thirteen temples in each town,) and their superior magistrates. They have all their learning in their own tongue, which is copious and expressive, and they know nothing of logic and chimeras and abstract ideas, yet they understand astronomy and seek to know the causes of the operations of nature. They hold that the soul is immortal, and that God of his goodness designed that it should be happy; and therefore that he has appointed rewards for virtue and punishments for vice in a future state. They think that virtue is the living according to nature, that is, according to the dictates of reason, and that reason directs us to love God, to keep our minds free from passion and as cheerful as we can, and to use our utmost endeavours to help forward the happiness of all other persons. They reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues, terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness. Of all pleasures they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the mind, the chief of which arise out of true virtue, and the witness of a good conscience; and they account health the chief pleasure of the body, all the other delights of sense being only so far desirable as they give or maintain health. They entertain themselves with the other delights let in at their eyes, ears,

and their nostrils, as the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life; yet in all pleasures whatsoever they take care that a lesser joy does not hinder a greater, and that pleasure may never breed pain, which they consider always follows dishonest pleasure.

As they fright men from committing crimes by punishment, so they incite them to the love of virtue by public honours. The Prince himself has no distinction but a sheaf of corn borne before him, nor the High Priest than a wax light borne in the same manner. They have but few laws and no lawyers, each man pleading his own cause. The men, and women too, are trained daily in military exercises, but they detest war, and are not eager to avenge frauds or injuries in trading matters against themselves, but they are ready to help their neighbours if they are oppressed; but if any of their own people are killed wrongfully they demand the guilty to be delivered up on pain of going to war. And when they go to war they endeavour to sow dissensions among their enemies, and offer great bribes to such as shall kill or deliver up the Prince, or those on whom they lay the blame of the war, that they may prevent bloodshed and take vengeance only on the rulers who have done the wrong, and not on the people who are innocent. But if a battle must be fought, then the wives and families accompany their husbands and fathers into it, not only as Plato recommended, to look on, but that they whom nature has inspired with the greatest zeal for assisting one another, may be the readiest and nearest to do it; and it is matter of great reproach if husband or wife survive each other, or a child his parent. If they

agree to a truce they observe it so religiously that no provocations will make them break it.

As to religion, though they differ in all other things yet they agree in this—that they think there is one Supreme Being, who made and governs the world. Any man may be of what religion he pleases, only there is a solemn law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance. They never raise any that hold these maxims either to honour or office, nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them as men of base and sordid minds. Yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a maxim, that a man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases. More than this it seems even Utopian liberality could not concede.

The education of youth belongs to the priests, and they do not take so much care for instructing them in letters as in forming their minds and manners aright. There is nothing to be seen and heard in their temples in which the several persuasions among them may not agree, for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it in their private houses; nor are there any prayers among them but such as every one may use without prejudice to his own opinion.

In concluding his account of Utopia, More remarks that this is the only commonwealth that truly deserves the name; in others every man seeks his own wealth, for he knows that how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, unless he provides for himself he must die of hunger; but here, where no man has any property,

all zealously seek the public good; for where every man has a right to everything, they all know that if care is taken to keep the public store full, no private man can want anything; though no man has anything they are all rich, for what can make a man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties? What justice is there in this—that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, who either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendour upon what is so ill acquired; and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, who works harder than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labours so necessary that no commonwealth could hold on a year without them, can earn so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than his? “Therefore I can have no other notion of all the governments I see or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the rich, who on pretence of managing the public, only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and acts they can find out—first that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then that they may engage the poor to toil and labour for them at as low rates as possible, and oppress them as much as they please.”

Bacon's Bacon probably intended, like Plato and
Atlantis.

More, to give a model of a perfect society in his “New Atlantis,” but his plan appears to have been left incomplete, and to have advanced only so far as to develop the idea of a republic of science, for

the conducting of experimental philosophy on the largest scale. This scheme was partially carried out by the institution of the Royal Societies of London and Paris.

Machiavelli. The real tendency of Machiavelli's writings has been disputed; but whatever this may be, he asserts that in a true commonwealth possessions must be equalized; in his opinion "he who attempts to make a commonwealth where there are many gentlemen, must first begin by destroying them; that is, destroying their rights as private possessors."

Campanella. Thomas Campanella, a celebrated Italian philosopher of the sixteenth century, also projected the scheme of a society enjoying a community of goods, in his "Republic of the Sun." His system is rude, and partakes too much of the martial and superstitious character of his age, but is remarkable as being probably the source of many of the peculiar opinions of the modern continental philosophers. He begins with Unity at the Head; this head has three subordinate officers—power, wisdom, and love. The first presides over all martial and gymnastic affairs; the second over scientific matters; and the third over the department of the affections—including feasts and festivities. Each of these has subordinate officers for different departments, and the whole machinery is dependent upon universal suffrage. Property is public. Rewards and punishments are determined by the authorities. His ideas of human beauty and perfection, of the value of gymnastics and temperance, combined with intellectual exercise, are worthy of the best philo-

sophers of modern times. His religious ideas were very liberal, and his marriage system beautiful, though the tie was not to be irrevocable.* The heresy of Campanella concerning the doctrines of Aristotle, and other received opinions, exposed him to great persecution. He was branded unjustly, as an Atheist; he was seven times put to the rack, and spent twenty-seven years of his life in prison. Cardinal Richelieu afterwards procured him a pension, and he closed his life in 1639, in tranquillity, at Paris.† “Leibnitz,” says Dugald Stewart, “placed Campanella on a line with Bacon. No philosopher, certainly, has spoken with more reverence than he has done, on various occasions, of the dignity of human nature. A remarkable instance of this occurs in his eloquent comparison of the *human hand* with the organs of touch in other animals.”

Gaudentio di Lucca. “The Gaudentio di Lucca of Bishop Berkeley, is another instance of the principle of equal interests attracting the notice of an acute and powerful mind.”‡ Of this work Mackintosh says,—“A romance, of which a journey to an Utopia, in the centre of Africa, forms the chief part, called the Adventures of Signor Gaudentio di Lucca, has been commonly ascribed to him (Berkeley); probably on no other ground than its union of pleasing invention with benevolence and elegance.”§ At all events Berkeley was a great admirer of Plato, and some of his acknowledged opinions strongly favour the supposition. In his

* Rev J. E. Smith. † Moreri. ‡ Hampden.

§ Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy, p. 351.

“Querist,” addressed to his Irish countrymen, he endeavours to convince them that money is not riches, that riches signify the possession of such things as minister to the necessaries and comforts of society, and that if exchange of these could be effected without it, money would be better dispensed with altogether.

Swift. Swift, in his well-known Gulliver, reasons negatively on the same side, by the pointed satire which he levels against the present system of society, by which “the bulk of our people are forced to live miserably, by labouring every day for small wages to make a few live plentifully;” while “we send away the greatest part of our necessary things to other countries, whence in return, we bring the materials of disease, folly, and vice, to spend amongst ourselves.”*

Abbé de Mably. “The Abbé de Mably, in his book on Legislation,” says Godwin, “has displayed at large the advantages of equality, and then quits the subject in despair, from an opinion of the incorrigibleness of human depravity. *Wallace.* Wallace, the contemporary and antagonist of Hume, in a treatise entitled ‘Various prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence,’ (published in 1761,) is copious in his eulogium of the same system, and deserts it only from fear of the earth becoming too populous.” He did not, however, apprehend any danger to his system of equality from this cause, until the whole earth should have been cultivated to the highest point.

* Part 4, chap. 6.

Weishaupt. "The modern attempts made by associations of reformers to re-constitute the fabric of society upon social principles, began with the German Illuminati, under the leadership of Dr. Weishaupt, commonly called Spartacus Weishaupt. From this school the French philosophy and the French Revolution proceeded. This was the well-spring of modern Republicanism and Socialism. The restoration of the religion of nature, and the law of nature, was the concealed object of this formidable institution, which had a secret organization of great extent, embracing names of high renown among the nobility and literati of Europe. Its philosophy was chiefly vague and negative declamation, which gave no definite system instead of the one it condemned. Much hypothetical matter has probably been written about this mysterious combination, but there can be little doubt that it existed in an immense ramification throughout Europe, under the presiding direction of a few extraordinary men in Germany and France. The campaigns of Napoleon scattered the host, many of whom regarded him in the light of a political Messiah, to establish the system for which they zealously contended."*

Condorcet. The "Outlines of a History of the Progress of the Human Mind," were written, it is said, by Condorcet, under the pressure of the proscription which terminated in his death. In this work he conceives himself obliged to admit that a class of people which maintains itself entirely by industry is necessary

* Rev. J. E. Smith.

to every State, because the labour requisite to procure subsistence for an extended population, will not be performed without the goad of necessity. To raise their condition and introduce a growing equality, he proposes a sort of assurance societies among this class, and believes by a system of calculations which he adopts, that it is possible to prevent credit from being the exclusive privilege of great fortunes, and of rendering the progress of industry and activity of commerce less dependent upon great capitalists. Condorcet holds, not only that improvement and happiness will advance with this progress of industry, but, with Godwin, the organic perfectibility of the human race, and even the extension of the term of life. He anticipates a time, notwithstanding, when population will exceed the means of subsistence, the result of which must be either a continual diminution of happiness, or an oscillation between good and evil.*

Painé. Paine, in his "Rights of Man," proposes, as a measure for improving the condition of the poorer classes, to abolish the poor-rates entirely, and in lieu thereof to make a remission of taxes to the poor out of the surplus taxes, on the following plan:—To every poor family for each child under fourteen years of age, £4 per annum, upon condition that each shall be sent to school, for which a certificate must be produced; and to every person of fifty, until he shall arrive at sixty, £6 per annum, and after that period £10; and this not as a matter of grace but right,

* See Malthus on Population, vol. 2.

since every labourer has paid £7 or £8 per annum in taxes, direct and indirect, during the period of his strength and vigour, and the annuity he would receive would be no more than the interest of the actual sum he had paid. "It is easily seen, that the poor are generally composed of large families of children, and old people past their labour. If these two classes are provided for, the remedy will so far reach to the full extent of the case, that what remains will be incidental, and in a great measure fall within the compass of benefit clubs, which, though of humble invention, merit to be ranked amongst the best of modern institutions."*

Harrington. "Thomas Paine is evidently a disciple of Harrington, who wrote his 'Oceana' in the time of Cromwell, and he advised the Protector to institute a commonwealth upon equitable principles ;

* "Rights of Man," p. 274.

"The progress of improvement, and a sense of mutual advantage, have induced societies of men to unite for purposes which have this tendency : such are Insurances, Benefit Societies, and all those institutions whose object it is to obviate the inequalities of fortune, and to lessen the weight of calamity by sharing it among a numerous association." (Monthly Repos., Feb. 1821.) Among these institutions none have been more remarkable than that of the Freemasons—its origin lost in the earliest antiquity, and spreading to this day throughout all civilized countries, Whatever may be its real or pretended secrets, the true ends which it seems designed to promote are those of friendship, mutual assistance, and good fellowship. The Abbé Baruel says that upon his initiation into the society of Freemasons, after having taken the oath, the following words were addressed to him by the Master ; —' My dear brother, the secret of masonry consists in these words—Equality and Liberty ; all men are equal and free ; all men are brethren,' " Rees' Cyclopaedia.

but his Oceana is not indeed a community, nor indeed a social system. A system which proposes to improve the condition of mankind by the distribution of money, can never be a good final system of reformation.*

This once celebrated work, however, has been considered the text-book of English republicanism, and was pronounced by Hume to be "the only valuable model of a commonwealth yet offered to the public." "It was the result of deep and varied studies in the ancient and modern writings on the science of politics, from Aristotle to Machiavel, from Machiavel to Hobbes. The pages of Harrington are studded with axioms of policy, and impress us by many an enduring truth. His style is not always polished, and is sometimes perplexed; but no writer has exceeded him in the

* Rev. J. E. Smith.

Among writers who admit the evils arising from the inequalities of wealth, the author of "Hampden of the Nineteenth Century," mentions Dr. Price, who concludes that "A scheme of government may be imagined that shall, by annihilating property and reducing mankind to their natural equality, remove most of the causes of contention and wickedness,"—Four Diss. on Providence, 1777, p. 138;—Chatelin, who, in his work "On Public Happiness," passes over the personal history of heroes and kings, and investigates the actual condition of the people in all ages and countries; and Dr. Hall, who in his "Effects of Civilization," gives an able analytical examination of the errors of the present system. "We often hear," he writes, "of inquiries into the state of nations in legislative assemblies, but there is a subject that never enters into the thoughts of any one to enquire about—namely, the state and condition of the great mass of the people; how they are fed, clothed, lodged; what kind of houses they live in; how they are supplied with fuel; how they are instructed. To know these particulars is truly to know the state of a nation." Dr. Hall proved, nearly forty years ago, before labour was so much aided by science, that the working classes received only one-eighth part of the produce of their own labour.

felicity and boldness of his phrases; and his pen, though busied on higher matters, sparkles with imagery and illustration." The principle upon which Harrington founded his commonwealth, and the discovery of which his admirers thought equal in importance to those of the discovery of the circulation of the blood, of the compass, of printing—was that "empire follows the balance of property." "To preserve the political equality, there were to be 'balances' in dominion and property. An Agrarian law, by its distributions suitable to the rank of the individual, and which were never to be enlarged nor diminished, would prevent any man, or any party, overpowering the people by their possessions. All those States in Europe which were the remains of Gothic dominion, were thrown into conflicts by their 'overbalances.' The overbalance of one man was tyranny; of a few, was oligarchy; of the many was rebellion, or anarchy." The balance of property being the foundation, rotation and ballot was the political superstructure. "The master-piece of the constitution-maker, Abbé Sièyes, was founded on this principle of checks and balances in the State, evidently adopted from Harrington."*

Spence. Spence's Doctrine on Land, which excited some attention twenty or thirty years back, was that the land is the people's farm, the rent of which ought to be equally divided among them. "But it unfortunately happened," observes Malthus, "that after the *proposed* allowances for the expenses of govern-

* See d'Israeli's "Amenities of Literature," vol. 3, p. 317.

ment, and the other bodies in the State intended to be supported, there would be absolutely no remainder to divide, and the people would not derive a single sixpence from their estate."

With respect to property in land, a writer before quoted observes, "that in some parts even of this country the laws are much less conducive to the accumulation of landed property than in others, and many changes, though mostly for the worse, have been made with respect to the tenure and descent of property: we hear much of the danger of innovations on private property, but little is said against the scandalous conversion of public into private property. A great part, perhaps all, of our lands were formerly *shacke* (or *Lamm*-lands) lands, of which the occupant had the use only whilst his crop was on, the land then reverting to the community for pasturage. Even now the meer-banks that separate the lands belong to the community, and the occupier of two adjoining fields has no right to plough up the meer-bank between them."*

However wide the difference may seem between the established system of property, and that which would make it a common fund for the happiness of all, the definition which the partizans of each system give of the origin and objects of property is nearly the same. Hume's idea of property differs but little, apparently, from Godwin's already stated. Hume defines it to be, "the good of society;" abstracted from this, "it is entirely without foundation." Mill's opinion that property is "that arrangement with regard to useful

* Monthly Repos., Feb. 1821,

objects which is, or is pretended to be, the best for all," has been also given before. Gibbon considers that "the original right of property can only be justified by the accident or merit of prior occupancy; and on this foundation it is wisely established by the philosophy of the civilians. The savage who hollows a tree, inserts a sharp stone into a wooden handle, or applies a string to an elastic branch, becomes in a state of nature the just proprietor of the canoe, the hatchet, or the bow. The materials were common to all; the new form, the produce of his time and simple industry, belongs solely to himself." In process of time "the common rights, the equal inheritance of mankind, are engrossed by the bold and crafty; each field and forest is circumscribed by the land-marks of a jealous master; and it is the peculiar praise of the Roman jurisprudence, that it asserts the claim of the first occupant to the wild animals of the earth, the air, and the waters. In the progress from primitive equity to final injustice, the steps are silent, the shades are almost imperceptible, and the absolute monopoly is guarded by positive laws and artificial reason."*

* Rome, vol. 7, p. 288.

A more recent writer (Lord Brougham,) thus gives his opinions on the origin of the right of property:—"Upon the same foundation of prescription (immemorial usage, or possession,) it is not uncommon to vest the right of property; but the same observation applies to this which we have just made upon the foundation of government; and the same distinction, the same twofold division of the reasons for acquiescing in rights of property long enjoyed must be made. The enjoyment of property is rendered more secure by the disposition which all men have from association and habit to acquiesce in things which they have always known to exist in the same state. The reason why they ought to acquiesce in it on account of its long establishment and

This passage leads us to notice the distinction which a French writer, formerly quoted, (*Encyclopédie Jurisprud.*) makes between the *negative* community of goods, or that "where all things are common because no one has appropriated them;" and the *positive* community of goods, or that "in which property belongs to all in the same way as private property, and to each as much as to all." The former, where "the materials are common to all, the new form, the produce of his time and industry," belonging to the individual, is the early stage of society; the latter, where not only the materials and the labour, but the

existence is, that a change must be hurtful to the community at large, because of that long establishment. Thus one reason, and only one, in favour of leaving property undisturbed, is derived from prescription. Great discomfort to all men would follow the inroad made by a violent change in its distribution, because a violence would be done to all men's feelings and habits of thinking; and great convenience is found to result from taking actual possession, long undisputed, as a test or criterion of right. But as long establishment is not the only reason why it would be inexpedient, and therefore wrong to disturb the existing government, so neither is long enjoyment the only reason why it would be hurtful, and therefore wrong to violate the existing distribution of property. The existence of society depends upon the existence of property, for no man would work if the fruits of his labour were not secured to him, and no one would take care of anything if he had no permanent or undivided interest in it. The general good accordingly requires, that property should be inviolable, unless where the general good requires that some partial exception be made to this rule. The right therefore depends upon Expediency (or utility); and to say that it depends upon Prescription, or long enjoyment, is no more explaining the origin of the right, than to say that it depends upon men's bodily force in defending their own, or upon the sentences of courts of justice, or upon the officers who carry them into execution."

"It is usual to say that the right of Property arises from Labour—from the natural rule or principle that all men have a claim

produce is common to all, and appropriated to the common benefit, may be considered rather as its ultimate and perfect state. We have seen that among simple nations whose selfish desires have not been awakened to the refinements of luxury, and whose natural social tendencies have not been submitted to disturbing forces, there has been a disposition to pass immediately from one stage to the other; and among them society may be said to be as perfect, and to afford as much happiness as the limited development of their faculties will admit. But when the transition stage of "self-love" and "exclusive property," of which Gibbon

to what they have made theirs by working for it,—which, however, is only another way of stating the question, and leaves us still to explain why such a working should confer such a claim; and this we can only do by recurring to the principle of Expediency; not to mention that this theory would only apply to the first owner, the labourer himself, and in no way explains the right of those to whom he transmits it by descent. Many have thought they solved every difficulty by observing that in the beginning of society, all things were common to all; that the land for miles belonged to no one; but that each man took possession of a piece and cultivated it and defended it so as to make it his own. This, again, is only stating the same thing in a somewhat, and but a little, varied form; and at all events, it gives no solution whatever to the question which immediately arises—Why should they who never lived on, or cultivated, or defended the spot of land, have any right to it after the first occupant's decease? This can only be answered by referring to the necessity which exists of a fixed rule, and of property being distributed in a certain known way, and secured to different possessors, and the innumerable mischiefs which would result from violating this rule, or in other words, not recognizing the right of property. The general good is the foundation of the whole argument, and accordingly, as often as that is thought to require restrictions upon the use or the transmission of property, the law interferes, and restrains the enjoyment, or directs the transmission. At an early period of our history men were not allowed to dispose of their real property by

speaks as "now necessary to human existence," shall have wrought their appointed ends in unfolding the elements of true civilization and improvement, and society shall take its natural, and therefore perfect form, it will, we may anticipate, reach a proportionably high pitch of social happiness, since the state of the whole will rise to the level of the highest point which individual exertion has attained. Mankind will then prove themselves, what they now profess to be, "of one family."*

will, except by the custom of particular places; and until the reign of Charles II. they could not devise the whole of their lands. In Scotland at this day no will, but only a deed of conveyance, framed in a peculiar manner and on the same principles with a sale, can dispose of landed estates after a proprietor's decease; and for sometime before his death he cannot effect it at all, unless he is in health, and enabled to appear in public. Formerly in England a person could not by will dispose of more than a part of his personal property; and this law still prevails in Scotland. In other countries there are similar restraints; and in France a person is compelled to make a certain distribution of his property among his children—possibly in order to provide more equally for them, and partly from the political consideration of preventing any growth of an aristocratic order, by the large fortunes which entails accumulate and keep together. In all these cases the same views of the general good restrain the right to property, or rather prescribe a line of actual possession, beyond which men have no right of property at all, and vest that right in others to whom it is deemed more expedient that it should belong."

"Thus we see that through the whole system of society, Expediency, or a regard to what is for the general benefit of the community, is the only governing principle, and the solid foundation of all rights." "*Political Philosophy*," published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

* "The natural state of man is society: for in this he is born and brought up; to this he is led by the awakening propensities; and the most pleasing appellations of father, son, brother, sister, lover, friend, are ties of the law of nature, that exist in every pri-

Thompson. The political economy of the co-operative principle has been most systematically treated in the "Inquiry into the Distribution of Wealth," published in 1824, by Mr. William Thompson, of Cork. The points chiefly insisted upon in this work are, that labour should be free, the fruits of labour secure, and exchange voluntary. "When equal security is established, and the best form of individual exertion exhibited, the real points of superiority of labour by co-operation will be apparent, and individual exertion will have no means of evading the proofs of its inferiority, by appealing to restraints no longer existing." Mr. Thompson bequeathed his property to the hands of Trustees as a perpetual fund in aid of Co-operative Societies and Infant Schools, and the promulgation generally of the principles of his writings. It is said, however, that his relations have contested the will, and rendered the bequest hitherto nugatory.

Gray's "Social System," which appeared in 1831, is a plan which seems to combine the St. Simonian scheme for regulating production and distribution by a National Bank, with that of the Labour Exchange, and the main difficulty it would have to encounter would probably be analogous to that which overwhelmed both these last—that of finding trustworthy and competent agents.

Of living writers the author of "Hampden in the primitive society of men. On these too the first governments have been founded: family regulations, without which the species could not subsist; laws that nature gave, and sufficiently limited. We will call this the *first step of natural government*: it will ever remain the highest and the last." Herder's Phil. Hist., vol. 1, p. 438.

Nineteenth Century," has been amongst the most zealous and successful in the cause of the association of interests. His works are characterised by refined and cultivated intellect, as well as by expansive benevolence.*

The objections made against all systems of equal and united interests have been chiefly three:—first, that institutions so perfect are only adapted to perfect beings; but if the institutions of society are both cause and effect, it must be desirable to make these institutions as nearly perfect as possible, even as a means to the perfecting of the beings for whom they are designed.

The second is that they would supply no stimulus to exertion. Malthus, who was led to his inquiries upon the subject of population by the considerations of the systems of Godwin and others, and who argues the subject at some length in his celebrated work, admits that although the objection is sufficient to his own mind, many ancient and modern instances prove that it is not, at least, universal. "It may be said," he also adds, "that, allowing the stimulus of inequality of conditions to have been necessary, in order to raise man from the indolence and apathy of the savage, to

* Among the advocates of social rights the poets take high rank. They, in all ages, have been the champions of oppressed humanity—

"For the injustice grieving, that hath made

So wide a difference between man and man."—Wordsworth.

In all measures and in all tongues they have sung the golden age, the happy state—

"Shall bless the race redeemed of man, when wealth
And power, and all their hideous progeny,
Shall sink, annihilate, and all mankind
Live in the equal brotherhood of love."—Southey.

the activity and intelligence of civilized life, it does not follow that the continuance of the same stimulus should be necessary when this activity and energy of mind has once been gained. It may *then* be allowable quietly to enjoy the benefit of a regimen which, like many other stimulants, having produced its proper effect, at a certain point must be left off, or exhaustion, disease, and death will follow." This objection, therefore, he allows is not of such a character "as to make the proposal for an experiment in modern times utterly unreasonable."*

The third objection is that of the rapid and excessive growth of population. "There can be little doubt," is the opinion of Malthus, "that the equalization of property we have supposed, added to the circumstance of the labour of the whole community being directed chiefly to agriculture, would tend greatly to augment the produce of the country;" but, he supposes, every depopulating cause of vice and misery removed, the numbers would increase faster than in any society yet known—faster than by any possibility the means of subsistence. Here then Godwin, Owen, Alison, (the representatives of sufficiently opposite schools) are at direct issue with Malthus and the political economists who agree with him, and it would seem that nothing but experience can decide the question satisfactorily between them. After tracing the imaginary consequences of the state of happiness which would produce a superabundant population, Malthus adds—"And thus it appears that a society constituted according to the

* Vol. 2, p. 278.

most beautiful form that imagination can conceive, with benevolence for its moving principle instead of self-love, and with every evil disposition in all its members corrected by reason, not force, would from the inevitable laws of nature, and not from any fault in human institutions, degenerate in a very short period into a society constructed upon a plan not essentially different from that which prevails in every known state at present; a society, divided into a class of proprietors and a class of labourers, and with self-love for the mainspring of the great machine." Here again the deduction is in the inverse ratio to that which the other party draws from the same premises, and again the appeal must be made to experience; *a priori* argument can avail nothing where the axioms upon which the disputants ground their reasonings are diametrically opposed. The one party maintains the perfect wisdom and goodness of the laws of nature, and that when man's institutions shall have been placed in harmony with them, his unlimited progression and happiness will be secured; the other believes that the "mischief arising from human institutions is light and superficial, in comparison with those deeper-seated causes of evil, which result from the laws of nature and the passions of mankind."* According to our estimate of the truth of these separate views, will probably be that we shall take of the conclusions to which they lead.

And yet, notwithstanding his plea of impossibility derived from his principles, the beauty and advantages of equality seem to approve themselves so warmly to

* Malthus, vol. 2, p. 246.

his feelings that one might be almost tempted to claim Mr. Malthus amongst its advocates. "If," he says, "the danger of over-population were to be removed until the whole earth were cultivated, and a beautiful system of equality were in other respects practicable, I cannot think that our ardour in the pursuit of such a scheme ought to be damped by the contemplation of so remote a difficulty. An event at such a distance might fairly be left to Providence." And again—"The system of equality, which Mr. Godwin proposes, is, on a first view of it, the most beautiful and engaging of any that has yet appeared. A melioration of society to be produced merely by reason and conviction, gives more promise of permanence than any change effected and maintained by force. The unlimited exercise of private judgment is a doctrine grand and captivating, and has a vast superiority over those systems, where every individual is in a manner the slave of the public. The substitution of benevolence, as the master-spring and moving principle of society, instead of self-love, appears at first sight to be a consummation devoutly to be wished. In short it is impossible to contemplate the whole of this fair picture, without emotions of delight and admiration, accompanied with an ardent longing for the period of its accomplishment. But alas! that moment can never arrive. The whole is little better than a dream-phantom of the imagination. These 'gorgeous palaces' of happiness and immortality, these 'solemn temples' of truth and virtue, will dissolve 'like the baseless fabric of a vision,' when we awaken to real life, and contemplate the genuine situation of man on earth."

In this melancholy, dispiriting conclusion must we indeed rest? Or rather shall we not, in the words of Fourier's disciple, reply—"For ourselves, who would not dishonour our own intelligence by insulting the Divine intelligence; we who wish to adore and bless God, the sovereign creator of heaven and earth, of man and his passions, the dispenser of universal life, the Father of love, of happiness, and harmony; we shall not conclude with saying—That is impossible, because it is too beautiful; we shall conclude on the contrary, religiously—That is too beautiful not to be possible."