

THE  
PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY;  
OR,  
THE LAW OF CONSEQUENCES;  
AS APPLICABLE TO  
MENTAL, MORAL, AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

BY  
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## PREFACE.

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THE object of the present Work is to inquire into the nature of the constitution of man ; to ascertain his place in creation, the object and aim of his existence, and the boundaries of his mind :—"to vindicate the ways of God to man," by tracing the Law of Consequences and pointing to the *good of Evil* : to inquire what sanction Nature affords to Morality, or what obligation she lays us under to regard the happiness of others :—to analyse the present constitution of Society ; to trace the cause of its numerous evils ; to suggest a remedy ; and to show how we may best avail ourselves of our present knowledge and power to live together in the most happy manner possible.

The Author is aware how imperfect a work must be where so wide a range of subject is compressed into so small a compass, and how unattractive a dry detail of principles, without ornament and without illustration, is likely to be with respect to topics which, from their abstruseness, are ordinarily distasteful to the public, even when touched by a master hand and relieved by

all the graces of style. Still he would hope that the searcher after truth, who, like himself, has felt the want of fixed principles in Ethical Philosophy, will forgive the imperfections of the manner, and find something to interest him in the matter of the following pages.

Physical science has made rapid strides, and knowledge has secured for us, to a vast extent, a dominion over earth, sea, and air. But the science of *man*, which alone can make this power available to the increase of happiness, has been in a corresponding degree neglected, and held to be of less importance than the arts and manufactures, which tend only to the increase of wealth. The knowledge that men have of their own minds, is ordinarily considered to furnish sufficient insight into human nature, without the aid of Mental Philosophy; and in Moral and Social Science, the opinions to which they are born, or to which some antiquated Professor of a College was born a century back, constitute to every individual a standard of truth. The consequence has been that generally recognized principles upon which to base measures to promote the happiness of mankind, have hitherto been wanting; the efforts to that end have been almost universally empirical in their character, or what the age calls *practical*; and we have much talk of "public morals" and of the "defence of the

public morals," against men who have spent their lives in teaching what shall best conduce to the public virtue and happiness. Hence there is no subject on which such various and conflicting opinions exist as upon that of the present inquiry ; every one feels rather than reasons, and all the great questions that have reference to the well-being of the race, are considered so purely controversial, as to be inadmissible into British Associations, Mechanics' and Philosophical Institutions, and all other societies devoted to the moral and intellectual culture of the people.

The writer is induced to lay his own reflections on the subject before the public, in the hope that the result of that labour which was necessary to satisfy his own mind, may be, in some small degree, a saving of labour to others ; and that if the conclusions at which he has arrived do not carry conviction to other minds, they may, at least, stimulate to inquiry in the most interesting and important department of knowledge. It may not be without its use to make brief mention of the steps by which these conclusions were forced upon him ; and this consideration will, perhaps, be an excuse for the egotism of the following remarks.

Many years ago the writer felt altogether unable to satisfy his mind with the prevailing systems, either of Metaphysics or Morality, as based upon the popular

Theology. The more he reflected the more he became convinced that the nature of man, and the object and aim of his existence were misunderstood ; that the ways of Providence were misinterpreted, and that the foundations of morality were laid upon the sand, being based upon the supposition that man is capable of acting contrary to the particular constitution with which his Creator has endowed him, and independently of the circumstances in which he is placed.

The perusal of Edwards's "Inquiry into Freedom of Will," and the conviction that the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity is there demonstrated, and that, therefore, every system built upon an opposite principle, by *whatever authority supported*, cannot be true, first led him to the investigation of opinions which he had been brought up to consider as established. The most uncomfortable of all states,—a state of doubt and unbelief,—followed : for consciousness of error is not the same as the discovery of truth. The "Deontology" of Bentham, presented the first land-mark to direct his course. It soon became evident to him that the laws of the moral world are, through the instrumentality of pleasure and pain, and of the definite constitution given to man by his Maker, as fixed and determinable as the laws of the physical world. Holding fast by the doctrine of Phy-

losophical Necessity, he gradually formed a system which, at least, satisfied his own mind, and which he feared was a creed peculiar to himself; and it was not until after the chief portion of the first and second parts of this work was written, that he discovered that Philosophical Necessity constituted the groundwork of the ethical creed of a numerous party in this country. The writings of this party first turned his thoughts to the subject of Part the 3d; that is, to the measures by which the Greatest Happiness principle, or the Moral Law, may be best carried into practice; but although he perceived that many had come to similar conclusions on most of these points, viewed separately, yet he felt that such truths were isolated and still required to be thrown into one connected system. This he has attempted to do for himself, and so far as he is able, for other minds experiencing a similar want.

In some cases where great and important principles may appear to be dismissed in too summary a manner, it must be attributed to the persuasion that the works of those who have amply elucidated these points are familiar to all interested in the subject.

For the confirmation of what have been given as facts in Mental Science established by Phrenology, he must refer to the works of Phrenologists, and experience must decide as to the truth of those opinions

in the analysis of the mental faculties in which he has ventured to differ from them. With respect to the frequent use of long quotations, the object of the Author being, solely, the elucidation of truth, he has thought it better, whenever his views could be as well or better expressed in the words of writers more known to the public than himself, to give them in preference to his own; as he conceives that the cause of truth will be better served by that course than by a greater assumption of originality.

The writer has only to add that the views which he has attempted to set forth in the following pages, have brought much consolation and satisfaction to his own mind, in affording him something definite to believe on subjects which at first sight seem despairingly mysterious and unfathomable; in expanding and clearing his views of Providence; in making known God in the character of the Universal Father—revealing Himself in a language that cannot be misunderstood or misinterpreted, to every sect and every clime; and it will be one of his greatest sources of happiness if they afford grounds of equal hope and trust to any of his fellow-creatures.

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## THE PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY.

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### INTRODUCTION.

“MAN, the servant and interpreter of Nature, can only understand and act in proportion as he observes or contemplates the order of Nature; more he can neither know nor do.”

Lord Bacon has been justly called the Prophet of the arts and the Father of experimental Philosophy, and he has defined, in the above fundamental principle of the inductive Philosophy, the extent of the knowledge of which man is capable; what Nature has really enabled him and what she has forbidden him to do. For want of a clear perception of the boundaries of his mind, which Nature herself has fixed, man has in all ages dogmatized upon endless subjects, which, from the very constitution of his being, are beyond his reach; and has formed, and is continually forming, theories upon points which lie beyond the range of his powers. How much speculation would be saved, how much pernicious error would be prevented, if man would always keep in view that it is the *order* of Nature alone, whether as relating to matter or to mind, that he is capable of observing; that independently of a supernatural Revelation, he can know neither the beginning

nor the end of things, but can only observe what is. He can know in itself, neither the real nature of matter nor that of mind, but only the order in which one event follows another, or in which one sensation follows another.\*

Without reflection it might be difficult to believe that all Science must be resolved into the knowledge of antecedence and consequence—of cause and effect—of the powers of nature; for the power of producing a given effect, and the cause, or the invariable antecedent of such effect, are all synonymous terms. Such, if we strictly analyse our knowledge, will be found to be the case; and that nothing is really known to us but this relation of things to each other and to ourselves. Thus one billiard ball striking another, communicates motion to it; yet, simple as this may appear, we know not how or why it does so. We say the striking is the cause of the motion; but we do not know why one body striking another should communicate motion to it, especially as it might be proved that it does not touch it. All we know is that the motion invariably follows what we call the striking. Again, heat converts water into steam; the expansive force of steam acts upon the piston; and the piston, by the intervention of many further antecedents, produces many further effects. Here again, all we know is that such causes, *cæteris paribus*, will invariably produce the same effects; in other words, we know the relation of heat to water, of water to steam, of steam to the piston, and of the piston to what it has to perform. This kind of knowledge may be called

\* For proof of this we would refer to Dr. Thomas Brown's "Theory of Cause and Effect," and to his 7th Lecture on the "Philosophy of the Human Mind."

certain, because by repeated experiments it may be proved. But it will be said that independently of the knowledge of the *order* of nature, and of the relation of things to one another, we possess a knowledge of things as individuals, and also of their qualities. This, however, is only a knowledge of their relation to us. The idea we have of individual existences and qualities, is the effect such existences have upon the senses, and the senses upon the brain; it is the first link in the chain of sequences.

Again, we know that due proportions of oxygen and hydrogen form water; that sulphur, nitre, and charcoal, form gunpowder; and that a spark applied to the latter mixture causes an explosion. But we know not how or why all this should take place; why a spark should have this relation to gunpowder, i. e. why it should have this *power*, or be the cause, or invariable antecedent of its explosion. We know it as we can only know everything else, by experience, from having observed that such is the *ORDER OF NATURE*. Now as regards our knowledge of the relation that this explosion bears to ourselves, it is exactly of the same character, merely the knowledge of the sequence of events. The powder acts upon the air and the air upon the tympanum, the tympanum upon the nerves and the nerves upon the brain, and the action of the brain is the only antecedent we can trace before the sensation which apprises us of the explosion. To say that the brain acts upon the mind is introducing a link in the chain for which, in the present state of our knowledge, we have no warrant. Not that I would be understood to affirm that the brain is the cause of the sensation; but the action of the brain is the invariable antecedent of sensation,

and we have no knowledge at present of anything between; to add a link to the chain of causation is as unphilosophical as to leave one out. To make discoveries in science, therefore, is merely to show what antecedents precede such and such consequents; what causes invariably produce such and such effects; and by this knowledge we are enabled to adapt our relation to external things, or their relation to us, so as to produce the effect we wish. Thus to know, with the vulgar, that the explosion produces the sound, is only available knowledge to a certain extent; to learn that the gunpowder acts upon the air is a discovery in science, and the various other links between are essential to *certain* knowledge; for, by the discovery of an additional link, or even by an alteration in the air, the tympanum, the nerves, or the brain, a different effect would be produced, i. e. the relation of the gunpowder to ourselves would be changed; or if a link were left out we might infer that the same cause did not always produce the same effect. Knowledge becomes certain in proportion as we discover the invariable antecedent to the consequent; it is therefore less certain where the principle of Life is concerned than it is in Physics, and still less so where Sensation is added to Life. In the action of medicine upon the body it is seldom that the same remedy will produce precisely the same effect in cases which appear to us to be similar; the reason of which is that so little is at present understood of the vital principle that there may be many circumstances in each case which we are unable to calculate upon, any one of which might be sufficient to produce the different result. Knowledge is so much more uncertain when Sensation is added to Life that invariable antece-

dence and consequence is here supposed to cease, the same necessary relation between cause and effect not being held to exist in mind as in matter. But this is an error, arising from the circumstance that the causes that produce mental phenomena are not always so perceptible as those that admit of more direct experiment. There is exactly the same connexion between every action of the mind and its cause as between things external to the mind; and not the slightest change takes place in the mind, nor the most transient idea passes through it, but it has its cause; which cause is always adequate in the same circumstances, to produce the same effect; and it is only by such admission that we can infer the existence of anything external to ourselves, or even the existence of what we call ourselves. It is of very great importance that we should clearly see that the *self* of the conscious being is nothing but an object of observation, known only as every thing else is known, by the chain of necessary antecedents and consequents. Thus all we can know of the mind of man is its successive changes.

The object of all Science, therefore, is to show the relation of things to each other and to ourselves. To this it is limited. "All that we know is, nothing can be known," is true in one sense, for we know nothing of *how* any one cause produces its effect. One thing invariably precedes another, and we say that it has the *power* to produce it; but what *this* power is, or what makes the connexion, or whether the relation will always exist or has only been established by the Deity for a time, we do not know, neither is it necessary, as far as we can see, that we should know, for the knowledge of the *order of nature* is all that is requisite for

the proper exercise of reason, and for the perfection of our happiness. Let us not, then, feel ourselves degraded by the idea that the most diligent research has done no more, and can do no more than trace the relations of things here, and discover but a part of the *order of nature* which the Deity has established; and since all our enquiries can but end in the discovery of the relations of things as discernible by our present faculties, let us cease from all those fruitless attempts to attain to knowledge upon subjects beyond the comprehension of beings in our scale of intelligence, which have hitherto so retarded the Science of Mind, and prevented the happiness of man from bearing any proportion to the means of happiness afforded him.

My object in the present treatise is to pursue this inductive method of inquiry in investigating the nature of man; his place in creation; the character of his mind; and particularly to trace to its legitimate consequences the doctrine of philosophical necessity, which the connection between cause and effect implies. I would show that the mind of man is not an exception to nature's other works; that like everything else it has received a determinate character; that all our knowledge of it is precisely of the same kind as that of material things, and consists in the observation of *its order* of action, or of the relation of cause and effect. This is a truth which, although acknowledged by many writers, has never yet been made of sufficient importance in the science of Mental or Moral Philosophy. It has either been considered as a mere abstraction of no practical use, or else avoided and stifled as leading to fatalism, and consequently dangerous in its tendency. But I hope to be able to show,

on the contrary, that upon this truth *alone*, however it may be said to militate against man's free will or accountability, in some acceptation of the terms, our Educational and Political systems can be properly based, in accordance with the nature of the being to be educated and governed. If in setting a steam engine to work the engineer were to leave much to its *free will*, the work would be but badly performed. So as relates to man, if in our educational systems the causes are inadequate to the intellectual and moral results we desire, his *free will* will not supply the deficiency.

A learned writer observes that "Mankind, bred to think as well as speak by rote, furnish their minds as they furnish their houses or clothe their bodies, with the fancies of other men, and according to the mode of the age and country. They pick up their ideas and notions in common conversation or in the schools. The first are always superficial, and both are commonly false."\* Feeling the force of this, in the following pages I shall pay no attention to existing opinions, however prevalent; knowing that if what is advanced be true, it cannot really be at variance with any other truth; and also, that as God has given us our reasoning powers for the discovery of truth, we ought to feel confident that nothing that He permits us to discover can be inimical to the real interests and happiness of man. In this persuasion, and endeavouring to hold firmly by the fundamental principle of the inductive philosophy already stated, I shall proceed to the consideration of man and his relation to all that surrounds him.

\* Bolingbroke.

## PART I.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### MATTER.

SUBSTANCES appear naturally to divide themselves into three grand classes: inert or inorganic; organic, or those to which has been added an additional principle, called the principle of Life; and those organic structures which have received another and apparently totally distinct principle, viz., Sensation.

Inorganic Matter is distinguished by the possession of properties which we call Attraction, Repulsion, Inertia, that is to say, without *sensation*, and consequently without *volition*, it possesses certain tendencies to act in a certain way, which tendencies are called the laws to which it is subjected, and which are always uniform. It is to these tendencies that all the motions going on in inorganic matter are owing—all the phenomena of Physics. In relation to such laws, however, when we say that it is *attraction* that causes all bodies to tend towards each other, we are not in the least better instructed with respect to the cause of this tendency, for attraction is only a name invented to express the fact. Newton, therefore, when he showed that the heavenly bodies in revolving round each other obey the same law as the apple in its descent to the earth,

did not make us better acquainted with the cause of the motion of either; although he explained the phenomenon in the only way that it admitted of explanation, by showing that the order in which it takes place is similar to the observed succession of more familiar facts. There are also other general laws or tendencies which are probably only modifications of those above mentioned. Such are chemical affinities; which, by variously combining what are supposed to be the different kinds of matter, form all the endless variety of bodies on the face of the globe.

By tracing out and registering the tendencies or laws of matter in the departments of Physics and Chemistry, and by acting in accordance with them, man has been able to explore the secrets of nature and to turn her powers to his own use and comfort. Such powers now at man's command, in this country alone, are said to be equal to the joint force of 600 millions of men.

Organized or living matter possesses the same properties and is subjected in some measure to the same laws as inorganic; but it is also endowed with other properties altogether different, and which to a certain extent make it independent of the laws to which inorganic matter is subjected. Thus, though organized bodies are influenced both by gravity and inertia, yet the additional principle which they have received, viz., the vital principle, gives them a power for a time, of acting in opposition to them. These forces, however, are always sufficient in the end to overcome any amount of vital energy and render rest to locomotive frames necessary, and are so little suspended with regard to organic bodies as to determine the size of both plants

and animals all over the world. There seems, indeed, to be a continual contest between the laws of Physics and Chemistry and those of Life: the continued operation of the first causing old age and decay and ultimately death, or what appears to be the extinction of the principle of life.

Striking as are the phenomena revealed to us in the first-named departments of nature, the phenomena of Life are still more so. Two bodies, almost identical to the eye, a stone and a seed, are buried in the ground. In the one there is little or no change; the other expands, bursts, and, contrary apparently to physical and chemical laws, rises from the ground and makes to itself organs whereby its various functions are performed; the matter of which it is composed is continually changing, throwing off the old and useless material, and converting other matter into its own substance to supply its place; giving to other bodies the power of exercising the same vital energy, i. e. producing forms similar to itself; and then it dies—the vital principle leaves the individual existence and is incapable of being further traced by us.

Thus the characteristic of vegetative life is to perform the functions of nutrition, respiration, circulation, secretion, excretion, and reproduction; the object of these functions being to produce the changes above mentioned, and thus to preserve the individual existence and the principle of life which supports it.

Two seeds very much alike, shall in their growth present altogether opposite appearances, and the *same* principle acting upon what appear to us to be similar structures and upon others in which there is very little difference, produces all the varied beauties of the vegetative kingdom. With reference to the primary laws

which regulate these differences we are at present little enlightened; one thing, however, appears certain, that however complicated the peculiar laws of life may appear to us to be in the present state of our knowledge, they are fixed and invariable.

Life proceeds only from life; no instance having been known of its existence where it has not been transmitted from one organized body to another; it also appears to be dependent upon organization.\* Even in its lowest state of energy it requires to be placed in certain relations to light, heat, and moisture; and though it may be called a different principle it is not independent of matter. In fact, we know of nothing independent of what we call matter; for life depends upon organization, and sensation upon life, and all things in inorganic matter, body, and mind, bear a fixed relation to each other, and if this relation be altered in one part the whole is destroyed.

As there is an essential difference between inert or dead matter and matter which possesses life, so there is an important difference between mere organic life and animal life, or that which has received the additional principle of Sensation. Thus life and sensation are entirely distinct principles; for although sensation cannot exist unconnected with life, yet life may exist altogether independently of sensation.

\* John Hunter believes that the chyle is alive, and others give life to the blood. It is certain that the fluids which form the embryo must be endowed with life; but this vitality is dependent upon a number of separately organized particles, the same as in a number of seeds from one plant. The arguments of the French Atheists for the spontaneous production of animals in sour paste, &c., seem to me inconclusive, because in all the cases in which we can trace the origin of life, it is found to proceed only from life.

The principle of Life seems to be supported in the same way in animals as in vegetables. In both, the materials for growth and reproduction of waste particles are supplied by means of the circulation of a fluid through innumerable tubes; the root may be said to be the stomach of the plant, imbibing nutrition from the soil; a system of tubes rising upwards, called the common vessels, correspond to the lacteals and pulmonary arteries of animals; these are distributed in minute ramifications over the surface of the leaves, which may be termed the lungs of the plant, as here the sap is exposed to the agency of light and air, and like the blood in animals, undergoes a change which adapts it to the wants of the vegetable; this sap then descends through another system of minute tubes in the inner layer of the bark, yielding all the juices peculiar to the plant.

There is, however, a difference and a very striking one in the nature of the food proper to plants and animals; by means of which difference the vegetable kingdom is made to prepare the way for the animal. The plant subsists upon inorganic matter, whilst organic is the necessary food of the animal. The principle of life in the vegetable converts inorganic into organic matter. Thus the soil is subservient to the plant; the plant to the animal; one animal lower in the scale of sensation to another that is higher; and all to the superior capabilities of enjoyment in man.

Another noticeable difference between plants and animals, in reference to the organic processes upon which life depends, is that the former are fixed to the soil and are therefore always in contact with their food; whereas in animals which possess a power of locomotion a different arrangement is necessary for

the supply of nutriment, and these are, consequently, provided with a receptacle by which they can carry their food about with them. To convert this food into a proper supply for the reproduction of waste particles, other functions are requisite, more numerous and complicated in the animal than in the plant.

At the commencement of the scale of organization, i. e. where life seems least removed from dead matter, the structure is so simple that a single organ seems all that is necessary for the existence of the individual. But the higher the individual in the scale of existence and the more its vital energy, the greater is the multiplication of its organs, the more numerous its functions, and the more elaborate and complex its structure. From the lowest end of the scale to the highest for every different function performed by either plant or animal an additional organ is necessary. The animal performs more functions than the plant, and its structure is, consequently, much more complex; but the organs in both are neither *more* nor *less* than are required for their individual wants.

The principle of life, then, is common to both plants and animals, and is supported in the same way in both; the only difference being complexity of structure in proportion as the functions are more numerous and of a higher order.

The chief distinction between them is now to be noticed, viz., that to animals is given sensation,\* or the

\* The term sensation throughout this work is not used in the accepted sense of that term in this country, as denoting the feeling which we have by the senses, but as the particular characteristic of the animal life, and as synonymous with feeling, but not the sense of feeling. Consciousness, which is the term many writers

power of feeling, in addition to the principle of life.† Living and feeling are distinct states, although both existing in one frame. Each state has its own organs and distinct functions, and though sensation is nowhere known to exist without life, yet life continues sometimes to exist when all sensation has ceased or is even extinct. Thus we continue to live when sensation is lost in sleep, and sleep which is rest to the organs of sensation is necessary to the healthy exercise of their functions and even to their very existence. The organs which support life on the contrary work without intermission, death being the consequence of their ceasing to act. Could they rest when we are no longer conscious, they would not in all probability wear out so soon, and we should live longer. In cases of apoplexy sensation frequently becomes extinct, at least to all appearance, some days before the merely vital functions cease. In drowning also sensation ceases some considerable time before death, and may be again restored if the organic functions have not quite stopped; thus proving the fact that sensation is distinct from the vital principle though dependent upon it.

Dr. S. Smith observes in reference to the distinction between organic and animal life, "The action of the apparatus of the organic life when sound is without consciousness; the object of the action of the apparatus of the animal life is the production of consciousness. The final cause of the action of the apparatus

make use of to express this faculty, appears to me to result only from Reflection, which no animal but man possesses.

† I would here refer the reader to the three first chapters of Dr. S. Smith's "Philosophy of Health," in which, and more especially in the second, this subject is admirably elucidated.

of the organic life is the maintenance of existence: the final cause of the action of the apparatus of the animal life is the production of conscious existence."

"When, however, consciousness of the organic processes would be of service to us; when they are going wrong; when their too feeble or intense action is in danger of destroying existence, the animal life is made sensible of what is passing in the organic, in order that the former may take beneficial cognizance of the latter, may do what experience may have taught to be conducive to the restoration of the diseased organ to a sound state, or avoid doing what may conduce to the increase or maintenance of its morbid condition."

Again, "The two lives are born at different periods, and the one is in active operation before the other is even in existence. The first action observable in the embryo is a minute pulsating point. It is the young heart propelling its infant stream. Before brain or nerve or muscle can be distinguished the heart is in existence and in action; that is, the apparatus of the organic function of the circulation is built up and is in operation before there is any trace of an animal organ. Arteries and veins circulate blood, capillary vessels receive the vital fluid, and out of it form brain and muscle, the organs of the animal, no less than the various substances that compose the organs of the organic life. The organic is not only anterior to the animal life, but *it is by the action of the organic that existence is given to the animal life.* The organic life is born at the first moment of existence, the animal life not until a period comparatively distant; the epoch emphatically called the period of birth, namely, the period when the new being is detached from its

mother ; when it first comes in contact with external objects ; when it carries on all the functions of its economy by its own organs, and consequently enjoys independent existence.”\*

It is difficult to tell where the animal life is first added to the organic. So feeble is the energy, so indistinct is the appearance of sensation when it is first added to matter, that naturalists have mistaken what are now known to be animals for plants. The energy of sensation, however, gradually increases as we trace it upwards in the scale of creation, and always with it the enlargement and complexity of the nervous system. The senses and voluntary motion gradually make their appearance in worms, insects, &c., the extra necessary vital functions being at the same time added. We thus ascend the scale through fishes, reptiles, birds, and quadrupeds, the complexity of organs, both nervous and vital, increasing in proportion as sensation and motion become more energetic. Thus the cerebral functions or the diversified powers of thinking and feeling gradually increase until they receive their final development in man, where they produce all the phenomena of Intellect, so far surpassing anything analogous in animals that it requires considerable knowledge of comparative anatomy to refer them to the same source.

Dr. Smith says “The relation is still stricter between the complexity of apparatus of sensation and the range of feeling than between the complexity of the inferior or organic functions. The greater the number of senses the greater the number of the organs of sense ; the

\* Philosophy of Health, Chap. 2.

more accurate and varied the impressions conveyed by each, the more complex the structure of the instrument by which they are communicated; the more extended the range of the intellectual operations, the larger the bulk of brain, the greater the number of its distinct parts, and the more exquisite their organization. From the point of the animal scale, at which the brain first becomes distinctly visible, up to man, the basis of the organ is the same; but as the range of its functions extends, part after part is superadded, and the structure of each part becomes progressively more and more complex. The evidence of this, afforded by comparative anatomy, is irresistible, and the interest connected with the study of it, can scarcely be exceeded."\*

Again, observes a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 94, "In the nervous system alone we can trace a gradual progress in the provision for the subordination of one animal to another, and of all to man; and are enabled to associate every faculty which gives superiority with some additions to the nervous mass, even from the smallest indication of sensation and will, up to the highest degree of sensibility, judgment, and expression. The brain is observed to be progressively improved in its structure; and, with reference to the spinal marrow and nerves, augmented in volume more and more, until we reach the human brain, each addition being marked by some addition to, or amplification of the power of the animal, until in man we behold it possessing some parts of which animals are destitute, and wanting none which they possess."

All facts seem then to imply that in precisely the

\* Philosophy of Health, Chap. 1.

same way that life depends upon organization, so sensation or the animal life depends upon a superstructure raised upon this organization, viz., the nervous system. Neither is there a single fact to prove that man is in any way an exception to this rule. His mind and feelings seem to be equally dependent upon his nervous system, and the difference between him and other animals, however great, seems owing to the greater complexity of this system; from which it is evident that, important as this difference may be, there is no necessity for the introduction of a fourth principle, as distinct as life from sensation, to account for it. The function of a part of the brain which man has in addition to that possessed by the highest order of brutes, enables him to communicate his ideas and to register his experience, and this power constitutes his distinguishing characteristic, without which he would never have risen above the savage state.

That he is a progressive being is the grand distinction of man, and the reason of an intelligent individual of the present age is not so much the reason of one, as of the whole human race: everything worthy of being preserved in every mind that has existed having been handed down to us, first by oral tradition and then by written records, making ultimately a greater difference between a cultivated mind of the present day, and that of one who has only had the experience of a life to teach him, than between the latter individual and one of the higher order of brutes. It is well said by Dr. Arnott that "a well-informed man of the present day may be said to possess within the boundaries of his mind the universe in miniature, where he can contemplate at pleasure, past events and the present and the future."

To those who are unaccustomed to trace the origin and growth of ideas through successive ages, and to consider the expansion of mind as the result of the registered experience of all that have preceded us, it is difficult to perceive the resemblance between the wonderful powers of man and those that are developed in a minor degree in the brutes. The following passage from the "Philosophy of Health," seems to prove, nevertheless, incontrovertibly, that the mind of man is not an exception to the universal law, which makes the animal life, viz., sensation—thought—consciousness—dependent upon the brain; and shows also, in a highly interesting manner, the progression of the mind from childhood to manhood, and the retrogression from manhood to second childhood, as the organs of the brain gradually attain maturity with age, and again with age decay:—

"The functions of the organic life are perfect at once. The heart contracts as well, the arteries secrete as well, the respiratory organs work as well, the first moment they begin to act as at any subsequent period. They require no teaching from experience, and they profit nothing from its lessons. On the contrary, the operations of the brain, and the actions of the voluntary muscles, feeble and uncertain at first, acquire strength by slow degrees, and attain their ultimate perfection only at the adult age."

"In the descending series, the animal life fails before the organic, and its nobler powers decay sooner and more speedily than the subordinate. First of all the impressions which the organs of sense convey to the brain become less numerous and distinct, and consequently the material on which the mind operates is

less abundant and perfect; but at the same time, the power of working vigorously with the material it possesses more than proportionally diminishes. Memory fails; analogous phenomena are less readily and less completely recalled by the presence of those which should suggest the entire train; the connecting links are dimly seen or wholly lost; the brain itself is less vivid and less coherent; train succeeds train with preternatural slowness, and the consequence of these growing imperfections is that at last, induction becomes unsound just as it was in early youth; and for the same reason, namely, because there is not in the mental view an adequate range of individual phenomena; and the only difference being that the range comprehended in the view of the old man is too narrow, because that which he had learnt he has forgotten; while in the youth it is too narrow, because that which it is necessary to learn has not been acquired.

“And with the diminution of intellectual power the senses continue progressively to fail; the eye grows more dim, the ear more dull, the sense of smell less delicate, the sense of touch less acute, while the sense of taste, immediately subservient to the organic function of nutrition, is the last to diminish in intensity and correctness, and wholly fails but with the extinction of the life it serves.

“But the senses are not the only servants of the brain; the voluntary muscles are so equally; but these ministers to the master power, no longer kept in active service, the former no longer employed to convey new, varied, and vivid impressions, the latter no longer employed to execute the commands of new, varied, and intense desires, become successively feebler, slower,

and more uncertain in their action. The hand trembles, the step totters, and every movement is tardy and unsteady. And thus, by the loss of one intellectual faculty after another, by the obliteration of sense after sense, by the progressive failure of the power of voluntary motion, in a word, by the declining energy and the ultimate extinction of the animal life, man, from the state of maturity, passes a second time through the stage of childhood back to that of infancy; lapses even into the condition of the embryo; what the fœtus was, the man of extreme old age is: when he began to exist he possessed only organic life; and before he is ripe for the tomb, he returns to the condition of a plant.\*

“And even this merely organic existence cannot

\* On the same subject Dr. Elliotson in his *Human Physiology*, p. 1028, remarks, “In this miserable state of wreck, the power of the brain called mind, like the power of all other organs, and every organ, is reduced to the lowest point compatible with life, and without Divine assurance to the contrary, must indicate a final extinction, since a gradual expansion of intellectual and high moral faculties might be expected the nearer our entrance into a higher state of existence, and not a steadily increasing decline into childishness, incapacity, and absolute fatuity—*dementia senilis*, as it is technically called, in which no evidence can be appreciated, no views conceived; and the longer life is pushed,—the nearer to another world the individual arrives, the more fatuitous does he grow,—the more and more below the brute creation. Though few live long enough to die thus fatuitous, it must be remembered that the faculties of the old are always more and more impaired and employed upon old experience without the power of advancing, and that, among those who perish in the vigour of their minds, they who are not cut off suddenly, nay even they who become very acute before death, generally become delirious or unintelligent ultimately before they expire.”

be long maintained. Slow may be the waste of the organic organs; but they do waste, and that waste is not repaired, and consequently their functions languish, and no amount of stimulus is capable of invigorating their failing action. The arteries are rigid and cannot nourish; the veins are relaxed and cannot carry on the mass of blood that oppresses them; the lungs, partly choked up by adventitious matter, and partly incapable of expanding and collapsing by reason of the feeble action of the respiratory apparatus, imperfectly aerate the small quantity of blood that flows through them; the heart, deprived of its wonted nutriment and stimulus, is unable to contract with the energy requisite to propel the vital current; the various organs, no longer supplied with the quantity and quality of material necessary for carrying on their respective processes, cease to act; the machinery stops, and this is death.

“And now the processes of life at an end, the body falls within the dominion of the powers which preside universally over matter; the tie that linked all its parts together, holding them in union and keeping them in action, in direct opposition to those powers dissolved, it feels and obeys the new attractions to which it has become subject; particle after particle that stood in beautiful order, fall from their place; the wonderful structures they composed melt away; the very substances of which those structures were built are resolved into their primitive elements; these elements, set at liberty, enter into new combinations and become constituent parts of new beings; those new beings, in their turn, perish; from their death springs life, and so the change goes on in an everlasting circle.”

As the elements of which the body has been composed "enter into new combinations and become constituent parts of new beings," so, even with reference to this world, may it be truly said that the mind does not perish, but that the essential parts of it descend to our children, or in the shape of written documents—registered experience, help to form the minds of hundreds of the human race.

## CHAPTER II.

### MIND.

IN the previous chapter we have seen how nature, in the vast variety of her movements, seems systematically to approach towards one object, the production of Sensation. The laws of inorganic matter prepare the way for organic, for plants and vegetables possessing life; the vegetable kingdom prepares the way for the animal, and upon the vital functions of animals is dependent the nervous system which it seems to be the object of all the other complicated processes to produce, and with which Sensation or Feeling is as intimately connected, as Attraction with inorganic matter, or Life with organic.

The world appears to have been created with the view of containing the largest possible amount of sentient existence. Not only organized structures possessing life, but beings endowed with sensation teem on every side of us; the wide spreading ocean, the earth, the air, are full of them; each possessing a constitution adapted to the sphere in which its Creator has intended it to move. There appears to be no situation where vegetation or the effects of vegetation exist that does not support some kind of animal life: stagnant water and noxious marshes, decaying vegetable and animal matter, all swarm with sentient beings, and what is death to the more perfectly organized beings, is the source of life to others lower in

the scale. Distinct worlds of sensation seem to exist, in the water, in the air, in the earth, as well as on the earth, all possessing a wonderful adaptation of structure to their place in creation. How beautiful, for instance, is the world of insects, fitted as these are, in their various transformations, to inhabit the different elements. How complicated is their structure, bodily and mental, enabling them to live in a world of their own, inaccessible to the obtuser senses of man. They hear and see and feel and smell and taste what is too subtle for his perception: they have music and a language that he cannot understand: they sport in all the colours of the rainbow, and delight in their own gay clothing. The variety of structure in the organs of the senses, in the wings, legs, stings, ovipositors, mouths, and internal machinery for the supply of waste, of these little creatures, is among the great wonders of comparative anatomy. Not less wonderful is the perfection with which such internal machinery, in beings so frail and low in the scale of existence, performs its work; turning death into life, putrefaction into the most beautiful and variegated structure; eliminating the lamp of the glow-worm, the sting of the bee, and the venom that maddens the sluggish ox. No less admirable and appropriate is the structure of every living creature, from the tribes of infusoria upwards, each possessing the powers of sensation, and consequently intelligence, in the degree that is requisite for its happiness and maintenance in the place of creation allotted to it.

The most highly organized being is Man, and the aggregate of all his sensations, whether proceeding from external or internal impressions, we denominate

his mind. The mind, therefore, is intimately connected with the brain and nervous system, and before analyzing it, which is the object of the present chapter, it seems desirable briefly to describe the vital functions, upon which the brain and nervous system depend.

It will be unnecessary to explain the structure of the human frame; suffice it to say, that changes of its constituent particles are always going on, and, like everything else, it is continually wearing away. It is hard work that many of its organs are called upon to perform, and the heart cannot beat 100,000 times in twenty-four hours and act with a force of 60 lbs. upon the blood that is poured into it, without loss of substance. So also the lungs, the stomach, the liver, and all the other organs, unceasingly and untiringly execute their functions, but always at the expense of some of their component particles; a waste which is greater even than in inanimate machines, and if the parts worn away were not replaced by new ones, life would soon become extinct. To supply this new material and to fit it for all the purposes of the body, organs for reception, assimilation, circulation, nutrition, secretion, and excretion, are provided. Thus vegetable or animal matter, after being masticated, and mixed with a peculiar secretion from the salivary glands, is received into the stomach, where by the aid of certain juices it is digested and changed into chyme; from thence it passes into the bowels or intestines, where it undergoes other changes. The nutritious portion of it called the chyle is here taken up by very minute vessels or hair-like tubes, (the lacteals,) which convey it to a thicker tube, (the thoracic duct,) by which it is emptied into the heart and mixed up with the blood. It is necessary,

however, in order to fit it for all the purposes of life, that it be exposed to the oxygen of air ; and accordingly it is forced by the heart into the lungs, where every particle of it is brought into contact with the air, by the action of breathing. This converts it from the dark blue venous blood to the fine scarlet-coloured arterial blood which alone is able to support life ; it is then again returned to the heart, but to a different chamber from that which it occupied before. Thence it is again forced out over all, even the most remote parts of the body ; replacing in its course all those portions that have decayed or worn away, forming, apparently, from the very same blood, bone, muscle, fat, brain, and nerve, with all the diversified secretions from the different organs used in reducing all the various kinds of external aliment to one common fluid. By this circulation of blood, not only are all the parts of the body kept in constant repair, but all those particles are carried out of the system, which, having served their purpose, are no longer of use, and which if not removed would impede the action of the different organs. These waste particles are emptied into the blood, and organs are provided whose function it is to extract them again from it, and to throw them quite out of the system. Such, among others, is the office of the skin, the lungs, the liver, the kidneys, and the bowels. All the functions of the body by which life is sustained, have, thus, relation to waste and supply ; every instant some portion of the matter of which the body is composed is worn away, and vital actions are continually going on to supply the expenditure ; every instant particles that have served their purpose in the body are carried out of it, and new matter replaces

them. In this manner the whole body is gradually but entirely changed, so that in the course of time no particle of it remains that was there before.

The laws that regulate these functions are called the organic laws, and the great importance that attaches to them is evident when we know that the brain, "the organ of mind," is dependent upon them. All other functions of the body are important only as they promote the healthy action of the brain, for it is sensation alone that makes life of any value. It is absolutely necessary to the health of the brain that it be supplied with good and pure blood; if, therefore, the skin be neglected so that it cannot remove the waste matter from the blood; if the blood be not properly oxygenized by a due supply of pure air from the lungs, or reinvigorated by fresh nourishment from the stomach, or if the heart do not propel it with sufficient energy, the brain suffers and with it the mind. The due regulation of such functions of the body is essential, therefore, to the proper action of the mind.

It is represented by some who fear the supposed results of what is called materialism, that the brain is merely the instrument that the mind makes use of in its connexion with the body. On the other hand, it is said "Mind is the functional power of the living brain." "As I cannot conceive *Life* any more than the power of attraction," says Dr. Elliotson, "unless possessed by matter, so I cannot conceive *mind* unless possessed by a brain, or by some nervous organ, whatever name we may choose to give it, endowed with life. I speak of terrestrial or animal mind; with angelic and divine natures we have nothing to do, and of them we know, in the same respects, nothing. Observation shows that

superiority of mind in the animal creation is exactly commensurate with superiority of brain ;\* that activity

\* "The same progression which exists in the gradual perfection of animal organization, as far as regards vegetable life only, is observed in the gradual perfection of the nervous system, and of animal life which depends upon it. Comparative anatomy has followed the gradual perfection of animals, from the most simple absorbent vessels to the most complicated apparatus of mastication, deglutition, and digestion, to the most perfect circulation. With every fresh viscus, every fresh apparatus for sensation, is discovered a fresh function, and this function is more complicated in proportion as the organization of the viscus or apparatus of sensation is more perfect. The stomach, kidneys, lungs, heart, eyes, ears, are the more complicated as the functions become so.

"The same gradation may be demonstrated in the structure of the brains of the different species. I have demonstrated in the preceding chapter, that the existence of each moral quality and intellectual faculty, depends solely upon the presence of certain determinate cerebral parts, and not upon the whole mass of brain. It follows, that the number of the faculties is in direct proportion to the integrant parts of the brain. In insects, fish, and amphibia, the nervous mass contained in the cerebral reservoir, is still divided into several distinct masses. The greater part of these are not integrant parts of the brain, properly so called; they are ganglia, from which arise the nerves of smell, hearing, sight, &c. The two hemispheres, properly so called, are placed behind the two ganglia of the olfactory nerves, and are the more complicated as the industrial instincts are more numerous; the cerebellum in these animals generally forms a hollow pouch, sometimes placed horizontally, sometimes folded together.

"In birds, the two hemispheres are already more considerable, although distinct convolutions cannot be discerned. The cerebellum still consists merely of its middle or fundamental part; but already appears composed of many rings placed side by side.

"In the small mammalia, the shrew-mouse, mouse, rat, squirrel, weasel, &c., convolutions are not yet discoverable. But as they are already distinctly found in other larger rodentia, the beaver, kangaroo, &c., we may suppose that they equally exist in them.

of brain and of mind are coequal ; and that, as long as the brain is endowed with life, and remains uninjured, it, like all other organs, can perform its functions, and mind continues ; but, as in all other organs, when its

“ In the larger mammalia, the cat, polecat, marten, fox, dog, ape, the convolutions are more distinct and numerous, but their form varies according to the species.

“ In the dolphin, elephant, and man, they are more numerous and deep than in the beaver, kangaroo, cat, &c., and their form and direction vary completely according to the species.

“ In all the mammalia, the cerebellum possesses, besides the middle or fundamental part, two lateral parts, which are more or less complicated, according to the species ; and as the *soi-disant* pons variolii, or the *soi-disant* cerebral ganglia, i. e. the transverse layers of nervous bands, are only the commissure or junction of the lateral parts of the cerebellum, they are found in all the mammalia, and in none of the ovipara.

“ The number of the integral parts, or of the convolutions of the brain, varies equally in the different species of mammalia ; in some the anterior lobes of the hemispheres are larger or more elevated ; in others, again, the inferior parts of the anterior lobes are nearly wanting. The middle lobes, and the other convolutions, present similar varieties.

“ In this way, the integrant parts of the brain augment in number and development, as we pass from a less perfect to a more perfect animal, till we arrive at the brain of man, who, in the anterior-superior, and in the superior region of the frontal bone, possesses several parts of which other animals are deprived, and by means of which he is endowed with the most eminent qualities and faculties, with reason, and the feeling of religion and the existence of God.

“ Some pretend to discover a striking resemblance between the brain of an orang-outan and that of man. But, in the first place, the difference of their volume is as five to one ; their convolutions differ considerably in number and structure ; the anterior lobes, especially, are contracted into a cone, flattened above, hollow below, &c. ; and the difference is still more remarkable in other simiae.”—Gall, as quoted by Elliotson in his “ Human Physiology,” p. 32.

life ceases, its power to perform its function ceases, and the mind ceases; when disease or mechanical injury affects it, the mind is affected—inflammation of the stomach causes vomiting, of the brain delirium; a blow upon the head stuns; if originally constituted defective, the mind is defective; if fully developed, and properly acted on, the mind is vigorous: accordingly, as it varies with age, in quality and bulk, is the mind also varied—the mind of the child is weak and very excitable; of the adult, vigorous and firm, and of the old man weak and dull, exactly like the body; and the character of the mind of an individual agrees with the character of his body, being equally excitable, languid, or torpid, evidently because the brain is of the same character as the rest of the body to which it belongs;—the female mind exceeds the male in excitability as much as her body; the qualities of the mind are also hereditary, which they could not be, unless they were, like our other qualities, corporeal conditions; and the mind is often disordered upon the disappearance of a bodily complaint, just as other organs, besides the brain, are affected under similar circumstances,—the retrocession of an eruption may affect the lungs, causing asthma; the bowels, causing interitis; or the brain, causing insanity,—phthisis and insanity sometimes alternate with each other, just like affections of other organs; the laws of the mind are precisely those of the functions of all other organs,—a certain degree of excitement strengthens it, too much exhausts it; physical agents affect it, and some specifically, as is the case with other functions, for example, narcotics. The argument of Bishop Butler that the soul is immortal and independent of matter because in fatal diseases the mind often remains vigorous to the last, is perfectly ground-

less, for any function will remain vigorous to the last, if the organ which performs it is not the seat of disease, nor much connected by sympathy, or in other modes with the organ which is the seat of the disease,—the stomach often calls regularly for food, and digests it vigorously, while the lungs are almost completely consumed by ulceration. All the cases that are adduced to prove the little dependence of the mind upon the brain, are adduced in opposition to the myriads of others that daily occur in the usual course of nature, and are evidently regarded as extraordinary by those who bring them forward. An exact parallel to each may be found in the affections of every other organ, and each admits of so easy an explanation, that it may be always truly said, "*Exceptio probat regulum.*"\*

But whatever may be the way in which Sensation is connected with the nervous system, it does not at all affect the reasoning founded upon the fact of that connexion. We do not call attraction a function of matter, but we never find matter existing without attraction—so we never find Life without organization, or Sensation without a nervous system. Life would appear to be an inexplicable principle originally added to organization, capable of transmission, but not of spontaneous production; the same may be said of Sensation.

This however may perhaps be considered as certain knowledge on the subject, viz., that the brain (in either sense,) is the organ of mind; that it is not a single organ but consists of a number of parts, performing distinct functions, comprising all the different propensities, feelings, and faculties which distinguish one animal from another, and all others from man.

\* Human Physiology, p. 32.

Comparative anatomy having pointed out that all the peculiar habits and propensities of sensitive creatures are consequent upon the different development of their nervous systems, the observation of these differences, in connexion with the propensities and habits of the individual, has led in very many cases to the discovery of the part of the brain connected with each mental faculty. Dr. Vimont, in Paris, has observed and published a great number of facts on this subject, with reference to the lower animals as well as to man.

The connexion of particular parts of the brain in man with particular mental faculties, was accidentally discovered by Dr. Gall, of Vienna, to whom all honour is due for his patient investigation, during a long life, of such phenomena. The discovery has proved most important to the interests of mental science, and the same mode of investigation has been followed with equal assiduity by others; through their means a very complete list of the primitive mental faculties, as compared with any furnished by previous metaphysicians, has been given to us, throwing great light upon all subjects connected with the happiness of man.

Phrenologists have not only demonstrated that each mental faculty is connected with a particular part of the brain, but also that the power and intensity which each faculty is capable of manifesting is in proportion to the *health, quality, and size* of the part. Also that such health, quality, and size, depend upon hereditary tendencies as much as the health and strength of the vital functions and the general appearance of the person.

The power of manifestation of the mental faculties is found to increase with exercise, and to decrease with disuse.

Phrenologists have also shewn that the size of the organs of the brain is indicated by the shape of the head; the health and quality are not so obvious, but may generally be determined.

A faculty is admitted as primitive; that is, as the function of a single organ, and not compounded of several united by a principle of association;

“ Which exists in one kind of animal and not in another;

“ Which varies in the two sexes of the same species;

“ Which is not proportionate to the other faculties of the same individual.

“ Which does not manifest itself simultaneously with the other faculties; that is, which appears or disappears earlier or later in life than other faculties;

“ Which may act or rest singly;

“ Which is propagated in a distinct manner from parents to children;

“ Which may singly preserve its proper state of health or disease.”\*

#### ANALYSIS OF THE MENTAL FACULTIES.

Sensation may be said to be the Soul, the *something* that is distinct from that to which we give the name of matter, but of which matter we know nothing but as the cause or the immediate antecedent of Sensation. It is distinct, inasmuch as the cause must always be distinguished from the effect; but how it differs from matter in essence, man's faculties do not inform him.

The Mind has previously been defined as the aggregate of all sensations, from whatever source derived; the comfortable or uneasy feelings arising from the alimentary canal; the sense of feeling common to all

\* G. Combe's System of Phrenology, p. 140, 4th Edit.

parts of the body ; the action of the intellectual faculties through the medium of the senses ; and the variety of different feelings which propel to action, or which regulate and restrain it, constituting the mind in the general acceptation of the term.

These sensations are of a much more diversified kind in man than in other animals ; for he not only possesses the feelings, or instincts, and intellectual faculties which belong to the most perfect of the brute creation, but many additional ones which raise him almost infinitely above them. He may, however, be considered as, in part, a representative of other animals, and the same causes that act upon them, put him in motion ; like them he is influenced by strong desires, the gratification of which is highly pleasurable, and the non-gratification, in some cases, insupportably painful.

The most simple division of the mind is into *FEELING*, and *INTELLECT* ; or, into Animal, Moral, and Intellectual faculties ; comprising the feelings, or propensities, and intellectual faculties which man has in common with other animals, and those which are peculiarly his own. All sensations derived from other sources influence, directly or indirectly, some of these faculties, and may, therefore, be said to be included in them.

A great mass of evidence has been collected by Phrenologists with reference to the phenomena which such faculties exhibit in all their various gradations of power ; but much has yet to be done in the analysis of such mental phenomena, so as to enable us to state what feeling results from the primitive faculty, and what is the result of its association with other organs. From the want of such analysis the ultimate function of many faculties would seem to be yet undiscovered.

In giving a list of these faculties, and in stating the most evident purpose they appear to serve in the human constitution, I may, perhaps, in some instances, be able to approach a little nearer than has yet been done to their ultimate functions, without at all impugning the facts which other Phrenologists have registered.

The ANIMAL FEELINGS or propensities are instincts peculiarly selfish in their object; that is, they tend only to the welfare of the individual, or of those that are so intimately connected with him that they may be said to form a part of himself; viz., his wife, children, and friends.

Man, although his progressive nature and his highest enjoyments are made to depend upon reason, yet is kept in existence and preserved by instinct. Mr. Sidney Smith observes—"It cannot be too often repeated that none of those necessities which an animal requires are ever left to reason or the mere perception of utility. The superstructure and basis of humanity is *animalism*. Man lives before he thinks; he eats before he reasons; he is social before he is civilized; loves even against reason; and becomes a Nimrod long before he is a Nestor. Had man not been an animal before he became rational, he would not have existed at all. Reason is evidently the last care of nature. She first secures existence, and then finds leisure to think. She begins with endowing man with the faculties necessary to enable him to provide for himself, before she ventures to animate him with the sentiments which dictate to him to look abroad for the help of others; and she bids him provide for others before she allows to him that high advance in reason which gives him leisure to indulge in the mere exercise

of intellect. She has not formed him totally different from other animals, but rather added to his brain new organs. She has not, in his case, pulled down the fabric of sentient being, and reconstructed it upon a totally different plan. All that she has done, has been to add to the original edifice Corinthian capitals and Doric columns, bestowing reason, not to supersede, but to guide, direct, and perfect his animal nature. We may rest assured, therefore, that whatever principles in the shape of instincts are given to animals for their preservation and protection, are also instincts in man; and that what in them is a propensity or desire, is not in him anything else."\*

Contrary to the usually observed order we shall consider first, the feelings that have for their object the preservation of the individual only.

**THE LOVE OF LIFE.** Nature has made two especial provisions for the protection and support of life, besides that of pain in general, which she always inflicts when anything is done calculated to injure those organs on which the vital functions depend. First, an instinctive propensity or desire to preserve life for its own sake, independently of the pleasures with which it is accompanied. Without such a feeling the temporary predominance of pain over pleasure, which man is frequently called upon to endure, would often not be supported, and suicide would be resorted to as being the easiest and most obvious mode of escaping from suffering. Man clings, however, instinctively to life, in circumstances in which its continuance can scarcely be thought desirable, and some would wish still *to be*,

\* Principles of Phrenology, p. 123.

though everlasting pain should be their portion. It is this feeling, assisted, perhaps, by Hope and Wonder, that has in all countries, unaided by supposed supernatural revelation, originated the idea of a future state. It produces an instinctive dread of annihilation; to be as if we had not been—if we may use such an expression—is an idea that few like to entertain. Yet, said one of the sages of old,—“Where I am, death is not; where death is, I am not.” This instinctive desire for the continuation of life, which has for its object the preservation of our life here, is frequently brought forward as indicating nature’s intention with respect to our existence in a future state of being. It is said, because we have this strong desire for a continued existence, therefore we shall live again; but when we know the use for which this feeling is intended, we shall feel that such an argument has little weight as evidence of a future state of being. The principal abuse of this faculty is the great dread of death that it so frequently inspires; superstition, aided by the overwrought activity of this impulse, creates the most horrible forebodings, and draws the most dreadful pictures of what, in the ordinary state, is no more than a falling asleep, a gradual and insensible suspension of the mental faculties, and what may be only a change from one state of being to another. Another abuse is, that, owing to the tendency it gives to look forward to continued existence in another state of being, the advantages of the present are too much neglected and too little appreciated. The numberless bounties that Providence has bestowed on us here are ungraciously received; our beautiful world is called a vale of tears, the mere passage to a better; and we thank God not

so much for what he has already given, as for what we consider we are, and ought, to receive.

Secondly, ALIMENTIVENESS, or the desire of Food, is a means which nature has taken to preserve the principle of life. We have seen the necessity that exists for food to be taken to supply the waste that is continually going on in the human frame, and that death must be the inevitable consequence of the neglect of this duty. But the mere knowledge of this would not be sufficient to induce us to attend regularly to this want of the system. To prevent, therefore, any neglect on our part, a strong desire or appetite for food is given, which when too long unsatisfied amounts to the pains of hunger. The ultimate function of this faculty is the preservation of the vital principle, by obliging man to supply the necessary aliment; the object of the desire is the gratification of appetite, or the assuaging of hunger. It is most important, both as a physical and moral agent. It is the prime mover in man and in all other animals. It is a main source of order; for if mankind could do without food, they would soon be independent of all rule and control, and necessary subordination would no longer exist. It has been the chief impulse to man's progression, constituting, principally, that necessity which is the mother of invention. It has been instrumental in taming all animals, and man no less than others. The abuses of this faculty are Gluttony and Drunkenness in all their various degrees; the sacrifice of that nervous energy in digestion which ought to be used in supplying the organs of our highest and most ennobling faculties with their necessary stimulant, and the diminishing the moral and intellectual pleasures.

CONCENTRATIVENESS and INHABITIVENESS. Both these faculties have the same object, viz., the formation of habits. The first gives the desire to retain present emotions and ideas; an instinctive pleasure in dwelling upon them until an association is formed. The latter induces the same feeling with respect to localities that the former does to mental states. It is not single isolated thoughts and feelings that form the individual; man is a bundle of habits. "It is not every *act* of virtue," says Mackintosh, "but virtuous habits, dispositions, and feelings, that produce the highest degree of happiness to the individual." Hence the importance of these two faculties which assist in the formation of these habits. They render great aid to the social affections no less than to other feelings: they beget a fondness for home.\* Concentrativeness assists also the intellectual faculties in continuing their action; that is, in producing the state called attention. Mr. Combe says, "Concentrativeness gives the desire for permanence in place and for permanence of emotions and ideas in the mind." Mr. Sidney Smith observes that "it is extremely probable that the latter faculty is the propensity of pursuit or the instinct of object, the desire of doing, or being, exactly what the individual has done or been before, the love of continuity, of

\* "As the appropriation of land was destined to produce such important effects in the progress of society, and in the habits and manners of mankind in general, a provision was made for it in some of the most powerful feelings of which our nature was susceptible. The desire of acquiring property in the soil, *the attachment to a home, and the love of the place of their nativity*, are among the strongest feelings of the human breast, and which, in the progress of society, are the first to be developed."—Alison on Population, vol. 2, p. 4.

endurance, of sameness, of permanency of occupation, emotion, feeling, existence." The abuses of these faculties are, the confining of the mind too exclusively to one object or pursuit, to the neglect of more general knowledge and utility; the formation of habits and associations which reason has taken no part in; and the indisposition to move abroad.

**COMBATIVENESS or OPPOSITIVENESS.** In a world in which difficulties and dangers abound, and where the path to everything really good and excellent is strewn with obstacles, it is not enough that man should only possess the power of overcoming them; there must be a pleasure attending the contest, and a desire to overcome; and these are furnished by this faculty. Its office is

" Firm

Against the torrent and the stubborn hill,  
To urge bold Virtue's unremitting nerve  
And wake the strong divinity of soul  
That conquers chance and fate."

The love of contention and opposition for their own sakes, constitute the abuses of the faculty.

**DESTRUCTIVENESS.** This faculty writes with the finger of nature, in a language perfectly intelligible to all, *nemo me impune lacessit*, upon the whole of the animal creation. The selfish propensities of man are very strong: many of them necessarily so, even to keep him in existence, and in their exercise he is frequently tempted to encroach upon the happiness and interests of others. How is this to be prevented in cases where the selfish feelings predominate, and where benevolence is consequently partially inoperative

for that purpose? Nature, for the protection of man against the assaults of his fellow-man, has furnished each with this faculty, which is a strong desire to give pain to those who give pain to us; who disagreeably excite our feelings, or otherwise encroach upon our happiness or interests. As the pain a child experiences on approaching too near the fire deters it in future, so the fear of the unpleasant manifestation of this faculty, often instinctively, and almost unconsciously, affords a more effectual check to the exercise of the selfish propensities than the whole combined action of the moral feelings. The manifestations of destructiveness have been considered by some to result only from the depravity of our nature; but if utility is to be constituted our standard of excellence, this principle will be allowed to be one of nature's best gifts, in this age in which the mere animal feelings so decidedly predominate, when we consider, that by its expected reaction alone are we preserved from being continually trampled upon, and from having our interests interfered with by those of others in all the daily occurrences of life. Such is an important use of the organ in the present state of society, but we may hope that as mankind advance in civilization and those faculties increase in energy which distinguish our race from the rest of the animal creation, its chief and proper office may be to act as a stimulant to the other faculties, when unduly depressed, and to supply determination, energy, and force, to the character. It may well be compared to fire; if improperly used, that is, if so as to interfere with the happiness of others, it gives us pain; but when confined within due bounds, it answers a thousand useful purposes. It would be equally sensible to call fire an

evil, because we sometimes suffer from its destroying and desolating ravages, when allowed to escape from its natural boundary, as this feeling, because it sometimes acts without the restraining and guiding influence of the sentiments and intellect. Passion, revenge, and malice, are the abuses of this faculty.

**SECRETIVENESS.** The mind, like the body, requires a covering. If we cannot always determine what emotions and thoughts shall pass through the mind, yet, the happiness of others, as well as true dignity, requires that expression shall not be given to them till the intellect shall have decided upon their propriety. This faculty gives a tendency to conceal our thoughts, feelings, and purposes; and it is true that the thoughts and feelings on which most happiness depends, are not such as will flourish when exposed to the cold gaze of the world, neither would the best and most laudable objects always succeed, were they first made public. One great abuse of this faculty, in the present, as it has been in all previous ages, is to conceal what we believe to be the truth, out of deference to public opinion.

**ACQUISITIVENESS.** To increase and multiply is a law of the human race, and that the population of a country may be able to live in comfort, it is necessary that capital should increase as fast as population. The object of this faculty is to promote that end, by furnishing an instinctive desire to save, to make accumulations; not only to provide against want, but to add store to store. Generation after generation are thus provided for, at a period when they must needs consume, but are unable to produce. It is not this organ by itself that gives pleasure in individual acquisitions;

but when joined with Self-esteem, in excess, it gives the desire to possess, and the tendency to accumulate, for the purpose of calling such property "mine." Benevolence would require that all property, the produce of our own industry, as well as that of others, should be so distributed, as to produce the largest sum of enjoyment to all. This faculty, however, up to the present time has been allowed to act instinctively, undirected and unrestrained by enlightened intellect and moral feeling. Every one has been anxious to accumulate, to possess as much of the common stock as possible, at whatever expense of the labour and happiness of others. The whole world has been appropriated, and those who came into existence too late to be present at this appropriation, and who, therefore, possess nothing, are allowed to make use of the world's wealth upon such terms only, as reduces the great body of them to labour incessant, to slavery and bondage and starvation. This division of society into capitalist and labourer produces a manifestation of this faculty which constitutes its greatest abuse.\*

**CONSTRUCTIVENESS.** The last faculty was regarded

\* The tendency of this faculty, it is said, is to make individual accumulations; but in those among the lower animals in which it is most marked, the beaver, the bee, for instance, this is by no means the case. So man accumulates, his ultimate aim being the advantages such accumulations will confer upon himself and *family*, which family may be indefinitely extended. Thus individual families may be united into associations until they form much larger families of one or two thousand, and all that would be requisite for the gratification of acquisitiveness would be a joint proprietorship in the capital of the community, and the understanding that it should yield as many advantages as would the produce of each man's labour, if it belonged entirely to himself.

as nature's instinctive mode of teaching that capital is to keep pace with population; to this end constructiveness seems also intended to lend its aid; not by teaching man *how* to invent or to construct, but by giving him the desire to do so, and affording a high pleasure when the intellectual faculties are so employed. "Man is a tool-using animal. Weak in himself, and of small stature, he stands on a basis, at most, for the flattest soled, of some half square foot, insecurely enough has to straddle out his legs lest the very wind supplant him. Feeblest of bipeds. Three quintals are a crushing load for him; the Steer of the meadow tosses him aloft, like a waste rag. Nevertheless he can use Tools, can devise Tools: with these the granite mountain melts into light dust before him; he kneads glowing iron as if it were soft paste; seas are his smooth highway; winds and fire his unwearying steeds. No where do you find him without Tools; without Tools he is nothing, with Tools he is all."\* Necessity is said to be the mother of invention; it never would have been sufficient in itself to have constituted man so completely a tool-using animal: that he is so, is owing principally to the instinctive impulses of this faculty; for the intellectual faculties work only for the desires, and work best for the strongest. Utility would have been powerless without the propensity. "Nature was too wise to trust to the theory of Bentham. She has made exertion for man's preservation and ordinary duties, not merely a necessary but a pleasure of his life; knowing full well, that by nothing but an innate passion could she induce him to do what was necessary

\* Sartor Resartus, p. 40.

for carrying on the machinery of human and social existence.”\* This faculty is capable of taking all directions, according to the feelings or intellectual faculties with which it is combined. It has been used to save and to destroy. Its most important use is the invention of machinery, which ultimately is intended to act as the servant of man; to be at work supplying the wants of his physical nature, while he shall be employed in the higher objects of his moral and intellectual being. As Society is now constituted, however, the majority of mankind have nothing to exchange for everything they require, but labour; and whatever renders that labour less necessary, depreciates its value and impairs their interests. Machinery, therefore, at present, works against, and not for, this large portion of the human family.

**SELF ESTEEM.** This is the individualizing faculty; it is owing to its instinctive promptings that everything is judged of with reference to *self*. It mainly conduces to the preservation and welfare of man, by inspiring him with that good opinion of his own powers which is absolutely essential to self-confidence and decision of character, without which nothing good or great would be attempted. The opinion entertained of self, by no means depends upon qualities and attainments, or upon situation and station in society, but upon this feeling. The scholar of centuries past had as high an opinion of himself and his attainments, as he whose mind is now stored with the registered experience of all previous ages; and the cobbler and the king, each in his station, thinks equally well of himself. The happiness

\* Sidney Smith, Principles of Phrenology, p. 126.

resulting from this faculty is incalculable, as it equalizes all states and conditions, for,

“ Whatever nature has in worth denied,  
She gives in large recruits of needful pride.”

It is also owing to this faculty that—

“ Whate’er the passion, knowledge, fame or pelf,  
Not one will change his neighbour with himself.”

And also that we—

“ See some strange comfort every state attend,  
And pride, bestowed on all, a common friend.”

Its abuses are love of power and dominion, self-conceit, selfishness.

**CAUTIOUSNESS.** Delicately organized as man is, in both body and mind, and understanding in part only the nature of everything around him, caution is necessary to teach him to shun that which has a tendency to injure him. Nature, careful of the frame upon which his existence and happiness depend, has placed over him the most vigilant of all monitors in the shape of pain, which warns him and makes him desist from actions that have a tendency to injure himself or others. To aid this monitor, which is not always attended to until too late, the organ of cautiousness is added, which gives rise to fear, to the desire to shun danger and avoid pain. In a moral point of view, it produces prudence and circumspection; and in abuse gives rise to cowardice, depression of spirits, and indecision.

The **SOCIAL PROPENSITIES**, are those which relate to a man’s own family and friends, thus :—

**AMATIVENESS**—produces the love between the sexes, and has for its object the transmission of the principle of life to other frames; the continuation of our species.

After a certain time the successive changes upon which man's feelings and ideas depend, produce in him, as we have seen in a previous chapter, that state of body which is capable of entertaining but a very limited degree of pleasurable sensation; it is a wise and benevolent provision, therefore, that the vital principle, which in the course of time ceases to be of use to him, should be transmitted to other frames, possessing all the capabilities of enjoyment that at any time belonged to him. As our world is constituted, much more enjoyment results from the living of ten men, each seventy years, than from one man's existence being extended to ten times that period, or to seven hundred years; and happiness seems to be better secured by the succession of new beings, than from the immortality of one; because, resulting as it does from the strength and vividness of impressions, it depends principally upon novelty.

**PHILOPROGENITIVENESS.** This function is what its name implies, the love of offspring; like every other feeling it must have exercise, and in the absence of children, which are its proper objects, it is capable of taking a variety of other directions. The final cause of all the faculties is the happiness they bestow in their exercise; and though, as we have seen, they may serve also another purpose, such purpose is secondary; for the preservation of the individual, and of the race, would not be desirable if happiness were not the result. For instance; however necessary it may be, as human nature is now constituted, that a strong instinctive feeling should exist to induce the parent to undergo the incessant toil and fatigue incumbent on the rearing of offspring, there is no doubt that children

might have been so framed as to render this toil and fatigue unnecessary, in which case this powerful instinct might have been dispensed with. But would any one, who has experienced the intense enjoyments dependent upon the exercise of this faculty, be willing to forego them on account of the necessary evil? We may consider then that the love of offspring has not been given to us mainly to induce us to take proper care of children; but that children have been made to want that care, in order to bring into activity a faculty, from the exercise of which so much happiness results. The same may be said of other feelings; we might, perhaps, have been made to do without eating and drinking; but instead of this being a blessing, we should thereby lose the only stimulant strong enough to call the mental faculties into action; upon the action of which happiness alone depends.

**ADHESIVENESS.** It is this propensity that is the source of attachment, of an affectionate disposition, of friendship, and Society is said to result from it. Society as it is now constituted, split into families and clans, may certainly be said to result from it, but it must be founded upon a much broader basis than such a feeling affords, to furnish all the advantages derivable from the social state.

The domestic affections must certainly be classed among the selfish feelings; for though they desire the happiness of others, it is only of those others that are necessary to our own happiness. They form a limited circle, and are directly opposed to those sympathies that have for their object the whole human family; they not only are opposed, but they usurp the place in public opinion, that is due only to a more enlarged

affection. A man regards the interests of his own family, or of his friends, and makes this an excuse for neglecting the far higher duties that belong to universal brotherhood. The moral law, that he should love his neighbour, not merely his friend, as himself, is disregarded, and public opinion is satisfied, not knowing how, or caring, to distinguish between selfish attachments, and the higher feelings that induce sympathy with the happiness of all that is created.

**LOVE OF APPROBATION.** This faculty desires the applause and esteem of our fellow-creatures, and is, perhaps, as essential to the formation of society as Adhesiveness; for inasmuch as the latter desires the friendship of others, so this desires their good opinion; both making fellowship necessary to us. Its abuses are vanity and ambition, undirected by the wish to benefit our fellow-creatures.

#### THE MORAL SENTIMENTS.

The feelings already considered are those that man has in common with other animals; they are strong desires, highly pleasurable sensations, prompting him to act so as to preserve his own existence, and attaching him to his own particular family, clan, and country. They supply the most pressing wants of human nature, and their exercise is pleasurable in proportion to the necessity of the actions to which they prompt. Had man no other feelings, he would have remained a mere animal, satisfying the wants of his animal nature, and, like the brute creation, preying upon his weaker fellows; restrained from aggression only from fear of the consequences. But he has other feelings, which, in

their joint action, constitute peculiarly human nature : some of these are possessed by other animals, but an accurate division, distinguishing those that belong to man alone, has not yet been made.

**BENEVOLENCE.** If we reason upon man as an individual, we are led directly into error ; an error the fatal source of much of the moral evil now in the world. He is individual, in the same sense only as the members of his own body are individual ; for he is as intimately connected with his family, his friends, and mankind at large, as those members are to the body of which they form parts. Man, though regarding himself as an identical individual, is only a part of the *great body* of mankind, and his happiness is as much dependent upon that body as upon his own. All relationships are created and established in the mind, and whether it sympathizes with an injured limb, or with an injured member of society, it is still in the mind only that such feeling exists. Thus his mind is composed of feelings that have relation to his own body, and if they are not gratified he suffers ; of domestic feelings that join him to his family and friends, and if these are not gratified he also suffers ; and of moral feelings which connect him no less intimately with the whole human family, and if these are not gratified, great loss of the happiness that he is made capable of enjoying is the consequence, as well as, frequently, positive suffering. To disregard, therefore, the strict relationship that exists between individual man and society at large, in the framing of institutions and the conduct of life, is as absurd as to attend to the wants of one part of the bodily system and to neglect the others. It is the function of benevolence to produce a lively interest in

the enjoyment of all created beings ; it induces us to "rejoice with them that do rejoice and to weep with them that weep ;" it is the law of universal brotherhood written upon the heart, showing that the injunction to "love our neighbour as ourselves," is to be understood literally and not figuratively, for the object of its desire is the happiness of others. It is the source of what are called the disinterested feelings ; although why the term *disinterested* should be applied to that class of feelings which induces us to seek the happiness of others, whilst those exclusively are called selfish which have reference to our own personal good, is not clear ; it is clear, however, that such a division leads, in the estimation of moral conduct, to a very serious error, by inducing us to expect actions from insufficient motives. Man has as much interest in promoting the welfare of others as in promoting his own. Nature has planted within him two classes of faculties, the gratification of which is equally pleasurable ; one has reference to his own welfare, the other to that of his neighbours : why then is the one called selfish and the other disinterested ? One induces him to do something for himself, the other induces him to do something for another ; if equal pleasure to himself is made to attend upon both actions, why is one more selfish than the other ? There may be many actions that have no direct reference to self, but there never was a strictly disinterested action ; the supposition is an absurdity ; it would be an effect without a cause ; an action without a sufficient motive ; and it would be well to keep this always in view ; for if the feeling of benevolence is not naturally strong, and the pleasure derivable from its exercise is not powerful

enough to prompt us to promote the general good, the deficiency must be made up from other faculties, from the sense of duty, that is, from the pleasure we have in doing our duty, or the fear we have in neglecting it, or from the operation of some other moral feeling, otherwise the end will not be effected. The knowledge of this would furnish to the moral and religious instructor many very valuable practical lessons, from the want of which his teachings are so generally insufficient.

VENERATION produces a feeling of respect and reverence for whatever the intellectual faculties, educational bias, or public opinion, lead us to consider as great, good, and worthy of honour. Its directions are very various, and no feeling hitherto has been so much abused and so widely misdirected. Its great use is the deference it induces us to pay towards our fellow-creatures; this use is not very perceptible until we observe the striking difference in the conduct and bearing of those in whom the faculty is small, and where it is fully manifested; no other feeling seems capable of compensating for its deficiency. It is decidedly conservative in its character, inducing us to look with respect upon whatever time has consecrated, whether opinions, customs, or institutions. It produces subservience to authority; it is supposed also to generate humility, a sense of our own comparative unworthiness in opposition to the dictates of self-esteem. It is the source of the sentiment of awe entertained in all countries for mysterious powers and unknown causes, and produces the disposition to worship. When we are enjoined to love and fear God, it is intended to call into action this faculty with benevolence, not cautiousness and benevolence. The fear of God, therefore, is

to be produced not by representing him as terrible, but as great, good, perfect, and worthy of homage. But to the religious feelings, which are principally dependent upon this faculty, we shall allude under the head of Association.

**FIRMNESS.** Nature seems to have made great provision against sudden changes in man's purposes, pursuits, ways of thinking, and institutions. Time is required for everything; no change, to be beneficial, can be sudden. New opinions and thoughts can no more suddenly form a part of the mind, than fresh aliment of the body: a long and tedious digestive process is necessary. Bad institutions are better than those that are always changing, that are never fixed and settled. The seed in the ground must remain undisturbed, in order to develop its vital energy: we may be nourished on poisons by the power of custom. Concentrativeness, we have seen, gives pleasure in dwelling upon the feelings and pursuits that may at present occupy us: Inhabitiveness gives the same feeling with respect to places: Veneration respects what utility, or more often, what only time has consecrated: and Firmness gives strength and efficiency to every virtue and quality of mind, by giving the disposition or the power to maintain in action the state of mind for the time predominating. It produces perseverance and steadiness of purpose. It differs considerably from Concentrativeness, as is evident by our frequently finding persons who are occupied fully with one idea, one pursuit, and altogether deficient in determination, firmness, perseverance. Why it should have been placed by phrenologists among the moral feelings, it is not easy to say, as it assists the action of the mind, whether the

faculties are directed to good or evil, and at present is more frequently found aiding the animal than the moral feelings.

CONSCIENTIOUSNESS. Had mankind been furnished with a faculty that should inform them on all occasions what is right, what is the path of duty, as some writers on the moral sense affirm, such a faculty would have been useless and altogether inoperative, unless accompanied by a desire to act in conformity to its dictates, for to know the right and choose the wrong are by no means incompatible. But nature leaves it to the office of the intellectual faculties to discover in what our duty consists, and then induces us to discharge it by making the performance of it highly pleasurable, through means of the feeling of Conscientiousness. The object of the faculty is to afford security to the rights of others, by producing the disposition to do justice. The *fact* of the existence of this faculty settles the long-disputed question respecting man's possession of a moral sense. Some have argued that, because they traced a faculty that gave a strong disposition to *do* what was right, Nature had given to man a moral sense, or faculty that decided what *was* right. Others, seeing that men differed in all countries with reference to what they considered right and wrong, according to the amount of civilization and enlightenment possessed by each, denied not only that nature had bestowed a faculty for deciding what was the path of duty, but even that she had given any disposition to *act* right when the path of duty was decided. Both were right and both were wrong, and we shall find such to be the case with reference to many of the

leading differences of the metaphysicians ; from partial truths have been drawn wrong inferences.

**HOPE.** Cautiousness gives the tendency to look to the gloomy or dark side of things, and when properly balanced by other faculties it leads to circumspection and prudence : hope, on the contrary, presents everything in gay and brilliant colours, gives to all things a smiling aspect, and when cautiousness is small, induces us to form immoderate expectations. It is the elastic principle of the mind ; as cautiousness depresses, so this expands it. The disposition to look forward to the future may depend upon other faculties ; but when we do look forwards, hope gives our anticipations a joyous complexion, producing a feeling of present happiness in the prospect of that in store for us.

“ Hope springs eternal in the human breast.

Man never is, but always to be blest.”

Or rather, when hope exists in full strength in the mind, man always is blest in the anticipation of bliss. What the sun is to the external world, hope is to the world of mind.

**WONDER.** This faculty had been better called “ Faith,” as that name much better expresses what appears to be its function. Faith or belief is not the action of the perceptive or reflective faculties, but is a feeling or sentiment consequent upon such action, in many cases completely overcoming the dictates of reason. The senses acting upon the intellectual faculties produce certain sensations, to which we give the names of substances, or individuals, possessing properties of form, size, colour, &c. ; the instinctive feeling that we have, that those sensations or ideas represent real

objects—that there exists something besides the sensations of which we are conscious—it is the function of this faculty to produce. This association between mere mental ideas produced by the senses, and our *belief in an external world*, is formed so early that it is very difficult afterwards to separate them. For instance, we have in our minds the idea of a table, and it is very difficult for us to believe that that to which we give the name table, is only a sensation and not a real existence out of ourselves. The instinctive persuasion of its real existence is owing to Wonder. The action of the mind appears to be as follows:—the perceptive faculties supply the ideas that it is their province to furnish, that is, of an individual possessing properties and relations which we call a table; and the reflective faculties give the idea that in *similar circumstances*, (the office of comparison to determine) the same effects upon ourselves and others will ensue, and that our sensations have a cause, (the office of causality.) The personification of this cause, the belief in a real existence—a table, is the feeling furnished by this faculty. This must not be confounded with the function of causality, whose office it is to distinguish between real and fictitious relations, that is between variable and invariable antecedence. The intellectual faculties give ideas, each after its own peculiar mode or form of intelligence; but the *practical belief* attending the action of such faculties is altogether a different thing. Without such a sentiment ideas would pass over the mind like images over the surface of a mirror, reason would be paralysed, and we should act, like the brutes, only when impelled by instinct, and not from faith. The excess of Hope produces immoderate

expectations of felicity not founded on reason ; and the excess of Wonder produces credulity. The pleasure and wonder expressed by children and adults who have a considerable development of this faculty, at the relation of marvellous stories, miraculous and improbable fictions, proceeds from their extra power of belief, from their giving to such tales a reality in their own minds which to others they do not assume. "I have met with persons," says Mr. Combe, "excessively fond of news, which, if extravagant, were the more acceptable ; prone to the expression of surprise and astonishment in ordinary discourse, deeply affected by tales of wonder." May not this effect be ascribed to their being able to believe more than others, in consequence of the extra endowment of the faculty of wonder which they were said to possess ? All the facts that have been observed of the manifestation of this faculty agree with this analysis of its function. Gall was led to its discovery by meeting with persons who saw visions and who believed in apparitions. He says, "Some individuals believe themselves to be visited by persons dead or absent ;" and he asks, "How does it happen that men of considerable intellect often believe in the reality of ghosts and visions ? Are they fools or impostors ? or is there a particular organization which imposes, in this form, on the human understanding, and how are such visions to be explained ?" Mr. Combe also says, "The subject of visions is still attended with considerable difficulty ;" and he gives an instance similar to some observed by Gall and Spurzheim. "In the London Bedlam," he says, "I examined the head of a

\* Combe's System of Phrenology, p. 374.

patient whose insanity consisted in seeing phantoms, and being led to act as if they were realities ; although, as he himself stated, he was convinced by his understanding at the very time, that they were mere illusions, but could not regulate his conduct by this conviction." Now in what is this case different from that which takes place in ourselves ? In very little, I apprehend ; for the external world consists of nothing else but phantoms. Certain impressions made upon the senses from without, produce within us certain sensations ; we form these sensations into a whole external world, and believe in its existence as represented by the mind. "It is acknowledged on all hands," says Mill, "that we know nothing of objects, but the sensations we have from them."\* In the case mentioned by Mr. Combe, the intellectual faculties were active from internal causes, not external, and they produced phantoms, which the man in Bedlam could no more practically disbelieve, than we can disbelieve in an external world.

A strong association is early established between the action of the perceptive faculties and that of wonder, the perceptive faculties always calling the latter into activity ; in some cases where it is naturally strong, or in disease, this action of the faculties is reversed, and wonder excites the perceptive faculties, producing a picture or phantom which appears no less real than if produced by an external object.

The difference in the cases is, that in the natural mode of action, the reasoning powers inform us that in similar circumstances the like effects are produced upon others as well as upon ourselves, and that they

\* Analysis of the Human Mind, vol. 1, p. 263.

are always uniform; but in the case of the madman, there was the conviction that the appearance could not be produced in others besides himself, and, therefore, that it was unreal; at least, that the cause was in himself. In this way reason corrects our belief all through our lives, causality informing us whether the connexion of antecedence and consequence, as it exists in our minds, is invariable and observed by others as well as ourselves. Considering that all we know is, that there is a cause for the sensations to which we give the name of objects, there is no great difference in the grounds of belief in the two cases. All the feelings are capable of carrying away, or overcoming the reasoning powers; and the seeing visions and apparitions is only an instance of the kind, where, from the naturally large endowment, or diseased state of the feeling of wonder, it has the power of calling the intellectual faculties into spontaneous activity, and a belief in the picture or phantom they produce is a necessary consequence. Dr. Spurzheim says, "The preceding facts determined me formerly to designate this feeling by the name of Supernaturality; and it is certain that it is *principally manifested by a BELIEF in miraculous and supernatural circumstances*, in the foundation of religion by supernatural means, and in its dogmatical points." This, however, is the abuse of the faculty, not its use; and Marvellousness, which he afterwards called it, is no more expressive of its function than is Wonder, the name given to it by Mr. Combe. "Some individuals, in whom this organ is large," observes the latter, "have informed me, that when any marvellous circumstance is communicated to them, the tendency of their mind is to believe it *without examination*; and that an

effort of philosophy is necessary to resist the belief, instead of evidence being requisite to produce it.\*

Thus the observations of both the above writers of the mode of manifestation of this faculty, are confirmatory of the opinion that its ultimate function is to give the sense of reality, the instinctive feeling of belief. When more than ordinarily developed, its tendency is to spiritualize all nature ; to delight in creating imaginary beings, to people both this world and the next ; and a philosophy of realities that would prove the non-existence of such beings is, of all others, the most distasteful. Such belief is generally admitted by persons of such a character of mind, to be founded upon feeling, and not upon reasoning ; and the association between the creed and the feeling must be broken, before a practical conviction can be carried to the mind. Amongst phrenological writers, Mr. Sidney Smith has given the most correct analysis of the function of this faculty. He says, " Man is a progressive being ; and in this power of his nature, he is principally assisted by being enabled to avail himself of all the knowledge and thought of others. It is because each generation is enabled to put a round to the ladder of human progress, by availing itself of the steps furnished by the preceding ; because, instead of each man being compelled by himself to commence at the rudiments of every science, and to collect all the facts which must be discovered preparatory to the formation of general principles, he is at once put in possession of everything which has been ascertained before, and is the heir of all the theories and all the deductions

\* System of Phrenology, vol. I, p. 384.

which have been formed by his predecessors. But, in order to render these available to him, he must put them in the place of realities; he must be impressed with the conviction that they are as absolutely existences, as anything that he sees with his eyes and handles with his hands; he must be impressed with their presence, not even simply as a fact, but in all the fervid conception of the existence of their real substance and proportions. It is upon this point that progression turns. If there be not an inherent and vital sense of the entity of things absent, every generation must at once throw behind it all the accumulated testimony of the past. The conviction of the reality of unseen and unfelt being, is a necessary condition of progression; man, in truth, only learning and forming principles, by making the past present, the unseen apparent, the mysterious plain. This he cannot do but by the possession of a faculty of belief, and according as he possesses it, will be the power of realizing. Hence we find that mankind, so far from having a tendency to scepticism, have to undergo a process of unlearning, and to be rather taught by experience to disbelieve than to credit. The state of infancy, in which this organ is most prominently developed, is an age of credulity. Life, existence, is infused into everything: the doll is a person, the watch has life, the cat has conversation. Every fictitious appearance is supposed to be real; and life is a splendid pageant, in which the true and the false are mingled together in one common impression of actual being. Did the child inquire into the truth of all it was taught, it would spend its life in rudimental discovery; while we know that much of its after time is lost in unlearning the ideas of vital power,

in which wonder had clothed all—in sobering down its impressions to the dry bareness of the facts, and in discovering that much which it endowed with reality, was dead, inert, and spiritless.”

“The ordinary operation of this organ in the everyday occurrences of society, appears in the production of easy belief or gullible credulity. When weak, the individual is sceptical of everything. He will credit nothing that he has not seen himself, or that is not within the probable range of the most common-place occurrences. Such a man is actually as much hallucinated as he who is over-credulous, and is just as likely to be less or more mistaken than the other, according as truth or error is more common in the world. The one believes upon slight evidence; while the other is incredulous, even when the evidence is conclusive. Hence, we doubt whether there ever was, or could be a great and comprehensive mind where wonder was deficient.”\*

Mr. Combe, however, says that wonder furnishes the desire of novelty, admiration of the new, the unexpected, the grand, the wonderful, and extraordinary. That its abuses are, “Love of the marvellous, astonishment.” Also, that “Veneration, Hope, and Wonder combined, give the tendency to religion; their abuses produce superstition and belief in false miracles, in prodigies, magic, ghosts and all supernatural absurdities.”†

We have been thus particular in the analysis of the functions of this faculty, because this view of it

\* Principles of Phrenology, pp. 164, 166.

† Constitution of Man, p. 60.

is not generally admitted by Phrenologists; and because it serves to explain principles with respect to belief, especially religious faith, which are highly important, and to which we shall hereafter have occasion to allude.

**IDEALITY.** Dr. Gall called this the poetical faculty, and it seems to supply that feeling or sense which particularly distinguishes the true poet from less imaginative individuals; although what its peculiar office is, it is not easy exactly to describe. Its manifestations are almost infinitely varied, according to the prevalent character of other mental functions, either feelings or intellectual faculties. It seems to man like an additional sense; for, whereas the other senses acting upon the intellectual faculties, give to him and other animals ideas of form, size, colour, and different relations, this faculty seems to give to all things an additional beauty, or sublimity, or perfection, or charm, which they would not otherwise possess. Nature is seen with different eyes by every individual, according as this faculty is more or less predominant in the mind; what are to some but situations of the most ordinary character, appear to others in all the garb of poetry. It is supposed to give the *desire* of perfection; it would seem also, as if it were in part instrumental in supplying, by its own power, that perfection; a perfection, therefore, not evident to those who possess but a small endowment of the faculty. The external world is the same to man and to the other animals, but to man alone does it appear invested with all the beauties which this faculty bestows upon it. As it draws up a veil from nature, disclosing endless beauties—so also it appears to impart a delicacy and refinement to the mind, a

distaste to everything low and gross, and merely animal. Its abuse consists in its inducing us to live too much in a world of our own creation, to the neglect of the common duties of life. It begets a fastidious refinement which renders everything distasteful that does not come up to the ideal standard.

WIT. Phrenologists are divided with reference to the function of this faculty. It is said to give the *feeling* of the ludicrous. It might perhaps be more correctly said to give the *perception* of the ludicrous; which perception may exist without gaiety or mirthfulness. Great wit and humour, and a high sense of incongruity, are sometimes found in the most lachrymose persons, who are never betrayed into the slightest disposition to mirthfulness. Those in whom it is but feebly developed can never see when a joke is intended; they take everything seriously, and are constantly offended from translating literally what others perceive immediately to be but jest. Ought not this rather to be regarded, as it is by some phrenologists, as an important intellectual faculty, essential, among other offices, to the production of that combination of ideas upon which wit depends;—whilst the *feeling* of the ludicrous, of gaiety, mirthfulness, hilarity, results from some other faculty or faculties, or from the particular state or condition of the brain at large?

IMITATION. Man was intended to live in society, and the moral feelings were given to him to unite him as intimately to his fellow-creatures as to his own body. Benevolence directly desires the happiness of others, and induces a sympathy of feeling. The function of Imitation produces a sympathy of action, and is intended to make the members of the social body move

harmoniously. Imitation has so powerful an effect in forming the mind and habits, that a man's characteristics in a great measure depend upon the age or country in which he was born; he, imperceptibly to himself, imitates the manners, and adopts the tone of mind of the society to which he is accustomed. It is chiefly through the influence of this faculty that each nation has its peculiar characteristics, so that a European and a Chinese could scarcely be mistaken for one another. Powerful, well furnished minds alone, are able to break the spell which urges them to think, feel, and act, with all around.

Since then mankind, and children especially, are so much the creatures of Imitation, the examples to which they are subjected and the circumstances in which they are placed are most important; for the direction of the feelings can scarcely be said to depend more upon the intellectual faculties, than upon the intuitive influences of this principle in our nature.

We have thus furnished a list of all the Propensities and Sentiments yet acknowledged by phrenologists. It is not assumed that this list is complete, or that the metaphysical analysis of the several functions is yet perfect; but there are few principles in human nature that may not be referred to one or other of the above feelings, or to a combination of them.

We have seen that the primary function of each faculty has reference either to man as an individual, to his family, or to society.

Those feelings that have reference to the preservation of the individual are the most numerous, and generally the strongest; and perhaps, necessarily so,

for if every one were unmindful of himself and occupied only in taking care of others, the race must soon come to an end.

Happiness, however, consists in the legitimate gratification of all the faculties, and pain or unhappiness attends the denial of their gratification: to insure his happiness, therefore, man must not gratify one class of feelings at the expense of another, but must attend to the interests of society and of his family as well as to his own. But for the proper *direction* of the feelings, in order to insure to man this largest amount of enjoyment, he depends altogether upon another order of faculties. The Sentiments as well as the Propensities must be regarded as mere instincts, blind impulses, propelling him to action, or restraining him from it, by the strong pleasure there is in their gratification; but the Reason of man can alone direct them properly to perform their various offices.

In the brutes, the feelings or instincts direct them unerringly and unaided by reason to the accomplishment of their object; but as in man they all require to be directed by the intellect, a much wider field of operation is open to him; and his pursuits are infinitely varied, for in the gratification of one feeling many others are called into action, and his pleasurable sensations are superior in intensity as in variety. Thus the instinct of animals prompts them to take but one or two particular kinds of food, while man may please his palate in a thousand ways: the mother of the brute creation is directed unerringly by instinct in the rearing of her offspring, while the human parent can perform the maternal duties properly only by the aid of reason, and by a certain acquaintance with the physical laws;

but this very complexity in her maternal offices is the means of calling into action numberless pleasurable feelings, besides the mere "love of offspring" experienced by the brute.

Such considerations must impress us forcibly with the conviction of the necessity of the cultivation of the reasoning power, as without it we are worse provided for than the brutes, our instincts requiring on all occasions its aid for their proper gratification, and much misery resulting from their wrong direction. Writers on Morals describe us as being guided by a "moral sense," and we have seen that a love of justice and respect for the rights of others, a desire to do that which is right, is a strong feeling of our nature; but it is necessary that the intellect should first decide what is right, what is justice, before this "moral sense" can be a fit guide. The same may be said of the other moral feelings; veneration itself cannot decide what is a fit object of worship; hope, what is a reasonable expectation; wonder, what is worthy of credit; or benevolence, what will best promote the happiness of others; they all require the direction of the intellectual faculties to attain the ends they desire. These faculties then will next come under consideration.

#### INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES.

The faculties given to man to enable him to acquire a knowledge of himself and of the external world, and so to direct his feelings to the proper attainment of their end, are called the Intellectual Faculties. These are divided into the External Senses, and the Perceptive and Reflective Faculties. The following are the

simple functions assigned to each, as defined by phrenologists :—

“ GENUS I.—EXTERNAL SENSES.

“ FEELING OF TOUCH,	} <i>Uses</i> : To bring man into communication with external objects, and to enable him to enjoy them. <i>Abuses</i> : Excessive indulgence in the pleasures arising from the senses, to the extent of impairing the organs and debilitating the mind.
“ TASTE,	
“ SMELL,	
“ HEARING,	
“ SIGHT.	

“ GENUS II.—INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES, which perceive existences.

“ INDIVIDUALITY—Takes cognizance of existence and simple facts.

“ FORM—Renders man observant of form.

“ SIZE—Renders man observant of dimensions, and aids perspective.

“ WEIGHT—Communicates the perception of momentum, weight, resistance, and aids equilibrium.

“ COLOURING—Gives perception of colours.

“ GENUS III.—INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES, which perceive the relations of external objects.

“ LOCALITY—Gives the idea of space and relative position.

“ NUMBER—Gives the talent for calculation.

“ ORDER—Communicates the love of physical arrangement.

“ EVENTUALITY—Takes cognizance of occurrences and events.

“ TIME—Gives rise to the perception of duration.

“ TUNE—The sense of melody arises from it.

“ LANGUAGE—Gives a facility in acquiring a knowledge of arbitrary signs to express thoughts, readiness in the use of them, and a power of inventing them.”\*

PERCEPTION, CONCEPTION, IMAGINATION, MEMORY, JUDGMENT, are not primitive or special faculties of the mind, but mere modes of action of the primitive faculties; thus “ When the knowing or reflecting organs

\* Combe's Constitution of Man.

are powerfully active from internal excitement, whether by the will or from natural activity, ideas are vividly and rapidly conceived ; and the art of forming them is styled **CONCEPTION** : if the act amounts to a very high degree of vivacity, it is called **IMAGINATION**. This perception is the lowest degree of activity of any of these faculties excited by an external object ; and conception and imagination are higher degrees of activity depending on internal causes, and without the interference of an external object. Each faculty performs the act of conception in its own sphere. Thus, if one person have a powerful organ of Tune, he is able to conceive, or call up in his own mind, the notes of a tune, when no instrument is sounding in his ears. If his organ of Form be very small, he may not be able to bring shapes before his mind with equal facility. Some persons read music like a book, the written sign of a note being sufficient to enable them to call up the impression of the note itself in their minds. This is the result of a very high degree of activity of the faculties of Form and Tune. Temperament has a great effect on activity ; the lymphatic temperament needs external objects to rouse it to vivid action, while the sanguine and nervous glow with spontaneous and constitutional vivacity. Hence imagination, which results from a high degree of activity, is rarely found with a temperament purely lymphatic, but becomes exalted in proportion to the approach of the temperament to the nervous."\*

According to the same authority, Memory, as a mode of action of the knowing or reflecting faculties, differs from the above actions of the mind in this

\* Combe's System of Phrenology, vol. 2, p. 607.

manner, that whereas Conception and Imagination form new combinations of ideas, not only without regard to the time or order in which the elementary motions had previously existed, but even without any direct reference to their having existed at all ; Memory implies a new conception of impressions received, attended with the idea of past time, and consciousness of their former existence ; and generally recalls events in the order in which they occurred.

“ Each organ enables the mind to recall the impressions which it served at first to receive. Thus, the organ of Tune will recall notes formerly heard, and give the memory of music. Form will recall figures previously observed, will give the memory of persons, pictures, and crystals, and will produce a talent for becoming learned in matters connected with such objects. Individuality and Eventuality will confer memory for facts, and render a person skilled in history, both natural and civil. A person in whom Causality is powerful, will possess a natural memory for metaphysics. Hence there may be as many kinds of memory as there are knowing and reflecting faculties ; and an individual may have great memory for one class of ideas and very little for another.” \*

“ JUDGMENT, in the metaphysical sense, belongs to the *reflecting* faculties alone. The knowing faculties, however, may also be said to judge ; the faculty of Tune, for example, may be agreeably or disagreeably affected, and in this way may judge of sounds ; but judgment, in the proper acceptance of the word, is a perception of adaptation, of relation, of fitness, or of

\* Combe's System of Phrenology, p. 627.

the connexion between means and an end, and belongs entirely to the reflecting powers. These, as well as the knowing faculties, have Perception, Memory, and Imagination. Causality, for example, *perceives* the relation of cause and effect, and also *remembers* and *imagines* that relation, just as Locality perceives, remembers, and imagines the relative position of objects. Hence, Judgment is the decision of the reflecting faculties upon the feelings furnished by the propensities and sentiments, and upon the ideas furnished by the whole intellectual faculties."\*

Each of the knowing faculties thus possessing Judgment, according to the laws of its constitution, does not this sufficiently account for most of the apparently reasonable actions of brutes, without supposing them to be gifted with any degree of reasoning power? Would not Reflection, however limited, unfit them for their place in creation, by enabling them to look back to the past and forward to the future, and thus to anticipate the time and mode of their death?

**EXTERNAL SENSES.** According to the sense in which the term sensation has been used in this treatise, viz. as including every kind of feeling of which we are at any time conscious, ideas resulting from the action of the intellectual faculties are as much Sensations as any others. A right understanding of this may help to throw some light upon several hitherto obscure mental phenomena.

Sensations are very various in their character, and there are several that cannot be correctly referred either to the Senses, Propensities, Sentiments, or Intellectual

\* Combe's System of Phrenology, p. 641.

Faculties: of this sort principally are those that accompany the action of the several muscles of the body, and those that are referred to the alimentary canal. But of whatever kind they are, or to whatever part of the body we are in the habit of referring them, still they depend entirely on the brain, and are noticed by, and form a part of the mind.

The kind of Sensations peculiar to the senses are obvious. They consist of heat and cold, smoothness and roughness, and the different kinds of smells, tastes, sounds, and sights: these only have ordinarily been designated *sensations*.

The feelings peculiar to the Propensities and Sentiments are of a different kind. The feeling resulting from each is quite distinguishable from that proceeding from every other. Each produces a particular tendency to action; a particular kind of emotion is also characteristic of most of them.

The action of the intellectual faculties is accompanied by what are termed thoughts and ideas: but these thoughts and ideas are only different kinds of feeling, of which each faculty produces its characteristic one. Each faculty is accompanied by a particular power, but can scarcely be said to have any tendency to act, its tendency being dependent on the feelings; neither does any emotion attend its exercise, the sensation being much less intense than that proceeding from the action of a propensity or sentiment, and is derived, as might have been expected, from a much less part of the brain: when, however, the Intellectual faculties are very predominant, they have decided tendencies amounting almost to intellectual passions.

The External Senses are instruments for the purpose

of bringing the brain into contact with the external world, and for exciting it to that action, which immediately precedes all those various sensations upon which thoughts and ideas depend ; and to which sensations, through the medium of language, we give names, so as to excite in the minds of others, similar ideas to those that we have ourselves.

The senses are the medium of our communication with the world, but their precise mode of action is not easily determined. Do they act immediately in exciting that part of the brain, upon which our ideas of objects depend, or are they connected with a part of the brain upon which the function of the sense itself is dependent ; and does this part react upon the organs of the perceptive faculties ? The latter supposition would appear to be the case, although in the ordinary action of the senses we are by no means conscious of this link between, the instrumentality of the sense being combined with and undistinguishable from that of the internal faculties of the mind. Thus the anterior pair of the *corpora quadrigemina* are connected with the sense of sight, and are absolutely essential to the performance of its function, and yet we are conscious of nothing but the ideas of form, size, colour, &c., as resulting from the action of that sense ; and it is only in particular cases that a sensation of *light*, the function of the sense itself, distinct from those ideas, is produced. The same may be said of the sense of hearing ; sounds ordinarily produce particular ideas, but they are sometimes confined to the mere function of the sense. Thus Spurzheim quotes from Darwin the case of "an old man who had had a paralytic stroke and preserved the senses of hearing and seeing untouched :

he, however, could only receive ideas by means of the latter; when he was told that it was nine o'clock and breakfast time, he repeated the words distinctly, yet without gaining any information from them; but if a servant put a watch into his hand, and shewed him the hour gone by, he said, "Why, William, have I not breakfasted?" On almost every occasion his servants could only converse with him by means of visible objects, although his hearing was perfect."

It is very desirable to determine the exact function of the senses, for much error is propagated from misconception on the subject. By one class of metaphysicians they are represented as the material organs which the immaterial mind makes use of in its connexion with this world, and necessary here to its action: another class go so far as to assert that they are useless appendages, confining and deceiving the mind, which when free from them will be, consequently, much more perfect in its mode of manifestation. Mr. Combe says, "The following appears to me to be a correct mode of ascertaining the limits of the functions of the senses. Whatever perceptions or impressions received from external objects can be renewed by an act of recollection, cannot depend exclusively upon the senses; because the organs of sense are not subject to the will, and never produce the impressions which depend upon their constitution except when excited by an external cause. On the other hand, whatever impressions we are unable to recall, must, for the same reason, depend on the senses alone.

"These principles will be best elucidated by examples. For instance when a bell has been rung in our presence and the impressions have ceased, they cannot be re-

called by an effort of the will ; because their existence depended on the apparatus of the ear being in a certain state of excitation, which cannot be reproduced by an act of volition. Hence these impressions belong to the ear alone : But if an individual is endowed with the internal faculty of Tune, and if a piece of music be played over in his presence, then, after the sound of the instrument has ceased, although he cannot recall that sound, he can with facility reproduce the internal impressions which the notes made upon his mind ; in short, he can enjoy the tune internally anew, by an act of recollection.

“The power of experiencing the sense of melody, and of enjoying the impressions which it makes, appears, therefore, to depend on the internal faculty of Tune, while the sound alone depends upon the ear. Hence the perfection of the power of perceiving melody, in any individual, is not in proportion to the perfection of the external ear alone, but in joint proportion to the perfection of that organ, and the internal faculty. Without the external ear the internal faculty could not receive the impressions ; but the external ear could never of itself produce the perceptions of melody. The same principles applied to the other senses will point out distinctly the precise limit of their functions. We may take an example from the sense of touch. If we embrace a square body with the hands, certain impressions are made on the nerves of touch called Sensations, in consequence of which the mind forms an idea of the figure of the body. Now, we can recall the conception of the figure, but not the sensation which excited it. The conception, therefore, depends on an internal faculty ; the sensation on the nerves of

touch. The functions of the nerves of touch appear to produce the sensation ; but the power of conceiving is in invariable proportion to the perfection of the internal faculty and the external senses jointly. The perception, however, depends as entirely on nature as the sensation ; and the power of perceiving the form of the body is not acquired by experience.

“ Dr. Spurzheim observes on this head, that where the *same ideas* are acquired by the instrumentality of two or more senses, the ideas cannot possibly be formed by the *senses*, because Nature, so far as man has discovered, never endows different instruments with the same functions, in the same individual. For example, we can acquire ideas of form by the instrumentality of the sense of sight, and likewise by means of touch.

“ Now, from this circumstance alone, it is evident that the conception of figure is formed, not by the eye or the nerves of feeling, because this would be an instance of two separate senses performing the same functions ; but by an internal faculty which perceives figure, in consequence of impressions made on either of these two different senses. The impressions made upon the eye are totally different from those made upon the nerves of touch, but the internal faculty is adapted by nature to both ; and hence the same perceptions are experienced by means of the same faculty, although through the instrumentality of different media ; but the same function is not performed by different senses.” \*

The PERCEPTIVE FACULTIES. Whence comes our knowledge of the external world ? The usual answer

\* Combe's System of Phrenology, p. 442.

is that we see things, hear them, taste them, smell them, touch them; but this common mode of speaking is philosophically incorrect; for in seeing, the light alone affects the eye; in hearing, the vibration of the air, the ear; in smelling and in tasting it is supposed that particles alone affect the nerve; and as to touch, it can be demonstrated that no bodies ever are in actual contact, but are retained in their places by a balance between attraction and repulsion, and that, therefore, we never do touch anything. Whence then comes our knowledge of things? All that we know is, that the senses are mere instruments which have received a certain relation to external objects; that they are affected in a certain way by them, and are the means of acting upon the organs of the brain or mental faculties as they themselves are acted upon, and thus produce the knowledge we have of what are called external things.\*

Of what character, then, are sensations and ideas thus produced, and what relation have they to the objects causing them? Their character is the produce of the joint action of the external cause or object, the sense, and the intellectual faculty; and an alteration in any of these would produce a different result; that is, a different sensation or idea. Of the relation that the idea bears to the object, all that we know is, that the sense has received a particular constitution, in consequence of which it is affected in a certain way by the object;

\* "In the smell three things are commonly distinguished. There is the organ, there is the sensation, and there is the antecedent of the sensation, the external object, as it is commonly denominated, to which the sensation is referred as an effect to its cause. These three distinguishable particulars are common to all the five senses."  
—Mill's *Analysis of the Human Mind*, vol. 1, p. 4.

and that the brain or mental faculty again has received its own particular constitution, and is affected in a similar manner by the sense, and the sensation or idea resulting cannot be said to belong exclusively to either the object, the sense, or the mental faculty, but is the consequence of the beautiful adaptation of each to the others. Thus the brain being acted upon through the medium of sense, by some cause which we intuitively suppose to be external, sensations are produced, which it is customary to call properties of matter; but it is doubtful whether, correctly speaking, they ought not to be called qualities or properties of particular organs of the brain; for all that we know is the order in which things take place; that which is evident in the case being that the brain is so constituted as to give ideas of extension, solidity, &c., when called into action by the senses. On this subject ordinary language is incorrect, inasmuch as it confounds the cause of our ideas with the ideas themselves, so that in naming mere internal sensations we might be supposed to be imparting real knowledge of the causes of such sensations, or of things external—and yet what possible resemblance can there be? Similar ideas occur without the instrumentality of either the sense or the object that acts upon the sense; as in certain affections of the faculty of wonder, to which we have previously alluded; in particular states of madness, in dreaming, and in sleep-waking; where the mere action of the brain produces vivid scenes which the patient cannot distinguish from real impressions from without. We may, in fact, readily conceive of a being so constituted as that by some internal action, a circulation of fluids, for instance, the brain should be excited so as to produce all the variety of sensations

of which we are conscious, all the feelings and ideas of which we are the subjects during the course of our lives. We cannot *prove*, therefore, that anything exists external to ourselves, although we necessarily believe it. We suppose that we prove the existence of an external world when we find other beings in similar circumstances affected in the same way as ourselves; but such other beings may exist like all things else, only in the succession of our thoughts.

But these speculations are somewhat irrelevant to our present subject, for whether we can prove it or not, we suppose that the Intellectual Faculties have received a definite constitution, that they perform certain functions, to the proper exercise of which the action of the external world upon them, through the medium of the senses, is necessary. It is their province to give that appearance to nature that shall best enable man to direct his feelings to their proper objects, and thus to carry out the purposes of his being in the securing of his happiness, nor is it at all essential that he should know more of matter than the mode in which it affects him. The real nature of things can be known to God only; to all created intelligences, however high in the scale of being, they can be known only as God has made them to act upon the particular kind of organization he has bestowed upon them.

Dr. Thomas Brown says, "That we know matter only as relative to our own susceptibility of being affected by it, does not lessen the value of the knowledge of it which we are able to acquire; and indeed it is only as it is capable of affecting us that the knowledge of it can be of any direct and immediate utility. It would indeed be the very absurdity of contradiction to suppose

ourselves acquainted with qualities which cannot affect us. But even though this were possible, how profitless would the knowledge be, compared with the knowledge of the qualities which are capable of affecting us; like the knowledge of the seasons of the planet Saturn, or of the planets that revolve round the Dog Star for their sun, compared with the more important knowledge of the seasons of our own globe, by which we have the comfort of anticipating in the labour of Spring the abundance of Autumn, and gather in Autumn the fruits, which, as products of vernal labour, are truly fruits of the Spring."\*

INDIVIDUALITY. The action of the intellectual faculties in imparting knowledge, is much more simple in its character than the infinite variety of our ideas would at first induce us to suppose. Thus we perceive qualities of form, size, colour, &c., and we attach these qualities to individual existences: we perceive the number, arrangement, and relative position of such existences, and conceive of them as existing in *space*; we have ideas also of motion and of active phenomena, and thus conceive of their existence in *time*: we trace also resemblances and differences, and relations of antecedence and consequence, and distinguish between invariable antecedents called causes, and such as are not permanent. Now some of the faculties that produce this mental action have direct relation to external objects, and others have relation only to the ideas furnished by them; so that part of our ideas only being furnished by external causes, and part by the action of the mental faculties upon those ideas, we

\* Phil. Human Mind, Lecture 9.

cannot say that all our knowledge comes through the senses. Certain impressions received from without are by the mind itself worked up into a picture which we suppose to belong to the external world, but which is, in fact, manufactured in the mind, and exists only in minds similarly constituted.

Individuality is one of those faculties that does not appear to have any external relation. It does not perceive external things, but it perceives the ideas which it is the function of other faculties to form of external things, their properties or attributes of form, size, or colour; which ideas it connects into one object, or individual, when otherwise they would appear to us as unconnected.

Our idea of matter or substance is furnished by this faculty, and however necessary or intuitive our belief in its existence, yet it must be regarded only as an idea, as a mere abstraction, of the same character as whiteness, which has no existence except in the mind when separated from that which we call white. It is thus that the idea of matter is distinct from, although not independent of its qualities. It is said by metaphysicians that we have ideas only of its properties—of solidity, and extension; but ideas of properties only would never give us the idea of individual existences, as we actually conceive of them; for such properties would, without the action of this faculty, be looked upon not as attributes of another object, but as individuals themselves.

Our belief in the existence of matter would seem, then, to be founded upon the action of this faculty; and it is the intuitive evidence which it furnishes that is so strongly insisted on by the Reid and Stewart school

in opposition to the reasonings of Berkeley and Hume. By omitting to notice the instinctive indications of this faculty, Berkeley and Hume were led to deny the existence of an external world and of individual mind; and there is cause, we think independently of their well known arguments, to question the correctness of the evidence, however intuitive the belief, of the nature of external things furnished by Individuality. Thus with reference to any substance that we look upon as an individual; upon analysing it, we find that it is only the imperfection of our eyesight, or the limited character of our other senses, that induces us to consider it as such: that, in fact, it consists of what to us are innumerable parts that have no other relation than that of proximity. We have also every reason to suppose that this aggregate of parts which we call an individual, is in strict union with everything else around it, although our senses do not make this union distinctly perceptible to us: for instance, we know that there is an influence which we call gravitation which connects it with the earth; that its particles are in direct communication with the air and electrical influences which the air contains. Brown says, "The unity" (or individuality) "of the aggregate is no absolute quality of the mass, but is truly relative to the observer's power of distinguishing the component parts; the mass being one or many, as his senses are less or better able to distinguish these. This whole globe of earth, with its oceans and rivers and mountains and woods, and with all the separate multitudes of its animated inhabitants, may seem to some being of another species, only one continuous and uniform mass; as the masses that seem to us uniform and continuous,

may seem a whole world of separate and varied parts to the insect population that swarms upon its surface."

The faculties of Form, Size, Colour, Weight, furnish what are called the properties of matter, viz. of solidity, extension, and others. We allude to this merely to mention a curious distinction that has been made by metaphysicians of old, viz. that the indications of the primary organs of form, size, and weight, which principally give rise to the ideas of the solidity and extension of matter, are real properties, existing in objects themselves, whilst colour, equally dependent upon a primitive faculty, is not a real property of matter, but exists in the mind alone. That such a distinction into primary and secondary properties is untenable, our knowledge now of the primitive faculties on which such ideas depend, puts beyond doubt; but however untenable the supposition that colour exists only in the mind, and solidity and extension in matter, it tends to illustrate what has been previously inculcated respecting the nature of the mind, for, as that which we call colour is admitted to be merely an affection of the mind and cannot reasonably be said to exist in substances, so what we call solidity and extension, which are ideas furnished by the organs of Form, Size, Weight, and which are precisely of the same character as those we derive from the organ of Colour, are not less affections of the mind, and can no more reasonably be said to belong to substances, to which, however, we are in the habit of attaching them as real properties. Matter or substance may be regarded as the cause of such ideas, and we know nothing more.

The other intellectual faculties are those which are said to perceive the relation of external objects, and

must, therefore, be dependent for their action upon those that first perceive existence, for a relation has no existence in itself. If we had, however, no other faculties but those that perceived existence, the world would appear to us as a number of detached beings, and not as that great whole which we call nature and in which we at present believe. It is these superadded faculties that perceive or rather *create* relations, which acting upon the ideas they receive from the others, arrange them in classes, put them in order, and give them all the symmetry that we ascribe to the world without. Each faculty adds its part, the peculiar form it is its province to create, to the picture, and a universe is created within us which we erroneously suppose has its type without us.

LOCALITY is said to give the idea of space and of relative position. If solidity, extension, and colour do not really belong to external objects, but are merely the properties with which our own mental faculties invest them, the same must be said of space, as it would appear to be nearly synonymous with extension, and it cannot therefore be said to exist out of our own minds. All of which we can speak is of simple feelings or ideas, and what relation can they have to space, supposing it to have a real existence? The idea would seem to be the result of the action of Locality upon the ideas previously formed by Form, Size, and Individuality.\*

\* "*Nothing can act but where it is*: with all my heart, only WHERE is it? Be not the slave of words: is not the Distant, the Dead, while I love it, and long for it, and mourn for it, Here, in the genuine sense, as truly as the floor I stand on? But that same WHERE, with its brother WHEN, are from the first the master-

With respect to TIME, "What we do is to take some well-known case of successions, and to make that a standard by which to ascertain the rest. We take, for example, the oscillations of a pendulum. So many of these we call a minute. So many minutes we call an hour. These minutes and hours, then, are so many oscillations, that is successions. We call them measures of time. But things are measurable only by parts of themselves; extension by extension, weight by weight, and so on. What is measured by succession, therefore, is itself nothing but succession."\* It is easy to conceive that succession or time can have no real existence, but like other relations, is the creation of the mind, a form of thought, a mode of existence. Had this function been left out of our mental constitution there would have been to us no past and future, everything would have been conceived of as present. We should have been conscious of each train of thought as it passed through the mind, but as it really is, so would it have appeared to us, to be ever

colours of our Dream-grotto; say rather, the Canvas (the warp and the woof thereof,) whereon all our Dreams and Life-visions are painted. Nevertheless has not a deeper meditation taught certain of every climate and age, that the WHERE and WHEN, so mysteriously inseparable from all our thoughts, are but superficial terrestrial adhesions to thought; that the Seer may discern them when they mount up out of the celestial EVERYWHERE and FOREVER: have not all nations conceived their God as Omnipotent and Eternal; as existing in a universal HERE, and everlasting NOW? Think well, thou too wilt find that Space is but a mode of our human sense, so likewise Time; there is no Space and no Time: We are—we know not what;—light-sparkles floating in the æther of Deity!"—Sartor Resartus, p. 53.

\* Mill, p. 106.

present only? There would be no succession, no reference to past or future; for the idea, as it offered itself, whether of anticipation or retrospection, would belong only to the present, "now." "Time and Space are not God, but creations of God; that with God as it is a universal Here, so is it an Everlasting Now. \* \* \* Know of a truth that only the time-shadows have perished or are perishable; that the real Being of whatever was, and whatever is, and whatever will be, is even now and for ever. This, should it unhappily seem new, thou mayst ponder, at thy leisure; for the next twenty years or the next twenty centuries; believe it thou must; understand it thou canst not."\*

**TUNE.** It is much easier in this faculty than in those that give rise to the ideas of Time and Space, to trace the character of its functions, for we can scarcely conceive of Melody, the sense of which it originates, as existing anywhere but in the mind. We regard it at once as belonging to the mind and not to the vibrations that cause it. There would appear to be no *necessary* office in the human constitution that it has to perform; it seems to tend directly and gratuitously to the production of happiness. With regard to most of the other faculties, happiness is the result, but not the end or object at which they aim; that object being to preserve man in existence, and in the due relation to his fellows.

**LANGUAGE.** The mental faculty that enables us to communicate our thoughts, and to express our ideas, has relation to our own internal ideas and not to anything

\* Sartor Resartus, p. 272.

external. It seems to give only the power of remembering sounds, or audible signs, merely as such; the understanding of them or the connecting of them with ideas depends upon other faculties. And yet is it most important, for had man been without this power of comparing his invisible thoughts with those of his fellow-men; of handing down his experience first by oral and then by written signs, he would have made but little progress in all that now particularly distinguishes him as man. It is wonderful, as observed by Dr. Arnott, that "an audible sign, that is a passing sound, a fugitive breath, called by man a word, should have the power of calling to our remembrance, ideas of objects almost as vividly as the objects themselves, and that by a succession of mere sounds so little naturally connected with the thing signified, that they are totally different in different countries, and are changing from age to age, any train of thought may be made to pass through the minds of an audience so as to excite and to leave impressions almost as strong as if from realities." The arbitrary divisions or parts of speech, nouns, verbs, participles, &c., as they are called, represent only the natural language of the intellectual faculties. Language is invented to express their action, and if there were any acknowledged part of speech, without a corresponding faculty in the Phrenological system of mental philosophy, it would be evidence of the incompleteness of that system. Thus the article, noun, pronoun, represent principally the functions of Individuality, but Order, Number, and Time appear to be also included in the article: the adjective represents the functions of Form, Size, Weight, and Colour: the verb and adverb, Eventuality: the preposition, Locality: and the cou-

junction has reference to both Individuality and Eventuality.

**THE REFLECTIVE, OR REASONING FACULTIES.** What is reasoning? What is the exact mental process that takes place when we reason? Having observed, by means of the Perceptive Faculties, substances, their qualities and relations, and the order in which events follow one another, we are said to reason when we anticipate those events, and regulate our conduct by suiting it to the known order of circumstances: we regulate our conduct by what we expect will result from our making use of the same causes to produce the same effects. In reasoning, then, these two things are absolutely necessary; first, that we should observe the order in which events follow one another, viz. the order of cause and effect, of antecedence and consequence; and next, that we should be able to distinguish one event, or cause, or antecedence, from another, so as not to mistake one that only *appears* similar, for the *real* cause of the effect, for the antecedent of the consequent.

Two mental powers are engaged in this service, CAUSALITY and COMPARISON; some phrenologists suppose that there are three, including the organ called Wit, to which they ascribe the power of perceiving differences, and of detecting the intrinsic properties of things, which power has hitherto been included, by others, amongst those possessed by Comparison.

The knowing or perceptive faculties, as we have seen, give the knowledge of things within their own particular province. Eventuality notices simple events or phenomena: Causality discerns the order in which such events follow one another, and whether the connexion

be variable or invariable ; it is not called into action by external things, but by the ideas of them that the perceptive faculties have furnished.

The world is full of objects having various relations to each other ; the function of Causality is necessary to distinguish between such as are related by mere contiguity of time or place, and those that are connected as cause and effect : in those persons who have not a considerable endowment of the faculty, the power of tracing such relations is weak.

Comparison, whose office it is to trace resemblances and differences, aids Causality to discover what antecedents and consequents are the same with, or only similar to, other observed sequences, and thus gives the power of reasoning by analogy. That this mode of reasoning, which is so commonly adopted, is often a very erroneous one, is owing to Comparison not being always sufficiently accurate in observing resemblances and differences, and therefore taking those relations to be the same, that are only like or similar.

With regard to the mere properties of bodies, the faculties that perceive them are sufficient to judge of their resemblance without any aid from Comparison : thus Form compares forms, and Colour compares colours ; but there are a great variety of circumstances and conditions of which the knowing faculties take no cognizance, and here Comparison is needed.

The following is a very able analysis of the process of reasoning, proceeding from the combined action of Causality and Comparison :—

“ Suppose a being who had never heard of gunpowder or cannon, to see them applied to their purposes, he would observe that the powder was put into the cannon, then colphin, and pushed down with the ram-

mer ; he would remark that a ball then followed, colphin again, with a second application of the rammer ; at last, a lighted match is applied to the touch-hole, followed by a flash, a loud noise, a starting of smoke, and a ball bounding forth and mowing down the enemy. If the observer's Causality be good, he will remark the exact order in which these sequences occur, and will be able to repeat them correctly, with the same result. If his Causality be bad, he may, when directed to perform the same operation, transpose the whole sequence. He may put the colphin in first, then the ball, and apply the match to the touch-hole before loading with the powder, and wonder that, remembering all the steps of the process, he should not attain a successful result as before. If his Comparison be weak, it will be impossible for him to generalise upon these phenomena. The slightest deviation from the line of sequences, or the smallest omission in the steps, will be locked upon by him as a totally different process, and expected to terminate in another issue. But Comparison will detect the points in the series of antecedents in which many trains of phenomena and their results resemble each other, and what steps and particulars, by not resembling each other, are not essential to produce the same termination. These various particulars of discrepancy in the antecedents being left out in the process, the real elements of the effect will, by their resemblance, be detected, and an abstract principle be evolved ; for all generalization consists of abridgment, the omission of accidental attributes, and the reduction of a series of sequences by a comparison of their analogical features, to other series, or, in short, to the exact number of resembling steps. Thus, an unlearned man, with large

Causality and small Comparison, mixes a solution of carbonate of soda with tartaric acid, and the result is an effervescence. But mere Causality could never generalize or proceed farther. The whole proposition would, after a thousand antecedents and consequents of the same kind, still be simply, that by adding carbonate of soda to tartaric acid there will result an effervescence. It might see a thousand mixtures of alkalis and acids with the same result of effervescence; but the individual with only Causality, remembering the series of steps in each particular case and the identical consequents from the various antecedents, with minute precision, would only, in each example, say that the mixture of a specific drug with another, as exactly named, would produce an effervescence. It would be carbonate of soda, for example, and tartaric acid. But add large Comparison, and the effect will be very different. It will, in the first place, perceive a resemblance or identity in all of the consequents. The results will, therefore, be connected, or classified, in the first place. Then it will detect a resemblance in the taste or other qualities of the respective ingredients of the chemical compound in all the antecedents, until the qualities which truly resemble each other, in the elements of the materials forming the mixture, being in all the examples, observed, clearly seen, and classified, soda and tartar will be omitted from the proposition and the general principle evolved, that the commixture of a solution of acids and alkalis (the points in which alone all the antecedents agreed,) will be productive of an effervescence, or disengagement of the fixed air.”\*

\* Smith's Principles of Phrenology, p. 217.

The more perfect becomes our analysis of the mental constitution, and consequently, our knowledge of what it is capable, the more we become struck with the truth of Lord Bacon's celebrated aphorism, as the foundation of all reasoning, that "Man can only understand and act in proportion as he observes the order of nature." All reasoning is nothing more than a simple relation of facts, of the order of nature, of what causes have preceded, and will, therefore, precede certain effects. Dr. Thomas Brown has put this beyond doubt, the results of whose reasoning have been stated in the Introduction. Drawing inferences is merely stating what will take place from what has already been observed to take place. A rule is founded upon the resemblance we have observed between individual existences in their adaptation to one common effect. For instance, bodies had been observed to approach towards the earth and towards each other; but it required a Newton to trace the resemblance between these observed sequences and those which held the planets in their spheres, and to give us the rule or law which we call attraction. Since to reason is merely to state the order of nature, it might appear to be an easy process; but such is not the case, as investigation and analytical power are necessary for the correct perception of this order. To be aware of the fact that an explosion from gunpowder produces sound, is not to understand the order of nature sufficiently to enable us to reason upon the phenomena; for in order to do this, each separate link in the chain of sequence must be clearly perceived by the mind. To enable us to reason accurately, therefore, it is necessary that the knowing faculties should perform their offices properly, giving us correct intimations

of the properties of things: that Eventuality should inform us truly concerning active phenomena: that Causality should observe every link in the chain of sequences, and Comparison discern what are similar causes and what are similar effects, in order to establish a like relation, or sequence in other circumstances and under other conditions.

If this view of the reasoning powers of man be a correct one, it is evident, and this it is important to observe—that all the knowledge that he can acquire by the unaided powers of his mind, which can be of any service to him, may be TESTED BY EXPERIENCE. Testimony is valuable only as showing what may be from what has been; and as man's reasoning power and his progressive nature, and consequently his welfare and safety, are dependent upon his observation of the order of nature, it would seem to be not a presumptuous or unwarrantable conclusion that the all-wise Creator does not suffer that order to be invaded by what is termed a special Providence; the interference of which would render His highest gift to man, that which places him so far above all other creatures here, valueless and inoperative. Cause and effect, the relation having been once established, must be invariable; and it is man's duty to trace out their connexion and to adapt his conduct to it, rather than to petition the Deity to break such connexion for his own individual advantage; a petition which, if answered, must bring curses rather than blessings to all around.

### CHAPTER III.

#### ON THE ORIGIN OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, AND THE ADAP- TATION AND RELATION OF THE INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES TO THE EXTERNAL WORLD.

LOCKE, in the Introduction to his Essay, says, "When we know our own strength, we shall the better know what to undertake with hopes of success; and when we have well surveyed the powers of our own minds and made some estimate what we may expect from them, we shall not be inclined either to sit still, and not set our thoughts on work at all, in despair of knowing anything; nor, on the other side, question everything, and disdain all knowledge because some things are not to be understood. It is of great use to the sailor to know the length of his line, though he cannot with it fathom all the depths of the ocean. It is well he knows that it is long enough to reach the bottom, at such places as are necessary to direct his voyage, and caution him against running upon shoals that may ruin him. Our business here is not to know all things, but those which concern our conduct. If we can find out those measures whereby a rational creature, put in that state which man is in, in this world, may and ought to govern his opinions and actions depending thereon, we need not be troubled that some other things escape our knowledge.

"This was that which gave the first rise to this essay

concerning the understanding. For I thought," he continues, "that the first step towards satisfying several inquiries the mind of man was very apt to run into, was to take a survey of our own understanding, examine our own powers, and see to what things they were adapted. Till that was done I suspected we began at the wrong end, and in vain sought for satisfaction in a quiet and sure possession of truths that most concerned us, whilst we let loose our thoughts into the vast ocean of being; as if all that boundless extent were the natural and unbounded possession of our understandings, wherein there was nothing exempt from its decisions, or that escaped its comprehension. Thus men, extending their inquiries beyond their capacities, and letting their thoughts wander into those depths where they can find no sure footing, it is no wonder that they raise questions and multiply disputes; which never coming to any clear resolution, are proper only to continue and increase their doubts and to confirm them at last in perfect scepticism. Whereas, were the capacities of our understanding well considered, the extent of our knowledge once discovered, and the horizon found, which sets the bounds between the enlightened and dark parts of things; between what is not comprehensible by us, men would perhaps, with less scruple, acquiesce in the avowed ignorance of the one, and employ their thoughts and discourse with more advantage and satisfaction in the other."

Dugald Stewart describes the aim of Kant in his "Critique of Pure Reason," to be entirely similar:—"It is no less than to lead reason to the true knowledge of itself; to-examine the titles upon which it founds the supposed possession of its metaphysical

knowledge, and by means of this examination, to mark the true limit beyond which it cannot venture to speculate without wandering into the empty region of pure fancy.”\*

It is an acknowledged truism, “What can we reason but from what we know;” but had mankind given due weight and importance to this mere truism and have settled the not unimportant question, “What can we really know?” it would have saved them from the endless controversies concerning the nature of matter and of mind, materialism and immaterialism, that have occupied metaphysicians from the remotest ages until now. Had they seen the necessity of establishing first principles in Metaphysics, as in Physics, and of laying down a clear chart of the mental faculties, their powers, relations, and modes of action, it would, even as the spirit upon the face of the waters, have reduced the chaos of their systems to order and utility. Such a chart, the necessity for which Locke so clearly expressed his conviction, but which neither he nor any one of those that have adopted his mode of investigation has been able to supply, seems to have been furnished by the new philosophy of Phrenology, which has succeeded in pointing out the fundamental powers of the human mind, not by *mere* reflection on consciousness, but by a method strictly inductive.

From what has already been demonstrated concerning the nature of the mental faculties, the truth of the following remarks will, we think, be evident.

Man has been endowed with certain propensities and sentiments on which his happiness has been made to

\* Dissertations, p. 189.

depend, for their exercise is attended with highly pleasurable sensations, the aggregate of which constitutes happiness. These faculties or feelings bear certain relations of love and antipathy to external things; we can trace no reason from the nature of things themselves why one object should excite love or antipathy more than another; but such a relation has been established between us and them to answer a certain purpose. Another set of faculties has been added to these, bearing that relation to the external world which shall best enable man to bring his feelings into activity, direct them to their proper ends, and thus insure that happiness which is the object of his being.

We can know nothing, therefore, but that which results from the relation established between our intellectual faculties, and what we intuitively believe to be an external world.

Each intellectual faculty has received a particular constitution, in consequence of which it is susceptible of a form of intelligence or mode of thought peculiar to itself; but there is no reason that we can discover why it should produce one kind of ideas more than another, except that it has been so constituted with relation to its external cause for a particular purpose.

The intellectual faculties are of two kinds, those that are acted upon by external causes, through the medium of the senses, and whose ideas, therefore, are modified by the sense, and those faculties that act upon these ideas when so furnished by the first class. They have been very properly divided into ideas of Simple and Relative Perception.

All the knowledge, therefore, that we acquire of an external world is of its action through the medium of

the senses upon only a few of the mental faculties, and which action of the perceptive faculties alone, would be quite insufficient to give us the idea of nature as we now conceive of it. The world, as it appears to us, is created in our own minds by the action of the faculties of Relative Perception, upon the comparatively few ideas furnished by the faculties of Simple Perception.

NOTHING IS THEREFORE KNOWN TO US AS IT IS,\* but our ideas of things result from the relation that has been established between the object or cause, the sense, and the two classes of intellectual faculties, and it has been the want of knowledge of this fact, and of what belongs to each of these departments, that has caused most of the differences, controversies, and obscurities of metaphysicians. One class has argued for the real existence of an external world exactly as it appears to us; another has maintained that the world only exists in part as it appears to us; and a third that it is solely and entirely a creation of the mind. Much has yet to be learned in this department of metaphysics, but

\* "We may observe that it is universally allowed by Philosophers, and is besides, pretty obvious of itself, that nothing is ever really present with the mind but its perceptions or impressions and ideas, and that external objects become known to us only by these perceptions they occasion. Now since nothing is ever present to the mind but perceptions, and since all ideas are derived from something antecedent to the mind, it follows that it is impossible for us so much as to conceive or form an idea of anything specifically different from ideas and impressions. Let us fix our ideas out of ourselves as much as possible; let us chase our imaginations to the heavens, or to the utmost limit of the universe; we never really advance a step beyond ourselves, nor can perceive any kind of existence but those perceptions which have appeared in that narrow compass."—Hume.

enough is already known to show what degree of truth or error exists in the old systems.

Man possesses feelings and intellectual faculties in common with the brutes, and also several in addition ; had he been endowed with more propensities and sentiments than those that now belong to him, more senses and intellectual faculties would probably have been necessary, to enable him to bring them into exercise or use. Even now, we cannot but suppose that we view nature with very different eyes from the brutes, and an additional sense or intellectual faculty might have changed the whole appearance that nature now presents to us. The organ of Ideality may furnish us with an illustration. Man alone is supposed to possess this faculty. It gives feelings which invest nature with a beauty and splendour foreign to the mere properties of objects, as indicated by the intellectual faculties : it ascribes to it an excellence and charm and perfection which are invisible to those creatures that have it not ; and the man in whom it is weak, and he in whom it is strong, truly regard nature with different eyes.

No two men can be said to view nature precisely in the same light, because the natural constitution of no two minds is ever exactly the same. The properties of matter are never exactly the same to any two individuals, because the knowing faculties are different as to their relative power in all men, and the impressions they receive through the senses from the external world, must, therefore, be in some measure different. The external cause may be the same, the sense may be the same, but the mental faculty that receives the impression from without is different, and therefore the idea is different ; although, owing to the necessity for

a common language, we use the same name to express the idea we each receive. The faculty differs not in nature but in the degree of manifestation of which it is capable. Strictly, therefore, a person can only say how *he* feels in certain situations, and how things appear to *him*. One who has the faculties that perceive existence powerfully developed, has a much clearer perception of what are called the properties of matter, than he who has such faculties weak; and he who has the reasoning powers strong, has a much clearer perception of the relations and dependencies of phenomena than another in whom they are feeble.

## BELIEF.

“All belief, it is evident, must be either direct or indirect. It is direct when a proposition, without regard to any former proposition expressed or understood, is admitted as soon as it is expressed in words, or as soon as it rises silently in the mind. Such are all the order of truths which have been denominated, on this account, first truths. The belief is indirect when the force of the proposition, to which assent is given, is admitted only in consequence of the previous admission of some former proposition with which it is felt to be intimately connected, and the statement in words, or the internal development of these relative propositions in the order in which their relation to the primary proposition is felt, is all that constitutes reasoning. The indirect belief which attends the result of reasoning, even in the proudest demonstration, is thus only another form of some first truth which was believed directly and independently of reasoning; and, without

this primary and intuitive assent, the demonstration itself in all its beautiful precision and regularity would be as powerless and futile as the most incoherent verbal wrangling."

"Without some principles of immediate belief, then, it is manifest, that we could have no belief whatever; for we believe one proposition, because we discover its relation to some other proposition, which is itself, perhaps, related, in like manner, to some other proposition formerly admitted, but which, carried back as far as it may, through the longest series of ratiocination, must ultimately come to some primary proposition, which we admit from the evidence contained in itself, or, to speak more accurately, which we believe from the mere impossibility of disbelieving it. All reasoning, then, the most sceptical, be it remarked, as well as the most dogmatical, must proceed on some principles which are taken for granted, not because we infer them by logical deduction, for this very inference must then itself be founded on some other principle, assumed without proof, but because the admission of these first principles is a necessary part of our intellectual constitution."\*

That *belief* or *faith* is something more than a mere intellectual perception there can be little doubt, and I have previously endeavoured to point out the particular part of the mental constitution to which it belongs. It must be regarded not as a mere perception, but as a sentiment dependent for its direction, like conscientiousness or benevolence, upon the intellectual faculties. Like the other feelings, it is a blind instinct,

\* Brown's Phil. of the Human Mind, Lecture 13, p. 78.

and as conscientiousness, or the disposition to do right, cannot of itself dictate what is right, so the instinctive tendency to believe, equally requires the guiding and restraining hand of reason. Faith, Hope, and Charity, are virtues only when properly directed, the first to truth, the second to reasonable expectation, and the third to the real interests of mankind.

But what are these *first truths* which Dr. Brown says are believed directly and independently of reason, and from which all other belief results. We find little difference in opinion between mathematicians, and it is because they first agree upon the grounds of reasoning; they lay down certain principles or axioms founded upon their own definitions, and these stand with them in the place of *first truths*. For instance, "A point is that which hath no parts, or which hath no magnitude." "A line is length without breadth." "Let it be granted," says the mathematician, "that a straight line may be drawn from any one point to any other point," that is, *from* that which has no parts and no magnitude, *to* that which has no parts and no magnitude; now we may readily grant this when it has been discovered where that is. Proceeding in this way, any kind of propositions may be proved. And yet, as Dr. Brown shows, it is the only way in which we can reason at all. From the want of such admitted grounds of reasoning in mental science, metaphysicians have, invariably, arrived at different conclusions.

\* Elements of Euclid.

"The whole is greater than a part: how exceedingly true! Nature abhors a vacuum! How exceedingly false and calumnious!" Again, "Nothing can act but where it is: with all my heart; but *where* is it?"—Sartor Resartus, p. 52.

Locke, in his arguments with his friends, soon became aware of this, and his Essay on the Human Understanding was the result of his efforts to establish such first truths with regard to mind. But of the first truths admitted by those who call themselves his followers, the leading one that "*Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu*,"\* is not true, and therefore, the propositions which they found upon it cannot be true. Hume showed that our ideas of relations, particularly the relations of cause and effect, upon which, as we have seen, all reasoning is founded, come not through the senses, and therefore he inferred that such relation had no real existence and was a mere nonentity; which being granted, we can prove nothing. Reid, perceiving this inevitable consequence of the theory, viz., that nothing can be proved but upon some proposition previously admitted, founded his philosophy upon what he called Common Sense; that is, he established as his "first truths," the propositions which the great body of mankind generally admit, and which he supposed could not but be believed. But a great many of these *common sense* "first truths" are recognised as only common non-sense by most philosophers of the present day. Another class of philosophers, the Phrenologists, have discovered the connexion between the primitive faculties of the mind and certain parts of the brain, and by constantly repeated observations, have pointed out the relation

\* That Locke himself was not chargeable with the error implied in this celebrated proposition appears from his admitting of Ideas of Reflection, as well as of Sensation. He seems only to have meant that Reflection must always have ideas derived originally from the senses to act upon.

between external objects and certain organs, and between other organs and these, so that the exact mode of manifestation of most of the fundamental powers of the mind is now known. The indications that such faculties give us, the modes of thought or intelligence peculiar to each, whether real or ideal, must be received as first truths, upon which all reasoning is founded.

Belief attends the action of each faculty, and cannot be separated from it. The most sceptical, if they express doubt in words, express belief in practice.

Thus, an object is presented to the senses, a tree, for example; we are impressed with ideas of its form, size, colour, and impenetrability, or power of resistance, and we believe it to possess all these qualities; and Individuality gives them unity; so that we believe not in a separate form, size, colour, &c., but in an individual tree to which all these qualities are attached. The idea of substance, which also includes that of extension and relative position, gives us the idea of space, and we believe that space exists, although our reasoning faculties tell us that that which we call space is only an idea, a sensation, a kind of feeling, and that, therefore, in reality, extension cannot belong to it.

Again, Eventuality notices the circulation of the sap in the tree, the budding forth of the leaves, the ripening of the fruit, and so on, and Time gives the idea of succession in such phenomena; and we believe in both action and time. Causality notices the connexion of the sap with the root, and of the root with the earth, and we believe that there is a real dependence and connexion, one upon the other. If we possessed only the knowing faculties, we should perceive the earth and the tree and believe in them as existences, but Causality

gives the idea of something more, of the relation that they bear to one another, and we believe that the tree could not exist without the earth, or, at least, that the earth causes the growth of the tree.

Comparison observes the situation necessary for the growth of the tree; that if the tree be placed in the earth, without the root, it will not grow; and takes note of all other conditions necessary to the continuance of its being, so as to be able to apply such knowledge to other situations; and we believe that the differences and resemblances, of which Comparison gives us the ideas, exist.

Causality also traces the connexion between these ideas and the brain, between the brain and the external sense, and between the sense and something acting upon it, and we cannot but believe that a real connexion exists between these sequences, one producing another; hence we believe in the actual existence of a something external, which something we call a tree. The idea of a tree, its properties and relations, are associated together in one idea in the mind, so that we are never conscious of it without the belief that it has a cause, that cause being the last link that we trace in the chain of sequences, and regarded consequently as an external existence.

Our reason is sufficient to show us that the greater part of those things in which we believe, have no real existence except in our own minds: thus, number, space, time, action, motion, relation, the ideas of which are not formed by the senses, are no more the real properties of substances than the names by which we designate them, which names themselves are supposed by the ignorant to be as much inherent parts of

the substance named, as we are apt to suppose its relations to be.

So, we believe in power, and yet we can find nothing to represent it, it being an idea derived from the function of causality. Perceiving that one event always follows another, we regard the latter as the cause of the former. As, also, we find nothing existing by itself, but everything in the relation of antecedent and consequent, we become impressed with the belief that this relation is a necessary one, and invariably look for an antecedent or cause.

Dr. Brown says, "We see in nature one event followed by another. The fall of a spark on gunpowder, for example, followed by the deflagration of the gunpowder, and by a *peculiar tendency of our constitution*, which we must take for granted, whatever be our theory of power, we believe, that, as long as all the circumstances continue the same, the sequence of events will continue the same; that the deflagration of gunpowder, for example, will be the invariable consequence of the fall of a spark on it, in other words, we believe the gunpowder to be susceptible of deflagration on the application of a spark, and a spark to have the power of deflagrating gunpowder."

"Power is significant not of anything different from the invariable antecedent itself, but of the mere invariableness of the order of its appearance in reference to some invariable consequent; the invariable antecedent being denominated a cause, the invariable consequent an effect. To say that water has the power of dissolving salt, and to say that salt will always melt when water is poured upon it, is to say precisely the same thing; there is nothing in one proposition which

is not exactly, and to the same extent, enumerated in the other.

“To know the powers of nature, is, then, nothing more than to know what antecedents are and will be invariably followed by what consequents; for this invariableness, and not any distinct existence, is all that the shorter term, power, in any case expresses.”\*

It is true that such is all that we know of the powers of nature, but such is not all that we believe, for from the action of the primitive power of the mind, Causality, an idea of force or power is generated, and we believe, and must believe, as implicitly in its existence as in the reality of anything the idea of which we receive through the senses. Thus, Mr. Combe says, “If a cannon be fired, and the shot knock down a wall, Individuality and some other perceptive faculties observe only the existence of the powder. Eventuality perceives the fire applied to it, the explosion, the fall of the building, as events following in succession; but it forms no idea of power in the gunpowder, when ignited, to produce the effect. When Causality, on the other hand, is joined with Eventuality in contemplating these phenomena, the impression of *power* or *efficiency* in the exploding gunpowder, to produce the effect, arises spontaneously in the mind, and Causality produces an intuitive belief in the existence of this efficiency, just because it is constituted to do so.”

In giving the above quotation, however, we cannot agree in ascribing to Eventuality the office of perceiving events *in succession*; it is true that it perceives events, but it appears to us that the organ

\* Philosophy of the Human Mind, Lecture 6.

of time alone gives the idea of their succession. So Causality gives the impression of power or efficiency, but without another mental faculty no belief would attend it. Wonder, as we have endeavoured to show before, creates belief, as it invests all our ideas with a feeling of reality. It does more; it gives to this idea of *power* a personality; it dresses it in all the clothing that the other faculties furnish; adds to it unity, infinity, ascribes to it the tendency or design of all causation, and transforms it into a God, infinite in power and goodness.\*

**BELIEF IN DEITY.** Granting, as we think must be done, that our belief in a Supreme Power originates in the manner above described, the question still arises; are there sufficient grounds for such a belief indepen-

\* "Peron and other travellers in New Holland, mention, that the natives of that country are the only people hitherto discovered who have no conception of a God or of the existence of any supernatural being. They do not labour under any deficiency of veneration; which, indeed, considered relatively to the other organs, is large. But they are lamentably deficient in Wonder, which gives the sense of presenoe or vitality to what is absent or lifeless; and in Constructiveness, which produces the desire of accounting consistently for, and reconciling in theory, all phenomena. And thus are they Atheists, not from a sceptical disbelief of evidence, but from never having formed a conception of anything that was not present to the senses. Veneration superinduces the sense of our own unworthiness; Wonder that of the personality of a First Cause or Intelligent Power in the elements—the attributes of the Being, of course, taking their shape from the leading tendencies of our own minds; a low intellect conceiving only a grovelling deity, while an elevated soul gives a lofty character to its conception. Without this organ of Wonder, faith in a God, or invisible power, is impossible; by faith, meaning not a conviction merely of the abstract proposition, that there is a First Cause, but the

dently of the internal conviction of the existence of a Deity, which one particular faculty creates within us?

We find the belief in supreme power nearly universal in all countries yet known to us; and this power to have been "in every clime adored" as far back as written records extend. In the first ages of the world the powers of nature were deified and worshiped under every variety of form, with attributes borrowed always from man's own nature, fashioned according to the laws of his own intelligence and the degree of civilization then prevailing. Every cause that was hidden, every antecedence not evident to the senses, a spiritual Being was created to supply; the earth was peopled with fairies and genii, and there were gods of the winds, of the sea, and of the air. As man increased in intelligence, his gods diminished in number, and as

real sentiment that there is a Being with certain attributes, whose spirit we conceive, whose character we truly love, and whom we feel not to be far from every one of us. We say that the man with deficient Wonder cannot be anything else than practically a sceptic, because he naturally is so weak in the power of conception necessary to see 'God in clouds, or hear him in the wind,' that with him faith is a moral impossibility. Of course, we do not mean that such belief cannot, by a miraculous interposition of the Deity, be superinduced; but as God, even in the miracles recorded in the New Testament, always works by means, and as in the case of an individual with small Wonder the means are wanting, it appears to us unlikely that such a one should be selected as the subject of the miracle of regeneration. If, then, a large development of Wonder is always found in believers, it will not be easy to prove that their faith is not the result of that organ, instead of being produced by a miracle. At all events, it is quite certain, that in this country, and in modern times, faith is present or absent invariably in the proportions in which this organ is developed."—Sidney Smith's *Principles of Phrenology*, p. 165.

his knowledge enabled him to generalize the powers of nature, he attached them to one supreme source, the Great Cause of all.

Such is in accordance with the laws of the human mind; Wonder gives the sense of reality; and wherever this sense of reality exists, there is an irresistible tendency to invest it with the forms of our own intelligence. In this manner our sensations and ideas are to us realities, and although they are known to us as a train of separate thoughts only, yet we invest them with the form of intelligence peculiar to Individuality, and we have the idea and speak of the mind of man as simple and indivisible, as one individual mind. We even individualize all things that exist, and call it the universe. So we individualize the separate impressions of power or efficiency derivable from every separate cause, and thus form the idea of God as *one*, as a personality. But it is evident that this is to invest the Great Cause of all with an attribute derived from our particular form of intelligence, and we may as much err in ascribing to Him unity as if we were to depict Him under our own particular bodily shape.

But if it be irrational to measure that which is infinite by powers that have relation only to that which is finite; to invest the Deity with our own forms of thought, our own modes of intelligence; it is, if anything, more inconsistent with reason to ascribe to Him feelings which belong to man, and have been given to enable him to perform his part upon this earth. This, however, have mankind ever done. Necessarily believing in a God, they have formed Him after their own image, not unfrequently ascribing to Him some of the lowest of our feelings in their greatest abuse.

We have no faculties that can make us acquainted with God as He is, or with His mode of existence, and we only degrade Him by reducing Him to our level. Even the world in which we live is known to us only relatively and not in itself; it is necessarily to us an *ideal* or *phenomenal* world, perceived by us only through the medium of the sensations that it occasions within us, and which form the mirror in which we view it.

If this be so, what have we to reply to the sceptic? What *do* we know of God? Much, everything that is necessary for confidence and love. Of first causes we know nothing; of no causes know we anything but as invariable antecedents; and no philosopher has yet been able to assign a reason why one cause should be followed by its effect; the extent of our knowledge is that such a relation between them has *been established* and *is maintained*, and in many cases we have discovered to what end. To say that God gives to each cause its power of producing its effect, is using words without meaning; for power is nothing in itself, but a creation of the mind, and, as we have seen, is identical with invariable antecedence. It follows, therefore, that as there is no such thing as power, and consequently, no delegation of power, the being who established the relation between cause and effect, must maintain that relation. This is commonly granted, but in a different sense from the one here intended; it is argued that as in a train of sequences all that is requisite is to move the first, the rest producing each other of necessity, the Deity is to be regarded as the *First Cause*, but not as the *immediate* cause of all things. But this may possibly be an error founded upon the hypothesis above

objected to, viz., that there is in each cause an inherent power to produce its effect. It will, however, appear more reasonable to suppose that whatever influence sets the first of a chain of sequences in motion must be continued to the last, for wherever such influence ceases, the chain must necessarily be broken ; God, therefore, must not be considered as only the first of a series of causes, but as the all-pervading influence which maintains the connexion between all antecedents and consequents. }

We see a steam engine in motion, extending its giant arms in a hundred different directions, and performing a hundred different offices. The parts are so connected that motion imparted to one is communicated to all ; and we imagine the steam to be the prime mover, the cause of all the motion throughout the engine. But this is not the case. There is an influence in each separate cause and effect, not dependent upon the steam, an influence requiring to be sustained at each separate link as much as at the first. We can assign no reason why one part of the engine should move another ; we know only that it appears to do so ; nor does it elucidate the matter to say that it does so by means of repulsion, a power of resistance, action, or reaction ; for these are names only to express the common influence. If we were even to discover the cause of this repulsion, it would only add another link in the chain of mere antecedence, and the relation between it and repulsion would equally require to be maintained as between any other observed sequence. "Sweep away the illusion of time ; glance, if thou have eyes, from the near moving cause to its far distant Mover. The stroke that came transmitted through a

whole galaxy of elastic balls, was it less a stroke than if the last ball only had been struck and sent flying? Oh, could I, (with the time-annihilating Hat,) transport thee direct from the beginnings to the endings, how were thy eyesight unsealed, and thy heart set flaming in the light-sea of celestial wonder! Then sawest thou that this fair universe, were it in the meanest province thereof, is in very deed the star-domed City of God; that through every star, through every grass-blade, and most through every living soul, the glory of a present God still beams: But Nature, which is the Time-vesture of God, and reveals Him to the wise, hides Him from the foolish.\*

Thus are we very near to the Power that "directs the atom and controls the storm," and truly and literally may it be said, "in Him we live and move and have our being."

Causes and effects, trains of sequences, meet us on all sides, having, as far as we can discover, no necessary connexion, but only a relation established to effect a particular purpose. If, then, reason may be our guide in an inquiry of this nature, it would seem evident that the relation between every cause and its effect is sustained by the immediate hand of God; that every atom requires the perpetual influence of the Deity to preserve it in its tendency towards every other atom; upon the withdrawal of which influence, but for a moment, all must fall asunder and the book of creation be closed. And thus, in a mode mysterious and incomprehensible to man, may the Creative Spirit of the Universe form a part of all Nature.

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
Whose body Nature is, and God the Soul."

\* Sartor Resartus, p. 274.

Although each cause and effect may be required to be sustained separately, yet general laws, laws that man can classify and reduce to rules, seem necessary for the exercise of his reason : and yet this uniformity in the laws of nature it is that "hides God from the foolish." Were this connexion variable instead of invariable, man would advance but little in the paths of science, and his reason would be able to raise him but little above the brute creation.\*

But this idea of Power or Cause that we have been considering, is inseparable from Effect ; and Effect supposes object, or aim, tendency, design. It is doubtful whether we should ever form the idea of Power from invariable antecedence, if it were not from the perception, at the same time, of the object or tendency of such Power. If things were connected for no purpose discoverable to us, there would be no evidence that they were connected at all, however invariably they

\* We would not assume that upon this point man's faculties are capable of deciding with certainty, or assert that because we can *trace* no necessary connexion between cause and effect, that therefore there *is* no necessary connexion. Such connexion, or the laws of matter, may be as Eternal as the Deity, and He may have made use of such general laws, as man uses them, to work out the purpose of creation in the order, beauty, and arrangement of the universe ; much of what we call Evil may be owing to the inertia or stubbornness of matter, which renders it averse to any change of state, and therefore naturally opposed to the dictates of Intelligence. But on consideration of the whole subject, and for reasons expressed in various parts of this work, particularly in the Chapter on Evil, the views contained in the text we consider as most probable.

It may be also asked, if the Deity is to be considered as the *immediate* cause of all effects, why is Pain or Evil necessary as

might follow each other. From our ideas of the tendency of all the causes and effects we observe, that is, from the evidence of design everywhere around us, we ascribe wisdom and benevolence as well as power, to the Deity; all whose attributes extending beyond our conception, we call infinite. Many who contend that Power is a mere abstraction of the mind, having no real existence, yet cannot resist the evidence for the existence of God from the marks of design in creation.

The nature of the human mind itself will serve as a beautiful illustration of this design. Man is possessed of Propensities and Sentiments, all tending to certain necessary ends; and happiness results from their exercise, when active in the accomplishment of these ends. Knowledge is necessary for the guidance of these feelings, and faculties are given that furnish him with the necessary knowledge and no more: and although the knowledge that they afford may not be accurate as to

man's protector, guide, incitor, and instructor; why could not such pain have been spared by God's wisdom making up for the foolishness of man, or by His power protecting him from the effects of such foolishness? We would reply, that a much greater balance of happiness appears to result from man's possession of the liberty of action which reason gives to him, than could possibly arise from any interference with such liberty, by the immediate power of God in the prevention of evil. All that makes up the sum of man's hopes and fears, all that so infinitely diversifies his sensations depends upon this *liberty*, (a liberty not at variance with necessity,) and although he suffers more pain in consequence, he receives infinitely more pleasure; the balance of happiness must be calculated by the preponderance of pleasurable over painful sensations, man being a gainer by having a hundred pleasurable and ten painful sensations, rather than by having fifty pleasurable sensations and *no* painful ones.

the *real* nature of things, yet, by endowing all substances with form, size, colour, and relations, they not the less create for him a world in which to live and be happy.

Whence came man's Propensities and Sentiments, and whence their tendency to impel him to do that without which he could not exist? Again, whence comes our knowledge of an external world? Not from matter, nor from the senses, nor from mind; for neither alone could produce a single idea; but from a relation that has been established between them; knowledge or ideas being the joint production of all three.

Whence then, this relation, this beautiful adaptation of one to the other? For if the relation were one of mere sequence, would the end produced be always important, if not necessary, to the well-being of man?

In attempting to solve these queries, we seem forced into the full admission of the being of a God possessing the attributes of wisdom as well as of power; and when we trace further the object of all creation, and see all relations of cause and effect tending to one end—the production of the largest possible sum of enjoyment; even that which we term *Evil* aiding to produce this beneficent result, we are constrained to add benevolence to the other attributes of our Creator.

The relation of our intellectual faculties to an external world being one of cause and effect, can be sustained alone by Him who established it. *Thus do we see all things in God.*

To return to the subject of Belief. Direct belief, that is—"where a proposition, without regard to any former proposition expressed or understood, is admitted as

soon as it is expressed in words, or as soon as it rises silently into the mind," is and must be founded upon the action of each of the primitive intellectual faculties, the indications that they give of the existence and relations of the external world, being the First Truths upon which all reasoning must be based.

Belief in Testimony is merely belief in ideas furnished by Causality, that is, the action of the primitive faculty of Causality gives us a perception of a relation existing in a train of sequences, and our belief is in proportion, as that relation seems sustained and unbroken. "For what is Testimony? It is itself an event. When we believe anything, then, in consequence of testimony, we only believe one event in consequence of another. But this is the general account of our belief in events. It is the union of the ideas of an antecedent and a consequent by a strong association."\*

Belief in Propositions, or indirect belief, is founded upon a perception of relation between such propositions, and the knowledge previously furnished by the primitive faculties of the mind upon which direct belief depends. Such is the belief in God.†

TRUTH. To man, and probably to all *created* intel-

\* Mill, vol. 1, p. 290.

† Of course in speaking of belief here, we mean not the *feeling* itself, viz., the action of the organ of "Wonder," but what ought to constitute the proper *direction* of that feeling, in the same way as the Intellectual faculties are required to decide for Conscientiousness, what is right or wrong. As metaphysicians of the old school formerly confounded the action of the feeling of Conscientiousness, with its direction by the Intellectual faculties, the metaphysicians of the new school now seem to confound the action of the organ of Wonder, which gives the feeling of Faith—the sense of Reality, with its direction.

ligences, truth must ever be *relative* and not *absolute* : for, as we have seen, nothing can be known to us as it is ; "it is impossible so much as to conceive or form an idea," as Hume observes, "of anything specifically different from ideas and impressions." The *Truth*, therefore now under consideration, is that so called by mankind, and not absolute truth, which can be known to God only.

Truth, to man, is merely the record of his feelings and impressions. Thus, we have propensities and sentiments which give us particular feelings or sensations, in particular circumstances and situations, and we have intellectual faculties which give us other kinds of feelings that we call ideas. That we are the subjects of these different kinds of sensations, we say is true. Causality traces such impressions to external causes, the aggregate of these external causes we call the external world, and we say it is true that there is an external world.

These external causes act, by means of the senses, upon our perceptive faculties, producing in us certain ideas ; and we say that it is true that matter (the name given to the unknown cause,) has the properties of form, size, colour, weight ; such being the names by which we denominate these ideas.

We have faculties also that give us ideas of relations, of likenesses and differences, of connexions and dependencies ; and we say that it is true that such modes of existence belong to matter.

But what is the proof that these are truths ? There is no proof : we must take them for granted : we intuitively believe them, and we cannot, for any *practical* purpose, believe otherwise. The present condition of

*self* is all of which we can speak with absolute certainty. The existence of an external world, with its properties, connexions and dependencies : with everything relating to past, present, or future ; and consequently our own identity, must all be taken for granted ; the only evidence of their truth being that we feel with reference to them, as we say that we do.

The evidence of Truth will, therefore, be different to every individual mind ; neither can that which is truth to one mind be strictly said to be truth to any other ; as no two minds are exactly organized alike, and no two minds are ever, therefore, affected exactly in the same way. We have seen that our ideas depend equally upon the object or cause, the sense, and the subject or intellectual faculty ; and although the object and sense may be the same, yet the intellectual faculties differing, as they do, more or less in all men, the perception of the object differs. We may readily conceive of an intelligence, with faculties so differently constituted from our own, that all which we call truth should to it appear falsehood. Matter might appear to such a mind to have different properties, different relations, different dependencies.\* In minds constituted in other respects

\* " To beings capable of perceiving and distinguishing the different particles that form by their aggregation those small masses, which, after the minutest mechanical division of which we are capable, appear atoms to us, the pride which we feel, in our chemical analysis, must seem as ludicrous, as to us would seem the pride of the blind, if one, who had never enjoyed the opportunity of beholding the sun, were to boast of having discovered, by a *nice comparison of the changing temperature of bodies*, that, during certain hours of the day, there passed over our earth some great source of heat. The addition of one new sense to us, who have already the inestimable advantages which vision affords, might

like our own, the addition of a single faculty might be sufficient to alter the whole appearance of nature. It is unphilosophical, therefore, to suppose that the causes

probably, in a few hours communicate more instruction, with respect to matter, than all which is ever to repay and consummate the physical labours of mankind; giving, perhaps, to a single glance, those slow revelations of nature which, one by one, at intervals of many centuries, are to immortalize the future sages of our race."—Brown's *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Lecture 5.

" 'Tell me,' says Micromegas, an inhabitant of one of the planets of the Dog Star, to the secretary of the Academy of Sciences in the planet Saturn, at which he had recently arrived in a journey through the heavens,— 'Tell me how many senses have the men on your globe?' "—"I quote, as perhaps the name has already informed you, from an ingenious philosophical romance of Voltaire, who, from various allusions in the work, has evidently had Fontenelle, the illustrious secretary of the French Academy of Sciences, in view, in the picture which he gives of the Saturnian secretary." 'We have seventy-two senses,' answered the academician, 'and we are, every day, complaining of the smallness of the number. Our imagination goes far beyond our wants. What are seventy-two senses! and how pitiful a boundary, even for beings with such limited perceptions, to be cooped up within our ring and our five moons! In spite of our curiosity, and in spite of as many passions as can result from six dozen of senses, we find our hours hang very heavily on our hands, and can always find time enough for yawning.' 'I can very well believe it,' says Micromegas, 'for, in our globe, we have very near one thousand senses; and yet with all these we feel continually a sort of listless inquietude and vague desire, which are for ever telling us that we know nothing, and that there are beings infinitely nearer perfection. I have travelled a good deal in the universe; I have seen many classes of mortals far beneath us, and many as much superior; but I have never had the good fortune to find any who had not always more desires than real necessities to occupy their life. And, pray, how long may you Saturnians live, with your few senses?' continued the Sirian; 'Ah! but a very short time, indeed!' said the little man of Saturn,

of ideas in us are necessarily what they appear to be ; all that we can affirm respecting them is that they affect us in a certain manner ; and the description of

with a sigh. 'It is the same with us,' said the traveller ; 'We are for ever complaining of the shortness of life. It must be an universal law of nature.' 'Alas !' said the Saturnian, 'we live only five hundred great revolutions of the sun, (which is pretty much about fifteen thousand years of our counting.) You see well, that this is to die almost the moment one is born. Our existence is a point—our duration an instant—our globe an atom. Scarcely have we begun to pick up a little knowledge, when death rushes in upon us, before we can have acquired anything like experience. As for me, I cannot venture even to think of any project. I feel myself but like a drop of water in the ocean ; and especially now, when I look to you and to myself, I really feel quite ashamed of the ridiculous appearance which I make in the universe.' 'If I did not know that you were a philosopher,' replied Micromegas, 'I should be afraid of distressing you, when I tell you, that our life is seven hundred times longer than yours. But what is even that ? When we come to the last moment, to have lived a single day, and to have lived a whole eternity, amount to the very same thing. I have been in countries where they live a thousand times longer than with us ; and I have always found them murmuring, just as we do ourselves. But you have seventy-two senses, and they must have told you something about your globe. How many properties has matter with you ?' 'If you mean essential properties,' said the Saturnian, 'without which our globe could not subsist,' we count three hundred,—extension, impenetrability, mobility, gravity, divisibility, and so forth.' 'That small number,' replied the gigantic traveller, 'may be sufficient for the views which the Creator must have had with respect to your narrow habitation. Your globe is little ; its inhabitants are so too. You have few senses ; your matter has few qualities. In all this, Providence has suited you most happily to each other.' The academician was more and more astonished with everything which the traveller told him. At length, after communicating to each other a little of what they knew, and a great deal of what they knew not, and reasoning, as well and as ill, as philo-

the mode in which we are affected is that which constitutes truth to us.\*

The "first truths" or fundamental principles upon

sophers usually do, they resolved to set out together, on a little tour of the universe.'

"That with the one thousand senses of the Sirian, or even the seventy-two senses of the inhabitant of Saturn, our notions of matter would be very different from what they are at present, cannot be doubted; since we should assign to it qualities corresponding with all the varieties of our six dozen or one thousand classes of sensations. But, even with all these sensations, it is evident, that we should still know as little of matter, independent of the phenomena which it exhibits in relation to us, as we know at this moment. Our definition of it would comprehend more phenomena; but it would still be a definition of its phenomena only. We might perhaps be able to fill up the Saturnian catalogue of three hundred essential properties, but these would be still only the relations of matter to our own perception. A change in the mere susceptibility of our organs of sense, or of our sentient mind, would be, relatively to us, like a change in the whole system of things, communicating, as it were, new properties to every object around us. A single sense additional, in man, might thus be to external nature, like the creation of the sun, when he first burst upon it in splendour, 'like the god of the new world,' and pouring everywhere his own effulgence, seemed to shed on it the very beauties which he only revealed."—*Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Lecture 9.

\* "In all German systems since the time of Kant, it is the fundamental principle to deny the existence of Matter; or rather, we should say, to believe it in a radically different sense from that in which the Scotch Philosopher strives to demonstrate it, and the English Unphilosopher believes it without demonstration. To any of our readers who has dipped never so slightly into metaphysical reading, this Idealism will be no inconceivable thing. Indeed it is singular how widely diffused and under what different aspects we meet with it among the most dissimilar classes of mankind. Our Bishop Berkeley seems to have adopted it from religious inducements: Father Boscovich was led to a very cognate result, in his

which all reasoning is based being different in all men, our surprise need not be excited when we find that the line of argument that appears irresistible to one, utterly

*Theoria Philosophiæ Naturalis*, from merely mathematical considerations. Of the ancient Pyrrho or the modern Hume we do not speak: but in the opposite end of the Earth, as Sir W. Jones informs us, a similar theory, of immemorial age, prevails among the theologians of Hindostan. Nay, Professor Stewart has declared his opinion, that whoever at some time of his life has not entertained this theory, may reckon that he has yet shown no talent for metaphysical research. Neither is it any argument against the Idealist to say that, since he denies the absolute existence of Matter, he ought in conscience likewise to deny its relative existence; and plunge over precipices, and run himself through with swords, by way of recreation, since these, like all other material things, are only phantasms and spectra, and therefore of no consequence. If a man, corporeally taken, is but a phantasm and spectrum himself, all this will ultimately amount to much the same as it did before. Yet herein lies Dr. Reid's grand triumph over the Skeptics, which is as good as no triumph whatever. For as to the argument which he and his followers insist on, under all possible variety of figures, it amounts only to this very plain consideration, that 'men naturally, and without reasoning, believe in the existence of Matter;' and seems, philosophically speaking, not to have any value; nay, the introduction of it into philosophy may be considered as an act of suicide on the part of that science, the life and business of which, that of '*interpreting* appearances.' is hereby at an end. Curious it is, moreover, to observe how these common-sense Philosophers, men who brag chiefly of their irrefragable logic, and keep watch and ward, as if this were their special trade, against 'Mysticism' and 'Visionary Theories,' are themselves obliged to base their whole system on Mysticism, and a Theory, on Faith, in short, and that of a very comprehensive kind; the Faith, namely, either that man's Senses are themselves Divine, or that they afford not only an honest, but a *literal* representation of the workings of some Divinity. So true is it that for these men also, all knowledge of

fails to convince another; and that two individuals seldom arrive exactly at the same conclusions. Thus, one sees only coincidence where another traces cau-

the visible rests on belief of the invisible, and derives its first meaning and certainty therefrom!

"The Idealist again boasts that his Philosophy is Transcendental, that is, 'ascending *beyond* the senses;' which, he asserts, *all* Philosophy, properly so called, by its nature is, and must be: and in this way he is led to various unexpected conclusions. To a Transcendentalist, Matter has an existence but only as a Phenomenon; were *we* not there, neither would it be there; it is a mere Relation, or rather the result of a Relation between our living Souls and the great First Cause; and depends for its apparent qualities on *our* bodily and mental organs; having itself *no intrinsic* qualities, being, in the common sense of that word, Nothing. The tree is green and hard, not of its own natural virtue, but simply because my eye and my hand are fashioned so as to discern such and such appearances under such and such conditions. Nay, as an Idealist might say, even on the most popular grounds, *must* it not be so? Bring a sentient Being, with eyes a little different, with fingers ten times harder than mine; and to him that Thing which I call Tree shall be yellow and soft, as truly as to me it is green and hard. Form his nervous-structure in all points the *reverse* of mine, and this same Tree shall not be combustible, or heat-producing, but dissoluble and cold-producing, not high and convex, but deep and concave; shall simply have all properties exactly the reverse of those I attribute to it. 'There is, in fact,' says Fichte, 'no Tree there, but only a manifestation of Power from something that is *not I*.' The same is true of material Nature at large, of the whole visible universe, with all its movements, figures, accidents and qualities; all are impressions produced on *me* by something *different from me*. This, we suppose, may be the foundation of what Fichte means by his far-famed *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich* (I and Not-I;) words, which taking lodging, (to use the Hudibrastic phrase) in certain 'heads that were to be let unfurnished,' occasioned a hollow echo, as of Laughter, from the empty apartments; though the words are, in themselves, quite

sation, and is enabled to employ the same causes to produce the same effects in different circumstances. And yet, is it not the commonly received opinion that all men naturally are equally capable of judging; and are not men frequently the most dogmatical on those subjects that they are the least capable of understanding, and the most eager to refute those arguments the force of which nature has given them no faculties to appreciate? This may be accounted for by the fact that each person instinctively believes that which he himself perceives, whether his perceptions be correct or not: and the greater part of such belief is formed at a period during which our perceptions are likely to be incorrect from their incompleteness. Belief also being instinctive, is as readily extended to the *ideal* as to the *real*, to fancied relations of cause and effect as to true ones. Thus, when the judgment is not sufficiently strong to examine correctly the grounds upon which belief is founded, prejudice will come to its aid and cause a man to maintain his point in spite of reason,

harmless, and may represent the basis of a metaphysical Philosophy as fitly as any other words. But farther, and what is still stranger than such Idealism, according to these Kantian systems, the organs of the mind too, what is called the Understanding, are of a no less arbitrary, and, as it were, accidental character than those of the Body. Time and Space themselves are not external but internal entities: they have no outward existence, there is no Time and no Space *out* of the mind; they are mere *forms* of man's spiritual being, *laws* under which his thinking nature is constituted to act. This seems the hardest conclusion of all; but it is an important one with Kant; and is not given forth as a dogma, but carefully deduced in his *Critik der Reinen Vernunft* with great precision, and the strictest form of argument."—Carlyle's *Miscellanies*, vol. 2, p. 106.

and even contrary to it. But since all men think and feel and believe differently, what is to be the test of truth? We can have no other than experience. The record of the mode in which the majority of men are affected by the external world must be considered truth with respect to it. That which appears blue to the majority, must be said to be blue, although to some few who possess a peculiar development of the faculty that perceives colour, it may appear to be green or pink.

With regard to the truth of those propositions upon which experience does not directly bear,—the existence of a Deity—for example, the only test can be the relation of such propositions to those of which experience does inform us. And here it is that mankind fall into controversy and error; for while all agree with respect to those truths of which direct experience affords everyday proof, the evidence for those truths which require to be searched out by the reasoning powers, must appear valid or otherwise, as those reasoning powers are more or less efficient; so that what seems indubitably true to one may be considered improbable or even absurd by another who is more capable of sifting evidence.

That which Mr. Combe relates of a few individuals, will be found to apply to all mankind, viz., “That there is a tendency to believe *without examination*; and that an effort of philosophy is necessary to resist belief, instead of evidence being requisite to produce it.” The natural tendency of all minds is to credulity and not to scepticism, and it is necessary that it should be so, for “faith removes mountains.” Ignorance believes, but philosophy doubts and examines. Of that which

constitutes the belief of the great mass of mankind, one half, at least, may be shown to be erroneous. They believe in things and beings for the existence of which there is not the slightest evidence, and their minds are filled with imaginary relations of cause and effect which the experience of a life is insufficient to disprove or correct.\*

To searchers after truth, then, it is absolutely necessary that nothing be admitted which is not either a first truth, or founded upon a first truth. A single proposition believed without sufficient evidence, is dangerous to all truth; it becomes with us a first truth, upon which we build all kinds of erroneous conclusions. If we attempt to go beyond that to which our faculties are limited, if we attempt to reason independently of those first truths which it is the province of each faculty

\* "In contemplating the character of the eminent persons who appeared about this era, nothing is more interesting and instructive than to remark the astonishing combination, in the same minds of the highest intellectual endowments, with the most deplorable aberrations of the understanding; and even, in numberless instances, with the most childish superstitions of the multitude. Of this apparent inconsistency, Bodinus does not furnish a solitary example. The same remark may be extended, in a greater or less degree, to most of the other celebrated names hitherto mentioned. Melanchthon, as appears from his letters, was an interpreter of dreams, and a caster of nativities; and Luther seems to have seriously believed that he had himself frequently seen the *arch enemy* face to face, and held arguments with him on points of theology. Nor was the study of the severe sciences, on all occasions, an effectual remedy against such illusions of the imagination. The *sagacious* Kepler was an astrologer and a visionary; and his friend Tycho Brahe, the *Prince of Astronomers*, kept an idiot in his service, to whose prophecies he listened as revelations from above."—Stewart's Dissertations, Encyc. Brit., p. 29.

to furnish, we immediately fall into absurdities and contradictions.

For instance, the term "infinite," used so much by theologians, is usually employed to designate that which is unlimited, boundless, to which nothing can be added or taken away. But this definition consists of words without meaning, for our faculties give us no knowledge of that which is boundless; and in reasoning upon it we necessarily plunge into obscurity. Thus, concerning "infinite" space, if this planetary system were to be deducted from the universe, we cannot suppose that the universe would be less infinite than it was before; therefore, a part is as great as the whole.

So of Infinite Duration or Immortality, as applied to beings who have begun to be: in consequence of this beginning of existence they can never be said to live for more than *half an Eternity*: therefore that which is infinite is capable of being halved.

Again, the doctrine of Infinite Divisibility implies the same absurdity and contradiction. "Everything," as Hume says, "capable of being infinitely divided contains an infinite number of parts; otherwise the division would be stopped short by the indivisible parts, which we should immediately arrive at. Finite extension must, in this case, suppose an infinite number of parts."

Upon speculative points like these, theory upon theory has been formed, and mankind have been engaged in perpetual controversy, and will be so to the end of time, unless, by a close analysis of the powers of the mind, showing the relation that has been established between us and the external world, the boundary of our possible knowledge be determined. With the

help of an analysis like this, which will acquaint us with each intellectual faculty and its function, we shall be in no danger of wasting our powers in the vain attempt to overstep this boundary: we shall possess a standard by which first truths may be determined—the want of which has led to the unwise extension of them by one party, and the equally unwise limitation of them by others, producing thereby endless errors and uncertainty respecting that science which of all others ought to be the most certain, as in it are involved the highest interests of mankind.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ON THE CONNEXION OF THE MIND WITH ORGANIZATION.

MANY important deductions result from our knowledge of the connexion between the Mind and Brain; and many facts there are now on record that point to general principles yet to be discovered, that, in all probability, are of equal, if not of much greater moment than those with which we are now acquainted.

One of the most important of the practical principles derivable from the knowledge of this connexion is, that all the physical laws that tend to increase the health of the body generally, and of the brain as a part of its organization, must tend also to increase the health and strength of the mind. It is found, by experience, that, as the muscles of the body become larger and stronger by use, so the brain increases in activity and size by judicious exercise—and with it the mental powers. And, if further investigation should lead to the complete establishment of the fact that peculiar dispositions and tendencies of the mind, as well as general bodily constitution, are transmitted from parents to offspring, we may hope to possess a certain, efficient, practical rule, by which, in the course of generations, the race may be improved; those mental faculties be made to predominate which lead to happiness, and those kept within proper bounds which, uncontrolled, create misery and confusion.

It is also known that activity and power of mind depend greatly upon quality of brain. Some persons are distinguished for great retentiveness of memory, for remembering everything that they hear and read. Sir Walter Scott was an example of this. Others have little or no power of retention, and can scarcely remember their own names. Again, some are capable of great mental endurance, whilst others sink under the slightest exertion; some are active, others slow: all of which differences are dependent, not so much upon organization, as upon quality of brain. It may perhaps be discovered ere long, now that so many minds are turned to the subject, what it is that characterizes these varieties; the knowledge of which might be made greatly serviceable in the improvement of the powers of the mind.

Of the action of the mind upon the body, and the body upon the mind, and of the causes and modes of this mutual influence, many very curious facts have been registered, but our present knowledge is insufficient to enable us to generalize them and turn them to any practical account.

The following are some of these facts; detailed, not for the purpose of drawing inferences from them, or as being necessarily connected, but because they appear to point to some important principles yet to be discovered.

“Professor Ehrenberg asserts that by means of the microscope he has discovered the fibres of the encephalon, spinal chord, and nerves, to be tubular, (i. e.) that they do not consist of solid fibres, but of parallel or fasciculated tubes, dilated at intervals, or jointed, and from  $\frac{1}{28}$  to  $\frac{1}{3000}$  of a line in diameter. Also, that they contain a perfectly transparent tenacious fluid,

never visibly globular, the *liquor nervens*, which differs from the *nervens medulla* as the chyle does from blood."\*

"When the pneumo-gastric or chief nerve of the stomach is tied or cut through, and its end separated so as to interrupt the flow of nervous energy towards that organ, digestion is either entirely arrested or greatly impaired. \* \* \* As, however, the direction of a current of galvanism to the cut end of the nerve, next the stomach, suffices to re-establish digestion after that process has been suspended by the interruption of the nervous influence consequent on its division, we may reasonably infer that, in the healthy state, the nerve merely transmits to the stomach a stimulus or energy generated for the purpose either in the brain or in the spinal marrow and ganglia—that the nerve, in short, acts only as a conductor, and does not originate the influence which it evidently imparts."†

This nervous energy, however generated, or from whatever source derived, seems equally essential to thinking and feeling as to digestion; for whenever it is drawn off to assist in digestion, or other mere bodily offices, the power of thinking and feeling is proportionally decreased. Deep study and digestion mutually impede each other. So, if the nervous energy is spent in bodily exercise, great mental activity is impossible.

The activity of one mental organ is quieted by calling another into exercise; so also deep study or great activity of the anterior lobe of the brain decreases the energy of that portion of it connected with the feelings.

\* Dr. Elliotson's Human Physiology, p. 466.

† Dr. A. Combe on Digestion and Dietetics, pp. 77, 79.

There are cases in which this nervous energy appears to be deranged, as in epilepsy; or in which it seems to be increased almost without limit, as in the paroxysms of passion or madness, or in the temporary excitement occasioned by the use of stimulating drinks; during which time persons naturally weak, seem to acquire a supernatural strength, so as often to require the force of several strong men to restrain them.

Each organ of Propensity and Sentiment appears to exercise its peculiar influence upon the body, and to have its particular set of muscles attached to it. This influence produces what is called the natural language of the faculty; appearing when it is strongly marked, not only on the countenance, but throughout the whole person. Who is not more or less acquainted with the impress of Benevolence, of Veneration, Firmness, Conscientiousness, Hope, Wonder, Self-Esteem, Love of Approbation, Combativeness, Cautiousness? This natural language of the faculties gives rise to a great variety of important mental phenomena; for each feeling has not only a strong influence over most of the bodily functions, but is also, when manifested in this way, intelligible to others, and has the power of calling into activity the same feeling in them: thus, harshness produces harshness, and kindness kindness; it is in this way that good or bad feelings may be stimulated, and this kind of sympathy become an important element in moral training. There is a manifest difference in the influence of the speaker who feels forcibly what he is expressing, and who therefore throws the natural language of that feeling into his manner, and the one who delivers the same speech heartlessly, and without feeling his subject.

"True sympathy," says Mr. Combe, "arises from the natural language of any active feeling exciting the same feeling in another, *antecedently to any knowledge of what excited it in the person principally concerned* ; and this is sufficient to account for the origin of panics in battles and in mobs, and for the electric rapidity with which passions of every kind pervade and agitate the minds of assembled multitudes." This cause, however, does not appear to be sufficient to account for the epidemical mental diseases that sometimes pervade particular countries and districts, manifesting themselves by suicide, tumults, riots, acts of violence, and fanaticism.

The nerves connected with the brain are everywhere distributed over the body with the minutest care, and are also intimately connected with each other throughout the whole system. Every impression occurring at the extremity of the system is instantaneously propagated to its centre ; and for every action of the mind there is a corresponding action outwards in the organ intended to administer to its gratification. If this intimate connexion and communication be interfered with, by being either checked or suspended, some particular form of disease is the consequence. It is with respect to these kinds of diseases that miraculous cures are often said to be performed ; for any strong mental emotion that shall send the nervous current through the system with more than ordinary force, will frequently restore the nervous communication that has been impeded, and cure the disease consequent upon it. Implicit belief, itself a strong feeling, is necessary to call the other faculties into the simultaneous action required to produce a strong mental emotion ; faith,

therefore, is the first thing necessary ; nothing can be done, in such cases, without it. If we observe even the ordinary effects of the mind upon the body, we must feel convinced that the combined action of some of our strongest feelings, in such extraordinary cases, is sufficient to produce the so-called miraculous cures on record. We see how readily tears or blushing are produced by the slightest mental emotion : we witness the ordinary effects of grief in deranging the system, and the opposite effect of joy and a happy state of mind in promoting a cure. In fact, no emotion takes place in the mind without some temporary effect upon the bodily system ; which ordinarily passes unobserved from the want of the recognition of the strict communication that exists between the mind and the body.

Amongst the most extraordinary of the phenomena connected with this subject, are undoubtedly "sleep-waking" and "sleep-walking,"—whether or not we give implicit credence to the common accounts of the wonders performed in these states, such as reading, writing, correcting omissions, when asleep, or in the dark, or with the eyes shut or carefully bandaged.

Many of the phenomena of Animal Magnetism, or Mesmerism, are attested by such high authority as to leave no room for doubt as to their general truth. We quote the following passage from Dr. Elliotson :—  
" 'Among all the phenomena,' says Professor Dugald Stewart, 'to which the subject of imitation has led our attention, none are, perhaps, so wonderful as those which have been recently brought to light, in consequence of the philosophical inquiries occasioned by the medical pretensions of Mesmer and his associates.

That these pretensions involved much of ignorance, or of imposture, or both, in their author, has, I think, been fully demonstrated in the very able report of the French academicians; but does it follow from this that the *facts* witnessed and authenticated by those academicians should share in the disgrace incurred by the empirics who disguised or misrepresented them? For my own part, it appears to me that the general conclusions established by Mesmer's practice, with respect to the physical effects of the principle of imagination, (more particularly in cases where they co-operated together,) are incomparably more curious than if he had actually demonstrated the existence of his boasted science: nor can I see any good reason why a physician, who admits the efficacy of the *moral* agents employed by Mesmer, should, in the exercise of his profession, scruple to copy whatever processes are necessary for subjecting them to his command, any more than that he should hesitate about employing a new physical agent, such as electricity or galvanism.'"

"The result of Gall's investigation was this:—  
 'Neither we, nor any other dispassionate observers, who have been present at the famous experiments of which such wonderful accounts have been given, have witnessed anything supernatural or contrary to nature: we ought therefore to abandon the belief of the metamorphosis of nerves, (the performance of the function of one nerve by another,) to those who are better organised for the marvellous than ourselves. \* \*  
 \* \* \* How often in intoxication, hysterical and hypochondriacal attacks, convulsions, fever, insanity, under violent emotions, after long fasting, through the effect of such poisons as opium, hemlock, bella-donna, are

we not, in some measure, transformed into perfectly different beings, for instance, into poets, actors, &c.?' 'Just as in dreaming, the thoughts frequently have more delicacy, and the sensations are more acute, and we can hear and answer; just as in ordinary somnambulism we can rise, walk, see with our eyes open, touch with the hands, &c.' 'We acknowledge a fluid which has an especial affinity with the nervous system, which can emanate from an individual, pass into another, and accumulate, in virtue of particular affinities, more in certain parts than in others.' 'We admit the existence of a fluid, the subtraction of which lessens, and the accumulation augments, the power of the nerves; which places one part of the nervous system in repose, and heightens the activity of another; which, therefore, may produce an artificial somnambulism.' "

"A rigid mathematician, La Place, observes, that 'of all the instruments which we can employ, in order to enable us to discover the imperceptible agents of nature, the nerves are the most sensible, especially when their sensibility is exalted by particular causes. It is by means of them that we have discovered the slight electricity which is developed by the contact of two heterogeneous metals. The singular phenomena which result from the extreme sensibility of the nerves in particular individuals have given birth to various opinions relative to the existence of a new agent, which has been denominated animal magnetism, to the action of the common magnetism, to the influence of the sun and moon in some nervous affections, and, lastly, to the impressions which may be experienced from the proximity of the metals, or of a running water. It is natural to suppose that the action of these causes is

very feeble, and that it may easily be disturbed by accidental circumstances ; but because, in some cases, it has not been manifested at all, we are not to conclude it has no existence. We are so far from being acquainted with all the agents of nature, and their different modes of action, that it would be quite unphilosophical to deny the existence of the phenomena, merely because they are inexplicable in the present state of our knowledge.' ”

“ Cuvier fully admits Mesmerism :—‘ We must confess that it is very difficult, in the experiments which have for their object the action which the nervous system of two different individuals can exercise, one upon another, to distinguish the effect of the imagination of the individual, upon whom the experiment is tried, from the physical result produced by the person who acts upon him. The effects, however, on persons ignorant of the agency, and upon individuals whom the operation itself has deprived of consciousness, and those which animals present, do not permit us to doubt that the proximity of two animated bodies in certain positions, combined with certain movements, have a real effect, independently of all participation of the fancy. It appears also clearly that these effects arise from some nervous communication which is established between their nervous systems.’ ”

“ I have no hesitation in declaring my conviction that the facts of Mesmerism which I admit, because they are not contrary to established morbid phenomena, result from a specific power. Even if they are sometimes unreal and feigned, and, when real, are sometimes the result of emotion,—of imagination, to use common language ; but that they may be real and independent of

all imagination, I have seen quite sufficient to convince me. \* \* \* To describe the phenomena which I have witnessed to emotion and fancy, to suppose collusion and deception would be absurd. They must be ascribed to a peculiar power; to a power acting, I have no doubt, constantly in all living things, vegetable and animal, but shown in a peculiar manner by the processes of Mesmerism. I have witnessed its power at least three times a week for two months; and should despise myself if I hesitated to declare my decided conviction of the truth of Mesmerism. I am willing to believe that a sleep-waker may prophesy morbid changes in himself with accuracy, as the boy mentioned by Gall predicted the termination of his fit if his friends would lead him into the garden, and the girl mentioned by Lord Monboddo, predicted the cessation of her disease with equal accuracy. \* \* \* But I have never witnessed more than what, it is certain, takes place in health and disease. I have seen persons sent to sleep, I have felt and heard others declare they had tingling, and heard some declare they had various other sensations and pains, I have seen twitchings, convulsions, and spastic contractions of muscles, loss of power of muscle, and the most profound coma; and I have seen these evidently and instantly removed by the process. I have seen one sense restored in the coma by the process, so that the person was insensible in taste, smell, sight, and yet heard and answered questions well. I have seen paroxysms of sleep-waking and ecstatic delirium, which had been originally induced by its disturbance of a system already epileptic, put an end to evidently, and in general quickly, by Mesmerism. But I have not witnessed persons seeing through walls

or pasteboard, nor tasting or smelling with the epigastrium or fingers; nor speaking or understanding languages they had never learnt; nor telling the circumstances past, present, and to come, of persons they had never heard of before. \* \* \* No marvel has yet presented itself in my experience: nor has any good been yet effected in the diseases of my patients; but the perfect coma induced in some of them would be an inestimable blessing in the case of a surgical operation, which I am positive might have been performed without the slightest sensation on some of the female patients, exactly as took place at the Hotel-Dieu, where a cancerous breast was removed in Mesmeric coma from a poor woman, without her knowledge. I have no doubt that I shall in time see all the established phenomena of sleep-waking,—writing, reading, and doing endless things, even better than in the waking state. But, before I see, I cannot believe more.”\*

So much does Dr. Elliotson profess to believe, and he seems careful to admit no more than facts appear to warrant. Others, however, go much farther; thus, Walther, the Professor at Landshut, quoted by Gall, “for a description of the stages of Mesmerism, in the highest of which (clairvoyance,) time and space no longer present obstacles to the penetration of the magnetised,” ‘who sees as distinctly into the interior of the magnetiser’s body as into his own,’ the reason of which is, that, ‘all the nervous system is an identity and a totality—a pure transparence without cloud, an infinite expansion without bounds or obstacles, such is universal sense;’ and as, ‘in the waking state the

\* Human Physiology, p. 677, et seq.

soul is more closely and intimately united with the body;' and 'natural sleep is a more intimate communication of our soul with the universal soul of the world; so in magnetic sleep our soul is united in the most intimate manner with the soul of the world and with the body, and with the latter not by means of the nervous system only, but immediately in all its parts and members, so that life is no longer a particularity, but original life.' " \*

That Mesmerism *may* be true in all its stages, we think can scarcely be disputed by those who have followed us in our investigation into the present extent of our knowledge of both mind and matter; but that the evidence in favour of its latter stages is not yet sufficiently powerful to overbalance the *a priori* high improbability of their truth, is, we think, equally certain. But the phenomena alluded to in this chapter, relating both to animal magnetism, and to sympathy, in its various modes of manifestation, seem all to emanate from one source, and to point to some nervous agent, some general power, or perhaps some fluid, which, if it exist at all, must perform a most important part in the human constitution; the discovery of which will be a vast step gained towards the knowledge of all the influences that affect and rule over the mind of man.

\* Elliotson's Human Physiology, p. 674.

## CHAPTER V.

### MATERIALISM, CONSCIOUSNESS, IDENTITY, ASSOCIATION.

WITH reference to the truths called "first truths," although we must agree with Reid and Brown in placing them at the foundation of all *practical* reasoning and belief, it will be subsequently shown that they are not immutable truths, but merely instinctive indications given us for our guidance under the circumstances in which we are placed upon this earth, informing us not of the real nature of anything, but merely of the temporal relation between external things and beings possessing our particular organization: for as we have faculties that test the evidence of the senses, so the evidence of one intellectual faculty, or class of faculties, may be tested by others in the same mind, proving that "Pure Reason" and "Practical Reason," are sometimes at variance.

**MATERIALISM.** Matter is known to us only as the cause of certain sensations which we call by various names, as solidity, extension, &c., but whether this cause be material or immaterial, we have no means of determining.

The *Soul*, (if the term mean anything,) is the principle of sensation, which, down to the lowest animal in the scale of creation, is found to depend upon the nervous system; the nervous system depending upon the vital principle, and the vital principle upon organization.

The *Mind*, as we have previously stated, is only the aggregate of all the sensations of which a being is conscious ; individuality and unity being given to it by a form of our own intelligence. What we term Perception, Conception, Memory, Imagination, Judgment, are only diversified sensations, different in their degree of intensity and in their character to the feelings resulting from the action of the Propensities and Sentiments, but still mere sensations. We are not justified in designating the mind as the *cause* of sensations ; for of cause we know nothing but as the invariable antecedent, and the invariable antecedent of these sensations is, as far as we have yet discovered, the action of the brain. Nor are we justified in saying that the Mind is material, because that would be equivalent to saying that Sensation is material, which would be to make the cause and effect the same. All facts, however, justify us in saying that Sensation is caused by that which we call material, in the only sense in which we can use the term cause.

The fact that the properties of Matter are conceived of differently by different individuals, according to their own particular organization or internal forms of thought, is a clear proof that the only connexion between the mind and the real constitution of objects, is one of mere relation ; whence it follows that the question of Materialism is an idle question, and one of mere words ; it being impossible for man to separate the qualities really belonging to an object, from such qualities as modified by the forms and modes of his own intelligence.

CONSCIOUSNESS, as the term is used by one class of writers, the metaphysicians, means nothing more than

sensibility to present feelings and ideas ; to feel a sensation and to be conscious of it, being, according to them, synonymous. "There are not," Dr. Thomas Brown observes, "sensations, thoughts, passions, and also consciousness, any<sup>a</sup> more than there is quadruped or animal as a separate being, to be added to the wolves, tigers, elephants, and other living creatures, which we include under these terms."

Again, Mill says, "It was of great importance for the purpose of naming, that we should not only have names to distinguish the different classes of our feelings, but also a name applicable equally to all those classes. This purpose is answered by the concrete term Conscious ; and the abstract of it, Consciousness. Thus if we are in any way sentient ; that is, have any of the feelings whatever of a living creature ; the word Conscious is applicable to the feeler, and Consciousness to the feeling : that is to say, the words are *generical marks*, under which all the names of the subordinate classes of the feelings of a sentient creature are included. When I smell a rose, I am conscious ; when I have the idea of a fire, I am conscious ; when I remember, I am conscious ; when I reason, and when I believe, I am conscious ; but believing and being conscious of belief, are not two things, they are the same thing ; though this same thing I can name, at one time without the aid of the generical mark, while at another time it suits me to employ the generical mark."\*

In the sense in which the term Consciousness is used by these writers, it is evidently common to all sensitive

\* Mill's Analysis, vol. 1, p. 172.

existence, and is in fact equivalent to that which we have hitherto denominated "Sensation."

But this signification is not the one that the generality of mankind attach to the term, when they say that they are conscious of the operations of their own minds. With them, to have an idea, and to be conscious of the idea, are different things; such kind of consciousness implying reflection, and being the action of one part of the mind upon the other.

The phrenological definition of this term, would appear, therefore, to be the most correct. "Consciousness," says Mr. Combe, "means the knowledge which the mind has of its own existence and operations."\* In this sense, Consciousness belongs to man alone; for though the brutes possess feelings and ideas—though they are endowed with perception, conception, memory, and a kind of judgment, yet there is not the slightest evidence that they are conscious of such states of mind; they seem to experience mere trains of sensations, and to be impelled by them to action, without having any idea of their existence.

The question has often and naturally arisen, how is it that with a plurality of organs, and each of them double, Consciousness is invariably single; so that we are never conscious of more than one feeling or idea at the same time?

The answer is simple, viz., that however great may be the variety of feelings and ideas occurring in the mind simultaneously, they make but one *sensation*. A compound sensation it may be called, because composed of other sensations which may be distinguished

\* System of Phrenology, p. 647.

separately when occurring consecutively, but not the less a simple and indivisible sensation at the moment of our being conscious of it; in the same way that a musical chord is not the less a single sound, because the notes of which it is composed may be struck successively, each producing a separate sound.

But it has been objected, that the mind has, in fact, the power of taking cognizance at the same moment, of the component parts of its compound sensations; for instance, that when, in a band of music, the different instruments combined make but one sound, a practised ear will listen to two or three of the instruments separately; but if this process of listening be carefully analysed, it will be found that the ear merely follows the different instruments one after another, so rapidly, that the idea of succession is lost, and the separate acts of attention appear simultaneous.

The notion of the simplicity and indivisibility of the mind itself seems to have originated from the observation of this law of our nature, viz., that more than one feeling or idea cannot exist simultaneously in the same mind, but, of whatever organs they may be the produce, they blend and make but one sensation.

**IDENTITY.** It has been previously explained that all our knowledge must be derived from the instinctive indications of our Intellectual Faculties, which indications must be admitted as first truths in reasoning on all practical subjects, although they are not intended to inform us of the real nature of things, but merely of the relation established between ourselves and the external world. Some of our faculties, our reasoning powers, for instance, are capable of passing judgment upon the other organs as to whether their indications

be correct or not, and they suffice, in several instances, to show that what some of our faculties would represent to us as real existences, have no place but in our own minds. Thus one of our faculties, Individuality, gives us the idea of individual existences, but reason suggests to us that if we could view creation as it is, and as a whole, it would no longer appear to us as composed of individual parts, of independent existences, but as one great mass of matter and sensation; each atom of the former, and each diversified form of the latter : o inseparably connected with all the rest, that nothing could with propriety be called individual but the universe itself.\*

But it seems to be necessary to our present mode of existence, not only that we should have the power of individualizing, but that we should be able to attach a certain idea of *sameness* to individual existences, so that what appeared to be an individual yesterday seems to be that self-same individual, and no other, to-day, and will continue to be so. Without this sense of Identity, the world would seem but an assemblage of flitting phantoms, and all would be confusion and chaos; but that it is merely a feeling given to us for wise purposes, there being nothing answering to it in reality, our *reasoning powers would render probable*. Philosophically speaking, nothing with which we are acquainted remains the same for two seconds together. The atoms of which bodies are composed are in strict union with the atmosphere, and are continually blending their particles with everything around them. Organized bodies are perpetually changing their structure

\* See Individuality, chapter 2, *Intellectual Faculties*.

by the vital processes of waste and reproduction ; and if the mind continued the same for any perceptible time, we should lose all consciousness of its existence ; for it is only by its successive changes that it is cognizable to us at all. No idea or feeling of the mind can even be said really to be repeated, for whatever may be the character of memory, it never presents ideas, in every respect, as they at first occurred ; either they differ in intensity or in their association with other ideas. So that, in fact, at no two perceptible periods, of an individual's existence, is the mind strictly the same.

What is it that constitutes the sameness between the infant and the old man—between a person when possessing sound health and vigorous intellect, and when weakened in mind and body by disease ? How is it, that although we perceive the process of change continually going on in ourselves throughout our whole system, so that from one important period of our lives to another we seem to be altered beings ; yet still the feeling of Identity clings to us ? Whence we know not—unless we believe it to proceed from a principle of our nature ; to be the result of an intuitive or instinctive action of faculties, indications of which must always be admitted as the grounds of all practical reasoning, and taken for granted as *they cannot be tested*.

The belief that we are the same persons throughout our whole existence, is commonly adduced as an evidence of the fact, and much ingenuity has been displayed in its explanation. Brown says that atoms are truly identical, and all the change that takes place is change of state ; and that this analogy may be carried to the mind, the mind being, like ultimate atoms, simple

and indivisible. But both these propositions are mere assumptions, as we have no faculties that can inform us concerning atoms in their ultimate state, or even whether such atoms have any existence; and with reference to the mind's being simple and indivisible, the arguments that would prove it to be so, would also prove each separate thought and feeling to be simple and indivisible, and consequently indestructible.

It is clear, however, that whatever our reasoning powers may tell us with respect to the instinctive action of our faculties, we still must put implicit faith in their indications, and since it is necessary for us to believe that there are individual existences, and that they possess identity, it is not put within the power of the strongest intellect to shake this belief as regards practice, whatever it may do in respect to theory.

ASSOCIATION. Much has been commonly attributed to Association, which an intimate knowledge of the primitive faculties of the mind proves, in no way, to belong to it. Feelings and "new principles of action," have been supposed to be formed by it. The observation of the fact that the Intellectual Faculties are necessary for the guidance of the feelings, for their direction in action, may have generated this error. Our thoughts have also been supposed to follow each other in an established order, and metaphysicians have endeavoured to base education upon general laws of such associations. But so great is the diversity in minds that such general laws will never be discovered, and the causes that determine a train of thought, a succession of ideas in one individual, can seldom, if ever, be applicable to another. But though the importance of the principle of Association has been,

in some cases, misunderstood, it cannot be over-estimated. We have seen that it is upon a very narrow stratum of ideas that the external world, as it appears to us, is built; the ideas derived directly from the senses, such as sounds, smells, tastes, and touch, and from the organs of some of the perceptive faculties, are probably all that the other mental faculties have to act upon to create within us the whole order and beauty of nature, or the whole picture of the world as it appears to us. Any defect in the power of association of ideas would disturb the whole of this harmony.

But it is the association of feelings with ideas to which the highest importance attaches. The propensities and sentiments being mere blind impulses, and depending upon the intellectual faculties for their proper direction, every variety of erroneous association between the intellect and feelings is formed in early life, before the reason has been taught, or is capable of judging for itself of the correctness of the connexion. Such associations are common to all the feelings, and until they can be broken, tend on all occasions to mislead the judgment. One of the most common illustrations, and one familiar to every one, is the association so frequently formed between darkness and danger. Stories of ghosts and other frightful absurdities, are related to children, until they fear to be left alone in the dark. As they grow older they may reason very correctly upon the groundlessness of such fears, but darkness does not the less excite their feeling of Cautiousness. So strong is the association in some cases, that there are instances on record of physically and morally brave persons who, after being in twenty battles without being conscious of fear, have yet

dreaded to be left in the dark. There is a great variety of objects to which the same feeling may be as erroneously attached, and there are few persons that have not some antipathies, compounded of hatred and fear, that have no better foundation. "Some persons have what is called an antipathy to a spider, a toad, or a cat. These feelings generally originate in some early fright. The idea of danger has been, on some occasions, intensely excited along with the touch or sight of the animal, and hence the association so strongly formed that it cannot be dissolved. The sensation, in spite of them, excites the idea and produces the uneasiness which the idea imparts."\*

False associations with the feeling of Conscientiousness are still more injurious in their tendency. This feeling, as we have seen, gives us no knowledge of what is right or wrong, but merely approves the right, and gives the disposition to act in accordance, when it is known to us what is right. In early childhood, before the judgment is active, it must be associated with what the tone of society approves; and whether the standard of morality be high or low, it is not the less difficult to break the association in after-life, and to make us *feel* that to be wrong, which we have been early taught to regard as right.

This law of the mind has been the great prop of superstition in all countries and ages; for the religious feelings, like all the others, are capable of any direction. The feeling of veneration, which gives the disposition

\* Mill, vol. I, p. 75.

There can be little doubt that such erroneous associations do not always originate with the individual, but that the state of the brain, on which they depend, is transmissible to offspring.

to venerate and respect, to worship and adore whatever we may be taught to consider worthy of such sentiments, may be associated equally in the infant mind, with a wooden idol, the sun, the moon, an animal, a prophet, a saint, a crucifix, or the God of the universe. Accordingly, there is scarcely anything that some superstition has not made to usurp the place of the Most High in the minds of the ignorant and deluded. "He in whom veneration is powerful," says Mr. Combe, "and to whom the image of a saint has been from infancy presented as an object to be venerated, experiences an instantaneous and involuntary emotion of veneration every time the image is presented to him, or a conception of it formed; because it is now the sign which excites in him that emotion, altogether independently of reflection. Until we can break this association, and prevent the conception of the image from operating as a sign to excite the faculty of veneration, we shall never succeed in bringing his understanding to examine the real attributes of the object itself, and to perceive its want of every quality that ought justly to be venerated." The same law applying, not only to the image of a saint, but to all creeds and dogmas, each sect of religionists have always shown themselves anxious to take advantage of it, by impressing the minds of the young with the doctrines of their particular persuasion, and associating their religious feelings with them, before the feebly-developed reasoning power is capable of forming a judgment for itself. Veneration, Hope, and Wonder, jointly compose the religious feelings, and in this way, may be made to take any direction; that is, a child may be taught to worship anything, however unworthy;

to hope for anything, however unreasonable ; and to believe anything, however monstrously absurd. Such associations, once formed, are not easily broken, and until they are, a person is disqualified from forming a philosophical examination of the grounds of his belief. Who does not see that such is the mode in which religious belief is generally propagated in all countries ; that people are made to *feel* and not to *reason* upon the subject, and that such feelings constitute with each nation, whether Chinese, Hindoo, Mahometan, or Christian, the *internal evidence* for each particular religion, whether true or false ? Feeling, therefore, can never be adduced as a proof of the truth of any religion ; since this *internal evidence* is professed alike by the advocates of each nation's particular creed.

The law of association also explains another mental phenomenon, viz., sudden conversion, as it commonly takes place. A strong religious impression has been produced in childhood ; the religious feelings, with Cautionness, have been associated with particular creeds, with particular interpretations and passages of Scripture, but circumstances have, for a time, overcome those impressions, and such feelings have given place to others. The animal propensities have probably assumed the ascendancy ; but the early association has not been broken, any more than the association of fear with darkness is broken, because forgotten in the day time. An allusion to the formerly-cherished creed—a passage of Scripture—a single word—is often sufficient to bring back these early impressions with redoubled force ; and alternate fits of sorrow and remorse for former backslidings, and of joy from the natural rebound of the feelings from a state of deep depression,

are the consequence. In most cases, however, the discarded worldly propensities will at times regain the ascendancy, which accounts for the frequent sinning and repenting during such states of feeling.

They who are ignorant of the natural mode of action of the mental powers, suppose that there is something supernatural in such phenomena ; but it will be found, upon investigation, that all cases of "conversion," and "religious experiences," are strictly in accordance with the general laws of mind, and have no title to be classed amongst things miraculous. This knowledge of the mental constitution seems to be absolutely necessary to rescue some minds, and those, too, naturally strong ones, from the depths of superstition, and to dispossess them of the belief that they are the instruments of divine and spiritual influences. Thus, in cases where the religious feelings have been cultivated to the exclusion of others, and where means have been taken to keep them predominant by the continued and invariable repetition of devotional exercises, by "coming out of the world," and by constant attendance upon public religious services—the judgment, meanwhile, being systematically excluded from having any share in their regulation—the high enjoyment resulting from the natural exercise of such feelings is imagined to be of a supernatural character. And when these feelings, proceeding principally from Veneration, Hope, and Wonder, are internally active, without any apparent external stimulant ; when strong faith, brilliant hopes of eternal felicity, and a feeling of self-abasement take possession of the mind, it is not to be wondered at that the conviction is irresistible that such aspirations proceed from more than natural causes, and

that the Spirit of the Most High possesses the heart. And so, in truth, it does, and ever does ; but God "acts not by partial, but by general laws."

It is thus that each religion has its "internal evidences," which, being planted in the inmost recesses of the heart, render any external evidence unnecessary ; and, in fact, are capable of resisting it, and of supporting any amount of positive contradictions and absurdities.

Happiness depends upon each faculty being directed to its proper object ; everything, therefore, that tends to misdirect the faculties, and cause them to form erroneous associations, deducts from the sum of happiness of which we are capable ; and when we observe how small the amount of happiness hitherto possessed by mankind, in comparison with their capacity for it, the urgent want is evident of efficient rules for the guidance of the faculties. In the mass of the people at the present time, the higher faculties of human nature seem either to be cramped and perverted by ignorance and hurtful prejudices, or else completely overruled by the predominance of the selfish instincts ; and so long as there are classes of men whose calling and position in society depend upon the ignorance of the people, and who have the means of perpetuating this ignorance, it cannot well be otherwise. The best feelings of the multitude are carefully associated with those principles and prejudices which shall most favour the temporal interests of these classes ; and the means of forming more correct opinions are sedulously denied : it thus frequently happens that the forms and institutions of society for which the multitude have the most veneration, connected either with politics or religion, are

those which are the most opposed to their own real interests. That the interest of Class has thus been able to supplant the interest of the many, is owing principally to the influence of prevailing superstition, and to the want of recognized laws for the production of happiness, based upon a correct knowledge of the Constitution of Man.

## PART II.

### MORAL SCIENCE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### PHILOSOPHICAL NECESSITY.\*

THIS subject has generally been considered as one of unusual difficulty, for the proper treatment of which human reason is scarcely adequate. But this view of it arises, not so much from any real abstruseness in the question itself, as from the apparent opposition which the doctrine offers to established opinions, and even to common sense itself. Many, therefore, and perhaps the greater number of those who have had their attention called to it, and who have not been able to resist the evidence upon which it stands, have found it necessary to admit the opposite doctrine of freedom of will also; the incompatibility of the two, although allowed to be somewhat a mystery, being a less difficulty with them than the giving up of many pre-established opinions.

There is, perhaps no proposition that admits of stronger proof, or that can be more logically, if not mathematically, demonstrated; but its supposed ten-

\* The substance of this Chapter has been already published in a controversial form.

dency has mystified an otherwise plain question. Many have admitted and proved the doctrine of philosophical necessity, to serve a sectarian purpose, who, when that object has been answered, have discarded it as of no farther use; as a mere abstraction, having no practical bearing upon any one of the important interests of mankind; and even of mischievous tendency, when permitted to escape from the closets of philosophers and to circulate amongst the vulgar. The author of "The Natural History of Enthusiasm," for instance, in his introductory Essay to Edwards' "Inquiry," considers the doctrine, the truth of which he appears not to deny, as useless when applied to questions of "common life, affecting the personal, social, and political conduct of mankind, or as applied to Theology and Christian doctrine, or to the physiology of man, or to the higher metaphysics." But that no truth is unimportant, still less pernicious, will scarcely be denied by those who love not darkness rather than light; and we think it may be shown that this doctrine, so far from being valueless to man in a practical sense, has a most important bearing on all his best interests, and is also fundamental to all just views of the Divine Government.

Of all those who have written upon the subject, Jonathan Edwards may be considered to have been the most successful in proving the doctrine of philosophical necessity. The following passages from the "Inquiry concerning Freedom of Will," contain the argument in its support, as stated by him:—

*"The argument from cause and effect.*

"Nothing comes to pass without a cause. What is self-existent, must be from Eternity, and must be un-

changeable ; but as to all things that *begin to be*, they are not self-existent, and therefore must have some foundation of their existence without themselves. That whatsoever begins to be, which before was not, must have a cause why it then begins to exist, seems to be the first dictate of the natural and common sense which God has implanted in the minds of all mankind, and the main foundation of all our reasonings about things past, present, and to come. If once this grand principle of common sense be given up, that what is not necessary in itself must have a cause—and we begin to maintain that things may come into existence, and begin to be, which heretofore have not been of themselves without any cause—all our means of ascending in our arguing from the creature to the Creator, and all our evidence of the being of God is cut off at one blow. In this case, we cannot prove that there is a God, either from the being of the world and the creatures in it, or from the manner of their being, their order, beauty, and use. Should we admit that things may come to pass without a cause, we should be without evidence of the existence of anything whatever but our own immediate, present, ideas and consciousness. For we have no way to prove anything else but by arguing from effects to causes ; from the ideas immediately in view, we argue other things not immediately in view ; from sensations now excited in us, we infer the existence of other things without us as the causes of these sensations : and from the existence of these things we argue other things, which they depend on as effects on causes. We infer the past existence of ourselves, or anything else, by memory : only as we argue that the ideas which are now in our mind, are the consequences of past ideas

and sensations. So if there is no absurdity or difficulty in supposing *one thing* to start out of non-existence into being, of itself, without a cause, then there is no absurdity or difficulty in supposing the same of millions of millions. For nothing, or no difficulty multiplied, still is nothing or no difficulty; nothing multiplied by nothing does not increase the sum.

“Now, according to the hypothesis of some, of the acts of the will coming to pass without a cause, it is the case in fact, that millions and millions of events are continually coming into existence, contingently without any cause or reason why they do so, all over the world, every day and every hour through all ages. So it is in a constant succession in every moral agent. This contingency, this effectual *no* cause is always ready at hand to produce this sort of effects, as long as the agent exists, and as often as he has occasion.

“If it were so, that things only of one kind, viz., acts of the will, seemed to come to pass of themselves, but those of this sort, in general, came into being thus; and it were an event that was continual and that happened in a course, wherever were capable subjects of such events, this very thing would demonstrate that there were some cause of them, which made such a difference between this event and others, and that they did not really happen contingently. For contingency is blind, and does not pick and choose for a particular sort of events. Nothing has no choice. This no-cause, which causes no existence, cannot cause the existence which comes to pass to be of one particular sort only, distinguished from all others.

“Some suppose that volition can arise without a cause, through the activity of the nature of the soul;

but I can conceive of nothing else that can be meant by the soul's having power to cause and determine its own volitions, as a being to whom God has given a power of action, but this, that God has given power to the soul, sometime, at least, to excite volitions at its pleasure, or according as it chooses. And this certainly supposes in all such cases, a choice preceding all volitions which are thus caused, even the first of them, which runs into an absurdity.

"A great argument for self-determining power is the supposed experience we universally have of an ability to determine our wills in cases wherein no prevailing motive is presented. The will (as is supposed) has its choice to make between two or more things that are perfectly equal in the view of the mind; and the will is apparently altogether indifferent; and yet we have no difficulty in coming to a choice; the will can instantly determine itself to one, by a sovereign power which it has over itself, without being moved by any preponderating inducement. The very supposition which is here made directly contradicts and overthrows itself. For the thing supposed wherein this grand argument consists, is, that among several things, the will actually chooses one before another, at the same time that it is perfectly indifferent, which is the very same thing as to say the mind has a preference at the same time that it has no preference.

"To suppose the will to act at all in a state of perfect indifference, either to determine itself, or to do anything else, is to assert that the mind chooses without choosing. To say that when it is indifferent it can do as it pleases, is to say that it can follow its pleasure, when it has no pleasure to follow. And, therefore, if

there be any difficulty in the instances of two cakes, or two eggs, &c.; concerning which, some authors suppose the mind in fact has a choice, and so in effect supposes that it has a preference, it as much concerns them to solve the difficulty, as it does those whom they oppose.

“It will always be among a number of objects in view, that one will prevail in the eye, or in idea, beyond others. When we have our eyes open in the clear sunshine many objects strike the eye at once, and innumerable images may be at once painted in it by the rays of light; but the attention of the mind is not equal to several of them at once; or if it be so, it does not continue so for any time. And so it is with respect to the ideas of the mind in general; several ideas are not in equal strength in the mind’s view and notice at once, or, at least, do not remain so for any sensible continuance. The involuntary changes in the succession of our ideas, though the cause may not be observed, have as much a cause as the changeable motion of the motes that float in the air, or the continual, infinitely various, successive changes of the unevennesses on the surface of the water, so, though the falling of the die be accidental to him that casts it, yet none will suppose that there is no cause why it falls as it does.

“Concerning liberty of will consisting in indifference, the very putting of the question is sufficient to show the absurdity of the affirmative answer; for how ridiculous would it be for any one to insist that the soul chooses one thing before another, when at the same time it is perfectly indifferent with respect to each! This is the same thing as to say the soul prefers one thing to another, at the very same time that it has no

preference. And should it be inquired whether volition is a thing that ever does, or can, come to pass contingently, it must be remembered that it has been already shown, that nothing can ever come to pass without a cause or reason why it exists in this manner rather than another; and the evidence of this has been particularly applied to the acts of the will. Now, if this be so, it will demonstratively follow, that the acts of the will are never contingent, or without necessity in the sense spoken of, inasmuch as those things which have a cause or reason of their existence must be *connected with their cause*.

“If liberty consist in that which Arminians suppose, viz., in the soul’s determining its own acts, having free opportunity, and being without all necessity: this is the same as to say, that liberty consists in the soul’s having power and opportunity to have what determinations of the will it pleases or chooses. And if the determination of the will and the last dictates of the understanding be the same thing, as Dr. Clarke affirms, then liberty consists in the mind’s having power to have what dictates of the understanding it pleases, having opportunity to choose its own dictates of understanding. But this is absurd; for it is to make the determination of choice prior to the dictate of the understanding and the ground of it, which cannot consist with the dictate of the understanding’s being the determination of choice itself.

“*The argument from Fore-knowledge.*

“Granting, as we certainly must do, that God has a certain and infallible prescience of the acts of the will of moral agents, I come now to show the consequence, to show how it follows from hence that these events

are necessary, with a necessity of connexion or consequence.

“In order to this, I would observe the following things. It is very evident, with regard to a thing whose existence is infallibly and indissolubly connected with something that already hath, or has had existence, the existence of that thing is necessary. Here may be noted; that in things that are past, their past existence is now necessary; having already made sure of existence, it is too late for any possibility of alteration in that respect, it is now impossible that it should be otherwise than true that that thing has existed.

“If there be any such thing as a divine fore-knowledge of the volition of free agents, that fore-knowledge, by the supposition, is a thing which already has, and long ago had, existence; and so, now its existence is necessary, it is now utterly impossible to be otherwise than that this fore-knowledge should be, or should have been.

“It is no less evident, that if there be a full, certain, and infallible fore-knowledge of the future existence of the volitions of moral agents, then there is a certain infallible and indissoluble connexion between those events and that fore-knowledge; and that, therefore, by the preceding observations, these events are necessary events, being infallibly and indissolubly connected with that, which has had existence already, and so is now necessary, and cannot but have been.

“That no future event can be certainly fore-known, whose existence is contingent, and without all necessity, may be proved thus: it is impossible for anything to be certainly known to any intellect without evidence. To suppose otherwise implies a contradiction; because,

for a thing to be certainly known to any understanding is for it to be evident to that understanding, and for a thing to be evident to any understanding, is the same thing as for that understanding to see evidence of it: but no understanding, created or uncreated, can see evidence where there is none. And, therefore, if there be any truth which is absolutely without evidence, that truth is absolutely unknowable, insomuch that it implies a contradiction to suppose that it is known.

“But if there be any future event whose existence is contingent, without all necessity, the future existence of the event is absolutely without evidence.

“To suppose the future volitions of moral agents not to be necessary events, or which is the same thing, events which it is not impossible but that they may not come to pass, and yet to suppose that God certainly foreknows them, and knows all things, is to suppose God's fore-knowledge to be inconsistent with itself. For, to say that God certainly, and without all conjecture, knows that a thing infallibly will be, which at the same time he knows to be so contingent that it may possibly not be, is to suppose his knowledge inconsistent with itself, or that one thing that he knows is utterly inconsistent with another thing that he knows. It is the same thing as to say, he knows a proposition to be of certain infallible truth, which he knows to be of contingent uncertain truth. If volitions are in themselves contingent events, without all necessity, then it is no argument of perfection of knowledge in any being to determine peremptorily that they will be; but on the contrary, an argument of ignorance and mistake; because, it would argue that he supposes that proposition to be certain, which in its nature, and all things

considered, is uncertain and contingent. To say in such a case, that God may have ways of knowing contingent events which we cannot conceive of, is ridiculous, as much as to say, that God may know contradictions to be true, for aught we know; or that he may know a thing to be certain, and at the same time know it not to be certain, though we cannot conceive how; because he has ways of knowing we cannot comprehend.

“There is as much of an impossibility but that the things which are infallibly foreknown should be, (or which is the same thing,) as great a necessity of their future existence as if the event were already written down, and was known and read, by all mankind through all preceding ages, and there was the most indissoluble and perfect connexion between the writing and the thing written. In such a case it would be as impossible the event should fail of existence, as if it had existed already; and a decree cannot make an event surer or more necessary than this.”

The argument from cause and effect we consider to be conclusive, although the connexion between antecedent and consequent, or cause and effect, be not considered as a necessary connexion, but one established and upheld for a particular purpose. The argument from foreknowledge would appear to be less satisfactory; for the idea of prescience not being derived from experience, our knowledge upon the subject cannot be of such a character as to admit of our drawing logical inferences from it.

We shall now proceed to a more practical elucidation of the subject.

The doctrine of necessity, in plain language,

means that a man could in no case have acted differently from the manner in which he did act, supposing the state of his mind, and the circumstances in which he was placed, to be the same ; which is merely saying, that the same causes would always produce the same effects. Men are prone to suppose that they could have done otherwise, because, in reviewing their conduct, its consequences—the experience resulting from it—are mixed up with the motives that decided them before, so that if they had to decide over again, different circumstances must be taken into the calculation. Suppose a case : A man has to decide upon some speculation in business ; his conduct is voluntary, that is, it is free from external compulsion, he is at liberty to do what he shall *will* to do ;—what is to determine his will ? Surely we need not consult Edwards to tell us that his *will* will be determined by the “greatest apparent good,” not, perhaps, in the opinion of other people, but in his own opinion at the moment. This good is the *motive* which governs his will.

To suppose that the man is not governed by motives, or even to suppose that he acts contrary to motives, does not make the action less necessary, for there must be a cause why he acts in one way rather than another, and the cause must be sufficient to produce the act ; for “Nothing comes to pass without a cause.”

But upon what will the motives that decide the will depend ? Upon the mental constitution of the individual, and upon the circumstances in which he is placed. If he has a strong sense of justice, he will consider whether what he is about to do is perfectly honest ; if he is a benevolent man, he will take care

to do nothing likely to injure his fellows, and so on with respect to all the natural feelings of which the mind consists; they will impel to action or restrain, according to their natural or acquired strength, and the direction they may have received from education. The intellectual faculties have reference to the circumstances which influence the determination of his will; they examine how far the speculation is likely to succeed, and the correctness of the judgment will depend upon the strength of the reasoning powers, the education they have received, and a more or less complete view of all the circumstances. All these motives to action are without his own control, and it will be found, upon a like examination, that every influence that has previously tended to make his mental constitution what it now is, and everything that produced the circumstances in which he is now placed, has been, in like manner, dependent upon causes over which he had no control.

In what, then, does the Liberty which man feels that he possesses, consist? Certainly not in the being able to act without motive, or contrary to the strongest motive; but in the wide field of action open to him, and in the almost infinite number of paths to the objects of his desires lying open to his choice. The brutes approach their objects directly, impelled by one or more simple instincts, while Reason offers to man a hundred different ways of approach, a vast variety of different means by which his aim can be accomplished; and he can suspend its pursuit until he finds the proper path, for he knows that if he take the wrong direction out of the many that she presents to him, pain and suffering will be the consequence of his error. Reason thus

calls into activity a great variety of feelings, and keeps up an endless succession of sensations. If man would eat, he is not confined to one or two simple articles of diet, but he can vary his food to suit his palate. Would he lay up store for a future day—his stock is not of one kind only, like that of the bee, nor is his warehouse, like hers, of one particular construction, however perfect; but this desire, in combination with others, gives rise to the diversified products of commerce and the arts. Would he train up his offspring—he does not act instinctively, but adapts his treatment to the requirements of the mental and bodily constitution of his child, excited by all the hopes and fears of parental solicitude, which reason suggests. But because his choice of any one mode of action is still determined by the strongest motive, this kind of liberty does not take man from under the governance of necessity.

That which has most mystified this subject, and made men think the doctrine of necessity contrary to common sense, or what they imagine to be intuitive evidence, is the supposition that it annihilates the *free agency* of man: they reason in this way—we feel that we have the power to do as we please; we are not obliged by necessity to do anything; we have the perfect control of our own actions; are we not then free agents? But true necessity is not opposed to that which is voluntary, but to that which is contingent. It is undoubtedly true, therefore, that man can always do as he pleases; but what he pleases to do will ever depend upon his mental constitution, (which is only another word for himself,) and the circumstances in which he is placed. This is no more than saying that God has given to

man, as he has to everything else which he has created, a definite constitution, and that he must act according to it. Locke says in his Essay, "As far as man has power to think or not to think, to move or not to move, *according to the preferences or direction of his own mind*, so far is a man free." Here the only liberty acknowledged is that of acting according to the internal mechanism of a man's mind. He says also, "The mind having in most cases, as is evident in experience, a power to suspend the execution and satisfaction of any of its desires, and so of all, one after another, is at liberty to consider the objects of them, examine them on all sides, and weigh them with others. In this lies the liberty a man has. He has the power to suspend the execution of this or that desire, as every one daily may experience in himself; this seems to me the source of all liberty. In this seems to consist that which is, as I think, improperly called free-will." But this power of suspension is quite consistent with the doctrine of necessity; for, if we delay the performance of any action, it must be because we have a motive for doing so, and that motive is the necessary cause.

Motive is to voluntary action in the moral world, what cause is to effect in the physical, and the order of nature is as fixed in the world of mind as of matter; for if the course of nature were not as fixed in the moral world as in the physical; if necessity did not regulate one as well as the other, man's reasoning power, which depends for its exercise upon the uniformity of events in both, would be of no use. If man could refuse to be governed by motives; if his conduct did not depend upon springs of action which could be calculated and relied upon—that is, if he were not the

agent of necessity, the superiority of his organization, which now raises him so eminently above the brute creation, would have availed him nothing. Reason is dependent for its exercise upon experience, and experience is nothing more than the knowledge of the invariable order of nature, of the relations of cause and effect. Man observing these sequences and expecting them to occur again in like circumstances, shapes his conduct accordingly. In the first ages of the world, when succession was only observed in a few simple things, such as the rising of the sun from day to day, it was thought that the same free will now attributed to man, belonged to the physical world also; that events might come to pass, or they might not, and the term *chance* denoted this uncertainty. But increased knowledge has tended to abolish this term, by showing the uniform manner in which events follow one another, and that under similar circumstances the same results may be expected to follow. The explosion of gunpowder could not be predicted by the analysis of its parts, and the simplest phenomena were all at first at an equal distance from human sagacity. Having observed then the order of nature, we can anticipate events and regulate our conduct accordingly, suiting our circumstances to this known order of events; we regulate our conduct by what we expect to result from it, by making use of the same causes to produce the same effects.

Admitting that this is a proper definition of the exercise of reason, it follows that if this uniformity did not exist, the exercise of it would be as likely to be ruinous as serviceable to us; our knowledge would in no way avail us, for we could not predict that things

would occur again as we had before observed them. All the discoveries that man has made in the arts and sciences, everything in fact that has tended to ameliorate and raise his condition, depends on this known order of nature, and rests upon its immutability.

Because the causes of human actions have been hidden from us like those of physical action in the first ages of the world, such actions have been supposed to be contingent, to depend upon chance and not to follow the same law of invariable sequence; but if this were really the case—if the doctrine of philosophical necessity were not true, the regularity of events in the physical world would little avail us, neither would they afford sufficient foundation for morality and prudence, as the voluntary conduct of our neighbours enters into almost all those calculations upon which our plans and determinations are founded.

“A person well acquainted with the necessary order in which events follow each other, (i. e.) well skilled in the ordinary movements of the machinery of life, may with confidence, if not with absolute assurance of success, risk his most important interests upon the issue of well concerted plans. Skill and sagacity in managing the affairs of common life, or wisdom in council or command, is nothing else than the knowledge of the fixed laws of matter and mind, which together dictate the intricate movements of the great machine of the social system. It must be upon the immovable substratum of cause and effect, of motive and voluntary action, that our calculations of futurity are formed, and it is upon this basis alone, that a wise man rests his hopes and constructs his plans.”

However it may suit the interests of certain creeds

to deny the necessity of all our actions, yet those who adopt them, acknowledge it in action, if they deny it in words. Do not such persons expect from certain moral inducements to produce a certain voluntary line of conduct? All the arguments they use to excite our hopes or fears, proceed upon the supposition that mind is subject to certain laws, and that if their arguments are efficient as a cause, the effects desiderated will invariably follow. "Do you think such motives are sufficient to induce him?" is a question with them as pertinent as "Do you think this lever has the power to raise that weight?" But, say the advocates of freedom of will, necessity is not here implied, for though we are obliged to admit a connexion between motives and actions, yet this connexion does not appear to us to amount to a certainty. The mind possesses an inherent activity, by which it can at pleasure dissolve this connexion; consequently when motives are presented to induce a particular line of conduct, it is not done with certain expectations of success, and we are not always disappointed if we fail. We make a reservation for a certain liberty of will a person is supposed to possess, which may cause him to resist all our inducements. This objection is as forcible when applied to matter as to mind. It arises from our not being sufficiently acquainted with the causes necessary to produce the effect we wish. A philosophical experiment may succeed ninety-nine times and fail the hundredth, not from any liberty of will that the materials possess, but from some counteracting cause that has crept in of which we are ignorant, but which farther investigation may discover. So with respect to mind, if our arguments are not successful, it is because they are not

forcible enough, or they do not apply to the state of mind of the individual, or there is some prejudice still unmoved; and not from any power he may possess of refusing to be moved, by a motive strong enough for the purpose. In the latter case, as in the first, we must not ascribe our failure to the free will of the individual, but to our own ignorance of how to move him, and if we would succeed, we must look in both cases for the hidden cause of the failure.

The character of man is the result of the organization he received at birth, and all the various circumstances that have acted upon it since, and these, if that were possible, being given, a mental philosopher would predict the line of conduct that will be invariably pursued by each individual, as readily as the chemist can predict the exact result of the mixture of any chemical substances. Man, like everything else around, has received a definite constitution, and he is no more capable of acting contrary to that constitution, and of refusing to be acted upon by the influences that everywhere surround him, than the atoms of matter are capable of resisting the impulses of attraction and repulsion, and the various affinities from which result all the beneficial order and arrangement of the present material system. The same disastrous effects might be expected to result in the one case as the other, for if matter refused to obey the laws that have been given to it, man could not depend upon the causes that are capable of producing certain results to-day being efficient to the same ends to-morrow, and if there were no certain connexion between motive and action, he would never be able to predict what men would be from what they had been; thus reason would be of no use,

all progression would cease, and man would be as the beasts, moved by immediate impulses, and confined to an equally limited range of ideas and enjoyments.\*

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## SECTION I.

### THE APPLICATION OF PHILOSOPHICAL NECESSITY TO RESPONSIBILITY, PRAISE AND BLAME, REWARD AND PUNISHMENT, VIRTUE AND VICE.

**RESPONSIBILITY.** If a man's actions are determined necessarily by the previous state of his mind, and the circumstances or influences to which he is exposed, and if, consequently, no action of his life could possibly have been different from what it actually was, in the circumstances, responsibility, in the sense in

\* "Professor Kant is decidedly of opinion, that although many strong and ingenious arguments have been brought forward in favour of the freedom of the will, they are yet very far from being decisive. Nor have they refuted the arguments urged by the Necessitarians, but by an appeal to mere feeling, which, on such a question, is of no avail. For this purpose, it is indispensably necessary to call to our assistance the principles of Kant."

"In treating this subject (continues *Nitsch*, pupil of Kant) Kant begins with showing that the notion of a Free Will is not contradictory. In proof of this he observes, that, although every human action, as an event in time, must have a cause, and so on *ad infinitum*; yet it is certain, that the laws of cause and effect can have a place there only where *time* is, for the effect must be consequent on the cause. But neither *time* nor *space* are properties of things; they are only the general *forms* under which man is allowed to view himself and the world. It follows, therefore, that man is not in time nor in space, although the forms of his intuitive ideas are time and space. But if man exist not in time and

which it is generally used, is without meaning. A man is usually considered to be responsible, or accountable, for having acted in a certain manner, because it is supposed that he might have acted differently; but this not being the case, all responsibility for actions that are *already past*, would be useless and absurd, for actions that are already past God himself could not prevent. Man is then responsible in the only way in which responsibility could be of any use. The Creator has attached it in the shape of inevitable pain, moral or physical, to every breach of his laws, moral or physical. He has given to man a frame, fearfully and wonderfully made, and caused his happiness to be dependent upon the proper regulation and protection of its complicated mechanism. If he do anything that has a tendency to injure this constitution, either bodily or mental, pain follows, and obliges him to desist.

space, he is not influenced by the laws of time and space, among which those of cause and effect hold a distinguished rank; it is, therefore, no contradiction to conceive, that, in such an order of things, man may be free.' "

"In this manner Kant establishes the *possibility* of man's freedom; and, farther than this, he does not conceive himself warranted to proceed on the principles of the Critical Philosophy. The first impression, certainly, which his argument produces on the mind is, that his own opinion was favourable to the scheme of necessity. For if the reasonings of the Necessitarians be admitted to be satisfactory, and if nothing can be opposed to them but the incomprehensible proposition, that man neither exists in space nor in time, the natural inference is, that this proposition was brought forward rather to save appearances, than as a serious objection to the universality of the conclusion."

"Here, however, Kant calls to his aid the principles of what he calls *practical* reason. Deeply impressed with a conviction that morality is the chief concern of man, and that morality and the

Thus if he put his hand into the fire, he is subjecting it to an influence that would soon destroy it, and with it all the pleasures that are dependent upon its use; the pain that he feels, therefore, or the punishment that is inflicted upon him for doing so, quickly obliges him to take it out. Here, then, he is responsible for the ignorance or carelessness that induced him to put his hand, where, from the relation that heat bears to the body, it must be injured; and this whether the action be voluntary or not, for the object of the pain being to deter the individual and others from the breach of this law, the pain must be attached to the act. So also with reference to the mind; if a man commit an act of injustice or treachery, he suffers its consequences in the distrust and resentment of his fellow-men, though his evil action be the result of bad education and temptation; because the certain connexion of such

freedom of the human will must stand or fall together, he exerts his ingenuity to show, that the metaphysical proof already brought of the possibility of free agency, joined to our own consciousness of a liberty of choice, affords evidence of the fact fully sufficient for the practical regulation of our conduct, although not amounting to what is represented as demonstration in the *Critique of Pure Reason*."—(Stewart's Dissertations, p. 196.)

"That a man's character is formed *for him* and not *by him*," is Mr. Robert Owen's mode of expressing the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, but it seems calculated to lead to serious error. When a man speaks of "himself," he means by that term all that constitutes man, viz., the aggregate of his bodily and mental faculties; now, it is certain that mental faculties of one class act upon those of another class in the same mind, in impelling, restraining, and directing, and in this sense a man's character is formed as much *by him* as *for him*. The shortest mode, perhaps, of expressing what we think Mr. Owen's meaning is, that "a man's character is formed by his mental constitution, and by the circumstances in which he is placed."

conduct with such consequences, is necessary to make men attach importance to good education and to the avoidance of temptation. We are thus accountable to our Maker for the breaking of his laws, whether such breach proceed from our ignorance, our convictions, or our feelings; and we are made to suffer for that which is already done, that the further evil may be prevented which would ensue from the repetition of the offence. Man is, thus, not only responsible for that portion of his happiness which depends upon his own body and mind, but for that which he derives from the great body of Society, of which he is a member; and if he commit any offence against this latter; that is, if he inflict any injury upon it, he is accountable in the same sense, and in no other. For such breach of the moral law he suffers, or ought to be made to suffer, just so much as will prevent the same fault in future. If its recurrence could be prevented without any suffering at all, we only do an injustice to the individual in subjecting him to it, since he could not have acted otherwise.

**PRAISE AND BLAME.** Upon a cursory view of the subject, the difficulty naturally arises, that if actions are necessary, then merit and demerit are mere names, denoting only the character of certain actions; and that, in consequence, man is not, properly, the subject of praise and blame. Upon reflexion, however, it will be found to be just the reverse; for if there were no necessary connexion between motives and actions, if a man might refuse or not to be guided by the former, then, indeed, all praise and blame would be useless; for we praise a certain line of conduct that it may be

pursued, or we blame it that it may be forsaken, and our approbation or disapproval act as motives, that are calculated to produce one kind of action more than another.

We naturally approve of, or praise, that which is agreeable to us, and disapprove of, or blame, that which is disagreeable; and that this sense of what is pleasant or unpleasant to us, may have proper weight with those upon whom our happiness in a great measure depends, nature has given us a disposition by which such praise or blame becomes a great source of enjoyment or discomfort, and a strong motive to incite to some actions and to restrain from others. The expression of praise and blame is, therefore, necessary and proper, although a man could in no case act otherwise than he did act under the circumstances. What a complete revolution will take place in society when the expression of this praise and blame shall be no longer made instinctively, but be brought into accordance with the doctrine of necessity! A child knocks its head against the table, and thinking the table had a choice in the matter, turns round and beats it. So man, "a child of larger growth," knocks his head against some rough corner of another's disposition,—he meets with some injury or offence, and not knowing, or not thinking, that the offender could not possibly have done otherwise, he acts as instinctively as the child, and expresses his disapprobation in all probability in the same way. What, however, would be the conduct of a person brought up from infancy as a disciple of necessity? He would know, that of whatever action a person might have been guilty against him, in the state of such an individual's views and

feelings he could not have acted differently, and that it would be as absurd to give way to the feeling of anger in this case as in that of the child. That to produce a different effect towards himself he must alter the cause, that is, he must change the views and feelings of the offender towards himself. If the offence were a personal insult, and the object to prevent it in future—if knocking the party down were the best mode of doing this, why then knock him down; but this display of the combative propensity would probably produce a similar exhibition on the part of the other, and if they were well matched they would leave off just where they began. But if inquiry were calmly made into the motive of the insult, and the cause removed if possible—according to the dictates of the moral feelings, with kindness and justice—in the generality of cases there would be no fear of its repetition. It can only be this mode of looking at injuries, and the temper of mind consequent upon it, that can make a Christian, that can induce us “if they smite us on one cheek to turn to them the other also,” and that can give that “soft answer that turneth away wrath.” By the predominance of feelings, the produce of opposite views to these, many minds dwell in a state of perpetual irritability, occupied in resenting not only real injuries, but imaginary offences; and it is a question, whether a larger amount of unhappy feeling in the world is not occasioned by the latter class than the former.

The evils resulting from the ordinary mode of considering this subject are very numerous. The common notions concerning merit and demerit, praise and blame, and responsibility, give rise to the worst abuses of our selfish propensities, to envy, hatred, malice, and all

uncharitableness. If we were early taught to feel and know that a man's character is the result of his mental constitution, and the circumstances in which he is placed, all such feelings would be kept in check from the mere absurdity of giving vent to them. True, the exhibition of anger and of those feelings that induce us to take immediate vengeance for an offence, may, to a certain extent, have the effect of preventing offences; and among the inferior animals this is apparently the legitimate and only mode of doing so; but man possessing additional faculties, his reason enables him to foresee the direct consequences of open violence, and to avoid them, whilst producing *secret* and much more complicated mischief. How is it possible to "Love our enemies, to bless them that curse us, and to do good to them that hate us," so long as we look upon them as the cause of our suffering in the sense that they had liberty to do otherwise? But when they are considered as mere instruments, as acted upon by causes over which they had no control, then indeed we may "love our enemies," love them as fellow-creatures, pity them as being in all probability greater sufferers than ourselves, and with calmness and reason, guided by benevolence and justice, endeavour to remove the cause of their enmity; or if that be impossible, to guard ourselves against it with as little suffering as may be to them.

It may be said perhaps, it is impossible but that by a law of our nature we should hate that which is unpleasant to us. This is true, but let the feeling receive its right direction, let us hate *vice*, not the *vicious*. The precautions we take to secure ourselves against that which injures us, are not necessarily connected with

our hatred of the injurer. We guard ourselves sedulously against the poison of the viper, and the destructive propensities of the tiger, although, knowing as we do that their power and disposition to injure is the inevitable condition of their nature, we cannot be said to hate them.

A man cannot be a true Christian or a true philosopher, until he is a practical Necessitarian. It is then only that he can exercise a perfect control over his own feelings, and cease to be acted upon, to his own discomfort, by the injurious feelings of others. It is then that he can feel himself master of his own fortune in the strictest sense of the word, for he knows that nothing is uncertain, but that he has only to seek and apply the proper cause, and the effect desired will inevitably follow.

REWARD AND PUNISHMENT. After considering Responsibility, and Praise and Blame, little remains to be said under this head. We have shown that the responsibility of man consists in his experiencing always the natural and necessary results of his actions, and that praise and blame, and consequently reward and punishment, can be employed by the Necessitarian only as motives to the adoption or abandonment of any given line of conduct. Desert and merit being entirely out of the question, where a man could not possibly have acted otherwise than he did act, so also are all *rewards* to which a man may consider himself entitled. The rewards of nature are the pleasurable sensations, the happiness consequent upon the study and observance of her laws; her punishments are the pain that follows the breach of them. It is in this way that

nature is more powerful than mere doctrine all over the world, and it is well for mankind that she is so, for had man been a free agent, such as he is represented, capable of observing and following the pernicious creeds and dogmas that selfishness has never failed to instil into his mind, he must long since have ceased to exist on this earth. But in spite of what a man professes to believe, he cannot help invariably seeking, in practice, that which is pleasurable, and avoiding that which is painful; and this it is that secures to him, on all occasions, the object of his being, a balance of enjoyment; and preserves that consistency in his conduct, which would be lost, if his actions were guided solely by his opinions. This balance of enjoyment is the natural reward which a man receives for having sought for happiness where it was to be found; but given to him without any desert on his part. So suffering is the punishment that nature inflicts upon those who have sought for happiness where it was not to be found. But we nowhere find nature inflicting this punishment, excepting for the good of the party offending, or of society at large; for where a man has offended against the physical or organic laws of his being, so that the pain or punishment resulting can be of no use in a remedial point of view, the pain does not last long, for death mercifully takes him from this state of existence.

But, says the advocate of freedom of will, it is not enough that punishment should be merely remedial, that it should merely have for its object the prevention of the repetition of the offence—a criminal should be made to suffer in exact proportion to the fault he has committed; and this idea of retributive justice, as it is called, but more properly vengeance, lies at the

foundation of all criminal codes throughout society, is the main cause of their inefficiency, and of a vast amount of unnecessary suffering. To the consistent Necessitarian, any punishment beyond such as is requisite for the purpose of amendment, must appear an *injustice* of the highest degree towards the individual upon whom it is inflicted, because it is evident that under the circumstances in which he was placed, and with his views and feelings, his conduct was inevitable. Our Criminal Codes cannot be radically reformed and made effectual, until this view of the question with respect to accountability and punishment becomes general; until the very idea of retribution be dismissed from our thoughts, and, consequently, the principle of it from our Institutions. The wicked must be regarded as the truly unfortunate of the earth, and punishment the means which true kindness would dictate of correcting vicious habits, and of clearing away the obstacles to that large amount of enjoyment of which their bad dispositions deprive them. An enlightened and practical writer of the present day, when speaking of the inefficient protection of society from crime, says—

“It appears very extraordinary—to the reflecting and virtuous—that human beings should see before them disgrace, confinement, the tread-wheel, the scourge, the hulks, the antipodes, the gibbet, and practically feel these to be motives to abstain from crime, of inferior force to their own impulses to commit it. But so it actually is; these visitations—falling as they do every hour on the devoted heads of human beings—produce no effect on others who have the same tendencies to crime; yet the machinery is maintained at an enormous cost, and while humanity is afflicted by

the increasing spectacle of fruitless affliction, society remains permanently exposed to depredation and violence. The practical conclusion, from what has just been said, is obvious; because the failure is total, because the disease is unabated, the whole treatment is in principle erroneous, and must be radically altered."

One cause of the inefficiency here mentioned is, that the Criminal Code is directed against the breach of laws, which are at variance with those of nature. Man establishes institutions for the good of the few, and endeavours, by penal enactments, to force the mass of mankind into a course in opposition to the laws of nature; it follows, of course, that such enactments are inefficient. Let all man's laws and institutions be founded in truth, in justice, and benevolence, and nature's rewards and punishments will in almost all cases be found sufficient, without his artificial mode of creating suffering.

The following observations from the same writer, illustrate in a very practical manner the doctrine of necessity, which we have made the foundation of our reasoning on these subjects; he divides human beings into three classes:—

"First, those whose animal appetites or propensities are so powerful, as to over-balance the restraining force of their moral and intellectual faculties. Beings of this constitution of mind, are under the dominion of strong lusts, violent passions, and intense selfishness. Their impressions of moral duty are so weak, as to offer no restraint to the gratification of their selfishness, at any cost of property, limb, or life, to those, no matter how unoffending, who stand in their way; while in most of them, a limited intellect has obscure views of the real

nature of things, confused perceptions of consequences, over-weening confidence in their own power of concealment, evasion, and escape, total blindness to the guilt of their actions, a fixed rejection in their own case of all idea of retribution; on the contrary, a persuasion that all restraint imposed upon themselves, is the unwarrantable act of the strongest; and, finally, the feeblest powers of controlling their passions, even when they do see the fatal consequences of yielding to their sway. Any better endowment of intellect in this class, is always perverted to the purposes of crime; hence expert plan-laying thieves, pickpockets, swindlers, and forgers.

“The second class of mankind are very numerous, those whose animalism is nearly as strong as in the first class, but whose moral and intellectual powers of restraint are so much greater, as to bring the tendencies to indulgence and forbearance almost to a balance—external circumstances in such persons turn the scale. In low life, uneducated, neglected, and destitute, they have often become criminals; in a more favourable condition of education and society, they have continued respectable: but, within the influence of bad example, they will be found sensual and often profligate, and they are always selfish and self-indulging.

“The third class are those who, as the Apostle says, are ‘a law unto themselves.’ In them the animal propensities are sufficient for their legitimate ends, but the decided predominance of intellect and moral feeling, as faculties of their minds, renders it nearly a moral impossibility, that the inferior tendencies should ever master them so far as to impel them to commit crime. It is *physically* possible for such men to rob,

or steal, or torture, or murder, but it is *morally* impossible; and they would attempt any physical difficulty in preference. They enjoy strong moral and intellectual perception. Their passions, sometimes vigorous, are reined by their higher feelings; they feel the law written on their heart with the same finger that graved it on tables of stone; instead of all their aspirations and aims being selfish, they have time, and thought, and exertion, and money, to spare for their fellow-creatures; and are made happy by the extension of the virtuous enjoyment of life throughout the world. They cannot exist in a grovelling atmosphere, and tend upwards into a purer moral medium, when by circumstances depressed into vicious contact. These, lastly, are the men who are sincerely, conscientiously, rationally, and practically religious, and whose morality is based in the Divine will and the precepts of Christianity. It is manifestly the Creator's design that such men, from intellectual as well as moral power, shall rise to the guidance of society; and liberty, and light, and national happiness, are in the direct ratio of their ascendancy—an enlightened and effective Criminal Code will emanate from them alone."

"One grand error in criminal legislation has been, that the three-fold distinction now drawn has never been taken into account as true in nature; there is no practical belief in its existence. We do not find it adverted to in any of the thousand and one treatises already written, and by the most talented of men, on criminal legislation; yet it may be predicted that, till it shall be acted upon as a practical truth, speculation after speculation, code after code, institution after institution, for the protection of society from crime, will

fall to the ground. The prevalent practical belief of the million, and the law-makers in whom they confide, is, that in power to obey the laws there is among men no difference of mental constitution; that a *good* man has *willed* to be virtuous, and a bad man has *willed* to be vicious, and that either might have willed equally easily the opposite character. That it was a mere voluntary choice that, on the one hand, filled the prisons with wretches, whom a Howard visited, and that determined Howard, on the other, to visit them. Hence the indignation and resentment felt against the criminal, and the tendency to visit upon him the retribution considered due to a deliberate choice of the wrong, in spite of a clear perception and feeling of the right. Now, the truth will challenge the strictest investigation, that the great majority of criminals in this country have minds so constituted, and that, independently of their own volition, as to rank them in the first class above described. They are born with a greatly preponderating animalism, which grows with their growth and strengthens with their strength, belonging to the lower, and often the lowest ranks of life, having neither moral nor religious training and exercise, little or no intellectual education, no habit or practice of industry, frugality, sobriety, or self-denial; strangers to all encouragement, from a higher moral society, to value character; on the contrary, familiar from infancy with the example of debauchery, profligacy, and recklessness, and crime, in their very parents and relations, trained often to early mendicancy, and always to thieving, habituated to hear debauchery and successful villainy lauded in the society with which they mix, and morality and justice ridiculed or defied,

they may be said to be indeed born in iniquity, and bred in crime. Such are the beings whose acts create resentment and *retributive* revenge in the minds of the unreflecting, the untempted, and, in regard to a sound philosophy of man, the uninformed."\*

VIRTUE AND VICE. But if philosophical necessity be true, what becomes of all the distinctions between virtue and vice? If all actions are necessary, are not all equally virtuous or vicious? They would undoubtedly be so if there were no difference between pleasure and pain, happiness and misery; but so long as there is this difference, the inherent distinction between actions must continue, as they tend either to one state or the other. Thus, if they tend, all things considered, to produce happiness, they are virtuous; if they tend to misery, they are vicious; and it would be difficult to prove any other distinction between virtue and vice, if considered with reference either to this world or another.

Much has been written and said upon this subject, and although plain in itself, so much has it been mystified, that it has become the general opinion that there is *something in actions themselves*, that places them in the one class or the other. "In order," says Edwards, "to a thing's being morally evil, there must be one of these things belonging to it; either it *must be a thing unfit or unsuitable in its own nature*; or it must have a bad tendency; or it must proceed from an evil disposition, and be done for an evil end." Now, if it were possible to conceive of anything unfit or unsuitable in

\* Simpson's *Necessity of Popular Education*, p. 283.

*its own nature*, supposing that the doctrine of necessity were unproved, it is impossible to believe it together with the conviction that nothing could possibly have been otherwise than it was, and that everything was appointed by an All-Wise Creator. The same act, according to circumstances, is sometimes either virtuous or vicious : thus the act of killing a man, when done in our country's defence, is meritorious, but when committed to suit private revenge or interest, it is murder, and a crime of the deepest dye. We might easily multiply instances to show that in the moral world, there is no difference in the character of actions, when considered separately from their effects upon happiness or misery, but that will be unnecessary, as they must present themselves to every one. "Morality is the science of the means invented by man, to live together in the most happy manner possible." It is impossible to conceive that God can have any other view, in laying down laws, than the happiness of his creatures ; Christianity, with all its beautiful precepts, has for its object the making man a better, and therefore a happier being.

Are all therefore to be put upon the same level in society ? Are the vicious upon an equality with the virtuous ? Yes, when the tiger and the lamb are so. When the lap dog gives place to the wolf, when vipers are hidden in men's bosoms ; in fact, when we prefer the company of that which gives us pain, to that which bestows happiness. Virtuous, holy, pure, and other terms of like import, have no meaning when applied to actions, in any other sense than as they tend to happiness or misery ; and when we speak of any kind of discipline as having a tendency to *perfect* our character, to make us more pure and holy, we cannot mean

anything else but that it tends to increase our capacity of enjoyment, and our power of adding to the happiness of all around. That man is most perfect who is capable of giving and receiving the greatest sum of enjoyment. Neither can we admit that actions are virtuous or vicious, according to the motives that dictate them, for all motives are equal, being all dependent, like the actions to which they give rise, upon the mental or bodily constitution and circumstances. "All motives," says Bentham, "are abstractedly good; no man ever has, ever had, can, or could have, a motive contrary to the pursuit of happiness or the avoidance of pain."

## CHAPTER II.

### ON THE ORIGIN, OBJECTS, AND ADVANTAGES OF EVIL.

TURNBULL, in his Christian Philosophy, as quoted by Edwards, observes, "If the Author and Governor of all things be infinitely perfect, then whatever is, is *right*; of all possible systems he has chosen the best; and, consequently, there is no *absolute* evil in the universe. This being the case, all the seeming imperfections or evil in it are such only in a partial view, and with respect to the whole system they are good."

"Whence then comes evil? is the question which hath in all ages been reckoned the Gordian knot in philosophy. And, indeed, if we own the existence of evil in the world in an absolute sense, we diametrically contradict what hath been just now proved of God. For, if there be any evil in the system that is not good with respect to the whole, then is the whole not good, but evil, or, at the best, very imperfect; and an author must be as his workmanship is; as is the effect, such is the cause. But the solution of this difficulty is at hand; that there is no evil in the universe. What! are there no pains, no imperfections? Is there no misery, no vice in the world? or, are not these evils? Evils indeed they are; that is, those of one sort are hurtful, and those of the other sort are equally hurtful and abominable; but they are not evil or mischievous with respect to the whole. But God is at the same time said to create evil, darkness, confusion; and yet

to do not evil, but to be the author of good only. He is called the Father of lights; the author of every perfect and good gift, with whom there is no variable-ness nor shadow of turning; who tempteth no man, but giveth to every man liberally and upbraideth not. And yet by the Prophet Isaiah He is introduced saying of Himself, I form light and create darkness: I make peace and I create evil: I, the Lord, do all these things. What is the meaning, the plain language of all this, but that the Lord delighteth in goodness, and, (as the Scripture speaks,) evil is His strange work? He intends and pursues the universal good of his creation; and the evil which happens is not permitted for its own sake, or through any pleasure in evil, *but because it is requisite to the greater good pursued.*"

The previous inquiry into the nature of virtue and vice is essential to the proper understanding of this question of acknowledged difficulty. The supposition that there is something in actions themselves, something unfit or unsuitable in their own nature, that renders them virtuous or vicious, has tended to involve the subject in mystery. It has been shown, however, that the distinction between physical and moral evil cannot be maintained; that sin, vice, and moral turpitude, are only evils from their tendency to produce physical evil, that is, pain and misery; that, consequently, there is no evil but pain; pain, either mental or bodily, in all its different degrees, from mere uneasiness, to that agony which can be supported only for a few moments: and the question, on being extricated from all those difficulties with which the notion of man's free agency has encumbered it, assumes its simplest form, viz., what is the use of pain?

The Deity, of course, cannot but be regarded by the Necessitarian as the Author of all things, of the evil as well as the good ; and that evil has its use, and that a benevolent one, cannot be doubted by him whose knowledge of our Creator has been gathered from the numberless instances of benevolent design throughout the universe, which, whilst they manifest the power of God, show us plainly the direction of that power towards the production of the greatest possible enjoyment. If, therefore, it can be demonstrated that pain, which is the only evil, is a necessary agent in the hand of God for the production of this balance of enjoyment ; that it is the only effectual guardian of that system of organization upon which our happiness depends ; that it is essential even to our very existence ; will not the question in part be stripped of its mystery, and the ways of God to man be justified even to our finite comprehensions ?

To creatures possessing our modes of intelligence, there are some propositions which appear by their nature to be absurd and contradictory ; thus, that the half of a thing can be equal to the whole, and that an event which has already taken place can be caused not to have taken place, we instinctively feel to be contradictions, and the reverse of each of these propositions we constitute into an axiom which serves as a basis of reasoning. In the same way we deduce the axiom that God could not create an intelligence equal to Himself ; for to suppose that he could do so would involve the absurdity of two infinite existences. All created intelligences must, therefore, be finite ; limited in their powers of knowing ; and such limitation implies a certain degree of imperfection which

must extend throughout the whole universe of mind. But we cannot conceive of perfect happiness consisting with any degree of imperfection; for, in the space between finite and infinite knowledge there must be numberless things, the nature and tendency of which the highest order of created beings cannot know, and with reference to which they must be continually liable to act wrong; that is in opposition to the laws which constitute the definite character which everything has received, and in disregard of the relation which the Creator has established between such objects and the subject or intelligence, thus causing a perpetually increasing amount of disarrangement. To check, therefore, that utter subversion of order, and consequently of happiness, which the necessary ignorance of created intelligences would occasion, a something must be appointed which shall constantly act as a warning whenever these laws are transgressed. It is doubtful whether a monitor more effectual or better adapted for the purpose than Pain could possibly have been selected, so far as regards intelligence, so limited as belongs to the inhabitants of this earth.

No part of the known creation, then, is free from evil, in the sense in which we thus use the term, as it is *the invariable accompaniment of that error which is consequent upon the necessary limitation of the powers of knowing*. With respect to the employment of pain for the correction of error in other worlds, it must be mere matter of conjecture, for "what can we reason but from what we know?" It would appear, however, to be probable, that wherever there are created beings susceptible of enjoyment, there also is pain.

## SECTION I.

PAIN CONSIDERED AS THE NECESSARY AND MOST EFFECTUAL GUARDIAN OF THAT SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION UPON WHICH HAPPINESS DEPENDS.

As the capability of enjoyment is ever found to increase with complexity of structure, the power of feeling pain always increases in the same proportion. For the more complex and delicate the nervous system, and consequently the more varied and intense the powers of thinking and feeling, the more necessity has it for a protection from the numerous surrounding influences which would tend to throw it into disorder, or to destroy it. Pain, in many cases intense pain, could alone compel us to desist from subjecting our body to such influences, and thus destroying the power of enjoyment dependent upon the perfection of our organization.

The architecture of the frame of man would seem to surpass in wonder the stupendous architecture of the Heavens, "Where worlds on worlds compose one Universe," for the laws that regulate the motions of the heavenly bodies appear simple compared with those that regulate the animal and mental functions. Of what character must be that mind which is not struck with wonder at the arrangement by which extraneous substances introduced into the body, are, by a long and intricate process, fitted for becoming part of a living structure, and by a still further process are adapted not only for living, but for feeling and thinking—by which out of the same blood are formed all

the different materials of which our frame consists, each new atom being deposited in its proper place, and the old materials, by a variety of processes, carried out of the system, or mixed up with new matter to be re-vivified? It is manifestly necessary that each atom should perform the part assigned to it by the All-Wise Artificer, and that it should assume exactly its proper place in the system. Should, therefore, any derangement or artificial obstruction prevent this, man is immediately warned and made conscious by pain that something is wrong, the pain being generally in proportion to the importance of the derangement, and it is the office of medical science to discover the causes of these pains and to remove them.

We thus find man possessed of a complicated apparatus, consisting of numerous functions; first, those necessary for the preservation of life, and secondly, those essential for the support of the nervous system upon which sensation depends; and he is surrounded on all sides with objects bearing a fixed relation to himself, the greater part causing pleasurable sensations, but all, when calculated to injure him, causing painful ones. Experience, thus tutored by pleasure and pain, is his only guide as to what is injurious and what salutary. It follows that real Education consists in imparting a knowledge of the tendencies of everything around us to produce pleasure or pain in ourselves. The knowledge of this kind, that one man's experience can furnish, is very limited; but the knowledge that mankind at present possess, is the result of the registered experience of the whole race through all ages. In the department of Physics, the Science that treats of the relation that matter, in all its forms, bears to man, the

progress has been great; but with regard to Moral Science, which shows the relation that man bears to his fellow-man, little is generally known, and still less acted upon.

It is easy to make apparent the objects and advantages of evil, as it is denominated, in the physical world, by showing that the benevolent guardianship of pain alone could maintain our bodily frames in the state requisite for the enjoyment of which they are the source. For instance, if a person fall into the fire, pain compels him to extricate himself in the most speedy manner possible; if a limb be fractured, or any important bodily function deranged, pain obliges him to seek a remedy and to repair the mischief. In all these cases, the benevolent intention to the individual sufferer is evident, and he who would consider bodily pain as an evil and not as a good, is like the unruly child that quarrels with its nurse for not allowing him to play with a razor, or to drink poison. But in the moral and intellectual world, suffering, though no less remedial, is less evidently so to mankind at large; although in how great a degree the comfort and welfare of all may be enhanced, when it is universally understood that all mental as well as bodily suffering, is intended to apprise us of the infringement of some important law of nature upon which the preservation of happiness depends, can scarcely be calculated. And here let it be remarked, that a large class of those sufferings which are thought to be purely mental, may, upon further investigation into the intimate connexion between matter and mind, be found to be solely referrible to peculiar states of the bodily system, and may be capable of much alleviation when the corporeal functions upon which they depend

shall have been discovered, so as to bring the disease within the province of medicine.

With respect to the sufferings to which man is liable in consequence of the relation in which he stands to society, the benevolent tendency is less obvious, by reason of our present ignorance as to the nature of that relation, and of our own constitutions. Our ideas of justice have been formed upon notions of free-will ; we have regarded ourselves strictly as individuals, instead of mere parts of the great body of society, united to it by ties quite as strong as those that unite one part of our body to another, not indeed by contiguity of atoms, but by contiguity of feeling. For it would be quite as reasonable for one part of the body to object to suffer for the derangement of another part—for the lungs to expostulate with the stomach, “Why must I suffer for your imprudence?”—as for one man to complain to the body of society, of which he forms only a member, “Why must I individually suffer for your misdeeds?” The same answer might be given in both cases, that, as one part of the body could not exist without the other, an injury to one is felt by all, that all may feel interested in the restoration of the injured member ; that, as one man could not exist (in a state in which existence would be a blessing) without society, he suffers from the sins of another, that he may have an interest in removing the ignorance or ill-feeling from which he suffered, and in keeping every member of the general body sound. Society is, in fact, so organized, that so long as there is one of its members ill-disposed or ignorant, all are liable to pay the penalty ; and although this distribution of evil may not seem in accordance with the common notion of

justice, viz., that each man should suffer only for his own misconduct, yet if it can be shown that each individual gains infinitely more than he loses by such an arrangement, justice cannot be said to be outraged by a system which produces the greatest possible happiness to all ; especially when we consider that no man's virtue, or supposed merit, entitles him to more happiness than another, except in so far as such additional happiness may be the inevitable accompaniment of the virtue.

We have already seen, in our consideration of the nature of man, how many of his faculties bear relation to his fellow-creatures, and would consequently become useless if he were obliged to live in solitude. The following, from Dr. Arnott, is a very pleasing picture of the result of civilization and of the advantages we derive from living in society : " Every one feels that he is a member of one vast civilized society which covers the face of the earth ; and no part of the earth is indifferent to him. In England, for instance, a man of moderate fortune may cast his looks around him and say with truth and exultation, ' I am lodged in a house that affords me conveniences and comforts which some centuries ago even a King could not command. Ships are crossing the sea in every direction to bring what is useful to me from all parts of the earth. In China, the men are gathering the tea leaf for me ; in America they are planting cotton for me ; in the West India Islands, they are preparing my sugar and my coffee for me ; in Saxony they are shearing the sheep to make me clothing ; at home, powerful steam-engines are spinning and weaving for me, and making cutlery for me, and pumping the mines, that minerals

useful to me may be procured. Although my property is small, I have post-coaches running day and night on all the roads, to carry my correspondence, and I have protecting fleets and armies around my happy country, to secure my enjoyments and repose. Then I have editors and printers, who daily send me an account of what is going on throughout the world, among all those people who serve me. And to crown the whole, I have books; the miracle of all my possessions, more wonderful than the wishing-cap of the Arabian Tales; for they transport me instantly, not only to all places, but to all times. By my books I can conjure up before me, to vivid existence, all the great and good men of antiquity; and for my individual satisfaction I can make them act over again the most renowned of their exploits: the orators declaim to me: the historians recite, the poets sing: and from the equator to the pole, or from the beginning of time until now, by my books I can be where I please.' " Such has been the effect of the combined powers of man, giving "to each individual of the civilized millions that cover the earth, nearly the same enjoyments as if he were the single lord of all."\* Compare these advantages with those which an individual might possess by his own unaided powers, and it is evident how much more he gains by the social arrangement than he loses by being a part of the great whole. Thus the design of the Creator will be found to be to produce the largest possible sum of enjoyment to all, considering individuals not as individuals, but only as parts of the sensitive creation. And is it not probable that to practical ignorance of

\* Elements of Physics, Introduction, p. 26.

this wise arrangement of nature, and to the tendency that all have to individualize their enjoyments, may be attributed much of the moral evil now prevalent throughout society? Christianity says, "Love your neighbour as yourself." Nature says, "Love your neighbour as yourself;" but all our existing social institutions, based upon the assumption of the reality of free will and accountability, seem to render this impossible; and the pain or evil that nature benevolently causes man to suffer, that he may be compelled so to change his ideas and institutions as to make practicable the law of universal brotherhood, has hitherto been unavailing, apparently, although it has doubtless set those causes in motion which must ultimately bring about the desired result. The advantages that ought to be derived by the race generally from the progress of civilization, are, for the most part, monopolized by the few, whose happiness, meanwhile, would be far better secured if they were made to participate only in the general well-being. The overgrown wealth which tempts the possessor to the destruction of the power of enjoyment which nature gave him, would suffice to call into healthy and vigorous action those of hundreds, cramped and stunted under the chilling influence of want. The sum of ease and leisure which eats into the soul of the indolent in the lap of luxury, would refresh the minds, and cheer the spirits, of a multitude whose incessant toil furnishes the perverted blessing to its victim. The object and advantage of moral evil, then, is to extend these advantages to the whole of mankind.

What then, will it be said, are crimes against the person and property, robberies and murders, good upon the whole to society? These evils bear the same

relation to the body of Society, as physical evils do to our own bodies, and are intended for the same purpose—to secure the health and happiness of the system. Some vital organ is diseased, and the consequent pain drives the individual to seek a remedy before the organic functions are destroyed. Robbers and murderers are diseased parts of the body of society, and the evils resulting from the inroads of such parties, serve to induce men to look to the causes of crime, and to apply those measures that are calculated to restrain it; thus diminishing by the most direct means crime, and the suffering thence resulting.

Let us take the case of murder. A man enters a house, commits a murder upon an old woman, and is hung for the offence. Now, what benefit results to society from this? In an unadvanced state of society all the benefit would be derived from the effect that the example might have upon the minds of hundreds of others, in deterring them from the vices that ultimately lead to murder, from fear of the suffering to themselves which must ensue from the act; and from the increased precautions which a hundred other old women would take to preserve themselves from a similar fate. But upon a more enlightened state of society the effect would be different. The thinking portion of the people would reflect that a society could not be in a healthy state which could produce a murderer, and would search for the cause; not resting satisfied with ascribing it to the free-will of the murderer, and supposing that it was optional with him to commit the act or not. The cause being traced to the mental organization of the individual, defective, perhaps, from his birth, and rendered still more so by constant exposure to baneful

influences, they would investigate the laws of hereditary descent, and search out the best means of acting upon an originally defective mind, and would come to the conclusion, that a good moral and intellectual education bears the same relation to the health and well-being of society, and to the individuals of which it is composed, as the sciences of Physical Education and Medicine do to the health of the body. That an immense amount of happiness would result from any circumstance that should force mankind to act upon these considerations is sufficiently obvious, if we reflect but upon the degree of ignorance and moral evil, and, consequently, of wretchedness, that must exist in that diseased branch of society which can produce a murderer; and also upon the natural capabilities of all that are born into the world to become useful and happy members of society, provided that the circumstances which act upon them through life are of a salutary kind.

But it will be objected, that the good of the sufferers themselves is left out of the consideration, and that they might reasonably demur at thus being made examples for the good of society. Was it equitable that the old woman should be murdered, and the murderer hanged, that the rest of mankind might take warning from their fate? The consistent Necessitarian will not hesitate to reply in the affirmative: he will regard the parties merely as links in the chain of causation, as atoms of the great mass of sensation which it appears to be the object of the Deity to produce. He will reflect that so far from injustice being done to either, they were each brought into the world, and made the vehicle of ten thousand more pleasurable

sensations than painful ones, and that without any desert on their part—the balance of enjoyment, however, being, in all probability, greatly in favour of the old woman—and that although their final sacrifice could not benefit *them*, yet during their life-time they were both gainers by the law that rendered their examples efficacious to the good of society; for had it not been for some former example, similar to what the man himself afterwards furnished, he might have murdered the woman ten years before.

This principle may be further illustrated by another instance. It has been objected that virtue does not, in the present state, on all occasions, produce a balance of good to the virtuous. As a general rule, it is admitted that it does so, and that when the laws of nature have free operation, there are no exceptions; but it is urged, that since the laws and social institutions of mankind are at variance with the laws of nature, particular cases do occur in which a man suffers for acting virtuously; and with reference to such cases, it has been represented, that God is not just unless a future state be made to compensate the virtuous sufferer. We shall consider the rationale of such cases, and we think it may be shown that the happiness of a future state must be as gratuitous as the happiness here, and that no one is justified in claiming it of the Deity as the payment of a debt.

Virtue, to the Necessitarian, means that line of conduct which, *all* things considered, shall be productive of the greatest happiness to all. Now suppose that in consequence of some human law made for individual advantage, or the advantage of a class, as too many of those of the present day are, a person in

calculating the results of a certain action, perceives that though it may tend to the advantage of the whole, yet that he individually must suffer by it. Still the strength of his moral faculties, his innate love of virtue, and the persuasion in which he has been brought up, that virtue is the best policy, induce him to choose the virtuous path. What good arises from his suffering in the cause of virtue? Thus much. The evil he suffers induces him to look to the cause—he discovers it in the unjust law, and he joins others who have felt the ill effects of the same law, in obliging legislators to repeal it. It is in this manner that the state of society is continually improved. But this particular individual may not live to enjoy the fruits of his virtue—how then is he benefited by it? He has been benefited all his life, by the state of society in which he has lived having been improved by similar means. He thus reaps the reward of virtue, though not of his own individual virtue.

As earthquakes, storms, and hurricanes tend to restore the equilibrium of nature's powers, a few suffering by them, but thousands benefiting, so moral tornadoes help to maintain communities in a healthy state. Let us suppose the case so often repeated in history, of a people under a despotic government, (the best form of government that perhaps could have been adopted in the early stages of society,) having been reduced to a state of slavery and vassalage by the selfish policy of their rulers, and their masters, an hereditary aristocracy—in what way has their emancipation usually been effected? By nature's mode of relief, *the good of evil*. Nothing can repress the innate energy of the human mind, forced forward by inevitable

necessity. In a country whose government admits of improvements, to keep pace with the enlargement of the human understanding and with the growing wants of the age, reform of its institutions is the consequence of these wants on the part of the people; but in a country whose government admits of no alteration, where all improvement is resisted, the evils continue for a longer time; but ultimately Revolution sweeps them away, clears the moral atmosphere, and renovates the Social and Political System.

These causes and effects may all be traced in the French Revolution of 1789. The reign of terror, appalling as it was, was the natural consequence of the conduct of the aristocracy, of the ignorance in which they had kept the people, and of the oppressions which they had inflicted upon them. By this revolution, the moral atmosphere of France has been rendered far more favourable to the growth of virtue, and, consequently, of enjoyment, to the whole of its inhabitants: and what are all the horrors that were then perpetrated, to the increased amount of happiness that has thereby resulted to above thirty millions of the human race? Scarcely as the prick of the lancet, to the enjoyment of which the body is capable, when restored to health by a timely operation.\*

\* "History, looking back over this France through long time, back to Turgot's time, for instance, when dumb Drudgery staggered up to its King's Palace, and in wild expanse of sallow faces, squalor and winged raggedness, presented hieroglyphically its Petition of Grievances, and for answer got hanged on a 'new gallows, forty feet high,' confesses mournfully that there is no period to be met with, in which the Twenty-five Millions of France suffered *less* generally than in this period which they name Reign of

The evils of WAR present great difficulties to those who regard only its immediate effects upon a people or district ; but to such as study the history of civilization, the wars which have accompanied its progress, appear, not as unmixed gratuitous evil, but as the means of working out the benevolent intentions of Providence ; by forming the character of nations ; introducing light where darkness and night before existed ; uniting by one bond of brotherhood the people of each nation, formerly consisting of detached individual families or clans ; breaking down old and useless institutions that had answered their ends, and now served merely as

Terror ! But it was not the Dumb Millions that suffered here ; it was the Speaking Thousands, and Hundreds, and Units ; who shrieked and published, and made the world ring with their wail, as they could and should : that is the grand peculiarity. The frightfullest Births of Time are never the loud-speaking ones, for these soon die ; they are the silent ones, which can live from century to century ! Anarchy, hateful as Death, is abhorrent to the whole nature of man ; and so must itself soon die."

"Wherefore let all men know what of depth and of height is still revealed in man ; and with fear and wonder, with just sympathy and just antipathy, with clear eye and open heart, contemplate it and appropriate it ; and draw innumerable inferences from it. This inference, for example, among the first : That if the gods of this lower world will sit on their glittering thrones, indolent as Epicurus' gods, with the living Chaos of Ignorance, Hunger, weltering uncared for at their feet, and smooth Parasites preaching 'Peace, peace, when there is no peace,' then the dark Chaos, it would seem will rise ; has risen, and O heavens ! has it not turned their skins into breeches for itself ? That there be no second Sansculottism in our Earth for a thousand years, let us understand well what the first was ; and let Rich and Poor of us go and do otherwise."—*Carlyle's French Revolution*, vol. 3, p. 434.

"Mr. Arthur Young has truly described the deplorable indigence of the French peasantry prior to the Revolution, and the present

clogs to the advancement and happiness of society ; by clearing away old and decayed states in which, from defective institutions and the misgovernment of ages, the balance of happiness was reversed and turned against the people. The wars of the Crusades, mad as they would appear, yet were the means of spreading throughout Europe the light that broke the bonds of superstition, and gradually led to the Reformation, which again contributed to that freedom of inquiry from which the present advance in science results. The wars between France and England, notwithstanding their many disastrous consequences, helped to

age has sufficiently experienced the evils arising from the miserable condition of the Irish poor. Posterity, however, will not fail to remark, that the sufferings of the peasantry in France brought about the Revolution, by which the condition of the labouring poor was, in the first instance at least, considerably, and, but for the enormous sins they committed during its progress would have been durably improved ; and we are ourselves witnesses to the formidable weight which the Irish people have acquired, since the redundancy of their population has swelled the ranks of the disaffected, and deluged their neighbours with distress. The political or imaginary grievances of Ireland might have been long enough disregarded by the English people : but when she thundered in the name of seven millions, they could no longer be overlooked : her real grievances had for centuries overspread her own plains with unheeded suffering, but when they filled the English parishes with paupers, and the English cities with destitution, the magnitude of the evil attracted universal attention to the means of its removal. Five centuries have elapsed since the English standard was first planted in Ireland, and English cupidity laid in the confiscation of its landed property the deep foundation of suffering to the one country, and retribution to the other ; and the mortal hatred shown by the early Irish to the English power is still unappeased : blood has flowed in our days from the effects of this long resentment, and the empire is now

strengthen the character of both people, and to give that spirit and hardihood by which the greatness of each has been maintained. The wars of the White and Red Roses, whilst they ravaged our country and weakened the aristocracy, emancipated the people, the masses, from civil bondage, and led to the formation of those institutions upon which British freedom has been dependent.

"War," says Mr. Alison, "is the great instrument by which the agency of some important laws of nature is maintained. The increase of mankind in the pastoral regions produces periodical invasions of the agri-

involved in difficulties, chiefly from the numbers, the turbulence, and the misery of the children of this oppressed race. Towards nations, if not to individuals, Providence is truly a jealous God, and visits the sins of the fathers upon the children: in the consequences which naturally arise from injustice is provided the punishment which its wickedness deserves: in the effects which flow from its severity, the means of ultimately destroying it. It is thus, that when the errors in the political system are not great enough to thin the numbers of the people, and weaken the political power of the State, they occasion that convulsion at home which ultimately leads to their removal. The misery, therefore, which is the immediate consequence of the redundant population which flows from political oppression, is in fact the means which nature takes to hasten the downfall of the institutions which have occasioned it; like the swelling of a limb which has been wounded or imbibed poisonous matter, it is the effort of nature to discharge the noxious substance which occasions the suffering. The benevolent laws of nature are incessantly operating for the good of man, even when their tendency is most mistaken by numerous observers. At the moment when the misery of Ireland was confidently appealed to, as demonstrating the unavoidable pressure of population upon subsistence, that very misery was the means which she was taking to terminate the distresses of the country, and heal the wounds of the social system."—Alison on Population, vol. 1, p. 247.

cultural or commercial states ; the wealth which follows a course of peace and prosperity attracts from afar the rapacity of northern ambition. During the rise of civilization, the superiority of discipline and art is sufficient to repel the danger. The Cimbri, whom Marius destroyed on the plains of Lombardy, and the Helvetii, whom Cæsar vanquished in the defiles of the Jura, were not less formidable than the armies which, under Alaric and Totila, overthrew the empire. It is the decay of military virtue which exposes civilized states to destruction from the efforts of their barbarous neighbours. Their fall does not take place till they have conferred all the benefits on mankind of which they were capable, and till their further continuance would be a misfortune to humanity. The destruction of Nineveh by the Medes, of Babylon by the Persians, of Rome by the Goths, and of Constantinople by the Turks, served only to extinguish so many branches of the human race, in which age had withered the sinews of virtue, and prosperity exhausted the sources of happiness."\*

Upon the same subject Mr. Combe observes, " There is more of benevolent arrangement in the tendency of savage and barbarous tribes, to wage furious wars with each other than at first sight appears. The Irish peasantry are still barbarous in their minds and habits, and but for the presence of a large army of civilized men, who preserve the peace, they would fight and exterminate each other. It is questionable whether the miseries that would attend such a course of action would exceed those which are actually endured from

\* On Population, vol. 1, p. 268.

starvation. The bane of Ireland is, that her population has increased far more rapidly than her capital, morality, and knowledge. Where a nation is left to follow its own course, this does not occur. Dissension keeps down the numbers, until intelligence, capital, and industry take the lead. England prevented the Irish from fighting, but she did little to improve them.”\*

These are some of the effects of Evil considered with reference to society as a whole: with respect to the individuals of which the social body is composed, the subject has been partially considered in treating of Rewards and Punishments.

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## SECTION II.

### PAIN NECESSARY AS A MOTIVE AND STIMULUS TO ACTION.

The greater part of mankind being imbued with a notion that the will is free, are in the habit of regarding more the objects and ends of actions, than the causes which originate them; intent chiefly upon results, the delicate and wonderful machinery that produces these results is comparatively unnoticed. A large part of that which is called “evil” in the world consists of nothing more than the wants, the desires, that furnish the motives to action, and without which we could not maintain our existence for a day. All the faculties of man, when active, constitute wants or desires. Thus he wants food, he wants some one to love, and who shall love him in return; he wants the

\* Lectures on Moral Philosophy, p. 228.

approbation of his fellows, he wants to see every one receive that which is his due ; his happiness consists in the gratification of these and of his other wants, and pain results when from any cause they remain ungratified. But these wants are the impelling forces which irresistibly set him in motion, securing an infinite diversity in the direction of his powers, and a never-ceasing succession of sensations.

Some of man's most pressing wants have relation to the very preservation of his existence, the appetite for food, for instance : and although man might have been made to live without sustenance, freedom from all liability to the pains of hunger would not compensate for the loss of the pleasures of appetite. Nor would the privilege of requiring no bread, be equal to the advantage man derives from the law of nature which compels him to earn it by the sweat of his brow. For nature has enjoined no more labour than is pleasurable and necessary for the health of man : unjust laws and regulations with respect to the distribution of the products of labour, compel the majority to toil more than is consistent with health or happiness ; but more fatal than unjust laws would it be to the well-being of society, if all necessity for exertion were abrogated. Laing, in his " *Journal of a residence in Norway*," observes : " The food best for a country is clearly that which it requires the greatest exertion of industry and skill to produce. That which requires but little of such exertion, as potatoes, would undoubtedly, reduce a nation to a low state of industry and skill. Those are in the wrong path who would reduce the rate of pauperism in England by reducing the standard of subsistence for the poor. If the English labourers, instead of considering

wheaten bread and meat necessary for their proper subsistence, were to be contented with potatoes and salt herrings, the increase of pauperism among them would be in proportion to the diminished value of their food, and the ease of obtaining it." "Potatoes are the worst food for a nation to subsist on, because in proportion to their nutriment as food, they require less labour, less exertion of body and mind to bring them to a state of food than any other article of human culture. The planting and digging-up, the boiling or baking, are almost the only operations required with the potato; and therefore, the nation which is satisfied with a potato diet must be in a state of sloth and inactivity, bodily and mental. The most complicated manufacture, perhaps, which we have among mankind, and which in all its parts requires the most continual exertion of human industry and skill, is the production of a quartern loaf from a few seeds of wheat put into the ground."\*

Thus necessity is the mother of invention. The ordinary and common wants of our nature, of food, clothing, and lodging, always recurring and never satisfied, set man in motion, bring into action all the powers of his mind, and call for that exercise which is as necessary to the mental powers as aliment to the body. Locke says, "all our actions owe their rise to a state of uneasiness," which uneasiness is more or less intolerable as the action to which it would urge us is more or less important. The disposition to activity increases with exercise, so that the common wants of our nature being supplied, fresh desires arise, in the gratification of which fresh happiness is found. Look

\* Page 45.

at the endless pursuits of man, at the thousand new desires consequent upon a state of civilization which keep him ever occupied. The more he does, the more he seems disposed to do; and it may with truth be said that never is he so happy as when every moment has its full employment. Take away the common wants of our nature, and you take away that which produces all this activity. So that these constantly recurring wants, so far from being infirmities in the body of society, are its very principle of life, the source of all its health and enjoyment.

It is not uncommon to hear the *solid* and *perfect* happiness of the future state described as consisting in total rest, inactivity, and freedom from all wants and desires; but whatever may be the case in the unknown world, constituted as we are with respect to this, we can conceive of no possible degree of happiness resulting from such a state; for all our ideas of enjoyment are ideas of wants gratified; and man is unquestionably the gainer by being surrounded perpetually by wants, more than he is the loser from their occasional non-gratification.

Evil, then, is the result of the necessary limitation of our faculties, and the corrective of those unregulated desires which rush towards gratification without yielding to the guidance of reason. According to this view it is obvious that pain is a most benevolent dispensation, without which our bodies could not be kept in that state which would render them capable of enjoyment; no means of knowing or avoiding what would injure us would be ours; and none of our motives would be sufficiently strong to induce us to seek our own welfare.

The ordinary idea of philosophical Christians differs apparently but little from this view of the nature of evil, viz., that it is permitted by an All-wise Providence, and that in His hands, it on all occasions tends to good ; that it is the means of the improvement and purification of our characters, and a preparation for a future state. But there is considerable practical difference between the two views. Pain, says the advocate of one, is intended to prepare you for a future state ; bear it therefore with resignation, looking to a hereafter for the reward of your patience. Pain, says the advocate of the other, is the invariable intimation that you have disobeyed some of the Creator's laws upon which happiness is dependent here ; look to its cause, therefore, and remove it.

But the question may arise here, if evil results from ignorance, could not an Omniscient and Omnipotent God have interposed on all occasions, by a special providence, to prevent the ill effect, and thus pain have been spared to us ? Granting that He could do so, our own limited faculties are sufficient to show us, that in thus depriving us of evil, we should have been deprived, at the same time, of a much larger amount of good. It is even doubtful whether happiness could have been produced at all, in such a case ; for, in the first place, man would be left without sufficient stimulus to exertion, and would consequently have remained in the savage state, all advances in civilization having been caused by "necessity, the mother of invention ;" besides, if the ill effects of misconduct were always over-ruled by a special providence, and man were always protected from its painful consequences, he would have no interest in rectifying his error, neither would there be any

means of distinguishing good from evil. In the second place, were the Deity to interfere with the established laws of nature, either physical, moral, or intellectual : man's highest prerogative, his reasoning power, would no longer be of any use ; it could no longer be exercised ; for this immediate interference of Providence would prevent the same effects from following the same causes, and the exercise of reason, as before shown, is nothing but the adaptation of our own conduct to invariable sequences.

Prayer, therefore, is rational only so far as it has a tendency to answer itself ; as a cause to produce the effect ; or rather, as a motive for us to apply the natural means which God Himself has appointed to bring about that which is desired. We desire physical blessings—we may suppose the answer to our prayer to be—study the laws of Nature ; certain causes have been appointed that invariably produce the result you require. In finding out these you will derive as much happiness, as in the effects they are calculated to produce. Happiness consists as much in the search after good as in the enjoyment of it. To our petition for moral blessings—study the nature of man, and obey the laws which are appointed to produce them. Would we receive our daily bread—it is in accordance with all our best interests that it should be furnished only as the result of our applying the natural means to obtain it—and in the same mode is it most expedient for us that the kingdom of God should be advanced on earth.

There is another question connected with this subject which can scarcely be omitted, as it is one of considerable difficulty in the minds of many, viz., since Evil

arises from the necessity of experience to the guidance of reason, is not reason a fatal gift? Would not man's happiness have been better secured had all his desires been guided by instinct infallibly to their objects? There is, perhaps, no term used more indefinitely, or with a greater variety of significations than the word Instinct. It is used by some to express the cause of all the actions of animals, as a motive power to which we find nothing similar in ourselves. The correct definition of it is, perhaps, that it is an innate propensity, impelling the animals endowed with it to act conformably to the objects of their being without intention or purpose. The Author of the *Natural History of Enthusiasm* says, "The reader need not be reminded that the application of the word Instinct comprehensively, and without distinction, to all the actions of the brute orders, is a popular impropriety. One might as well call all the actions of man rational, as all of the inferior order instinctive. When an animal acts in a manner, which differs in no essential circumstance to a corresponding action in man, a delusion must be engendered by applying to the two actions different terms. We should confine the word Instinct to those instances in which a course rational as to its end, is pursued by a voluntary agent, under circumstances that forbid the supposition that it springs from a perception or calculation of the connexion of means and end. The instance usually adduced, that of the construction of the honey-comb, is one of the most popular that can be named, especially because it involves some of the highest and most abstruse principles of geometry. Philosophical writers must be understood to use the words reason and instinct in a

popular sense, when attributing one to man as his prerogative, and the other to the brute as his blind faculty. The terms reason and instinct thus vaguely used mean, more reason and less reason. For if the brutes were altogether destitute of reason and liberty, in the same sense in which the bee is destitute of both in building her cells, rewards and punishments would have no operation or efficiency."

Again, Spurzheim observes, "It is an error to say that animals act solely by instinct. It is true that some of their doings, such as the labours of insects, are the result of mere instinctive powers, but many animals modify their actions according to external circumstances; they even select one among different motives. A dog may be hungry, but with the opportunity he will not eat, because he remembers the blows he has received for having done so under similar circumstances. If, in following his master, he is separated from him by a carriage, he does not throw himself under the feet of the horses or its wheels, but waits till it is passed, and then by increasing his speed he overtakes his master.

"This shows that some animals act with understanding. On the other hand, though new-born children cry, and suck the finger, they certainly do not act from understanding. And if men of great genius manifest talents without knowing that such faculties exist, if they calculate, sing, or draw, without any tuition, do they not so by some internal impulse or instinct, as well as the animals that sing, build, migrate, and gather provisions? Instinct, then, is not confined to animals, and understanding is not a prerogative of mankind."\*

\* Philosophical Principles of Phrenology, p. 3.

As far as we can judge of the nature of instinct by its operation in animals, it appears to be *a power impelling them to act perfectly in one single direction without intention or purpose*, without any perception of the connexion of means and ends, and consequently not at all capable of adapting itself to circumstances. If, therefore, man were to be governed entirely by instinct, in order to his possessing the liberty of action that he now enjoys, he would require ten thousand at least. But all the instincts with which we are acquainted we find acting by means of organization; and a brain containing the organs of ten thousand instincts would, it is to be feared, be inconceivably large. It is not for us to set limits to Almighty Power, and to say that the Creator could not have governed man by infallible instinct; but we can only reason respecting what He would do from what He has done. Man is a creature possessing a variety of instincts, which give him his purpose and disposition to act; but instead of their being directed to their objects in one unvarying manner, they are put under the charge of a generalizing instinct, which we call reason, and which gives to each a liberty of acting in a hundred different ways, calling at the same time our other feelings into sympathetic action. It must be evident that this is a means of increasing our sensations a hundred-fold, and it is the aggregate of pleasurable sensations that constitutes happiness. It might be demonstrated also that the evil, or the painful sensations resulting from the *wrong* direction which our Instincts sometimes take, are not in the proportion of one to a hundred of the extra sensations we receive.

Suppose appetite in man, as in the lower animals,

infallibly directed him to eat only at proper times, and in proper quantities, of such things as are most wholesome, the many evils bodily and mental, which arise from gluttony and drunkenness, would be spared, but man would lose the varied pleasures of the taste, with all the sympathetic pleasures which accompany its gratification.

Take another instance, the love of offspring. Suppose that children could run about as soon as they were born, and were protected by the perfection of their instincts; much trouble in nursing would be saved, and all the evils of physical mismanagement; but all the pleasures, the hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, of parental solicitude would be lost. Perhaps nothing shows more the folly of those who would take the place of the Almighty and make a better system, than the fact that the pleasures derivable from offspring, more intense perhaps than any other, depend, in a great measure, upon what may be called the evil of the helplessness of the object.

Happiness is made up of units, of single pleasurable sensations, and the object of nature is to bring man into such circumstances as shall produce a constant succession of such sensations; and even if they are partially painful, they are preferable to the pains of ennui, "which is the absence of sensations sufficiently acute to engage attention." Habitual sensations also are too weak to avert ennui, and none but habitual sensations could be experienced by us if we were guided by infallible instincts without the diversifying power of reason; for all progression would cease, and comparative stagnation would be the consequence.

## SECTION III.

ON THE EVILS CONSEQUENT UPON THE VARIETIES OF  
CONDITION AMONG MANKIND.

That the present form of Society in which such great inequalities of condition exist, is a necessary stage in its progress, no one can doubt. Inequality of property in the early ages of mankind, when, from the imperfection of machinery, incessant human labour was required to supply even the necessities of life, was indispensable, in order that one class might be absolved from such physical labour, and thus have leisure to cultivate their higher moral and intellectual powers for the guidance and governance of the rest. The present form of society, of which the vast inequality of conditions is the distinguishing feature, although not calculated to produce anything like the amount of happiness of which man is capable, is undoubtedly the form best adapted for calling out all his powers and energies for the conquest of nature, and for the overcoming of those difficulties which hinder the advancement of the race. No occupation is too degrading for man to undertake, so that he may but live: for to live he considers necessary: nothing is too difficult for him if it enable him to rise in the artificial scale of Society: no toil and trouble too great to prevent his falling. The competition for the means of subsistence calls out every physical energy of the majority of mankind: the competition for rank and consideration develops every mental power of the remainder.

This competition of individuals, each to raise

himself, each to improve his own condition, although productive of much evil and loss of happiness to the present generation, is yet the shortest road to a better and more perfect state of Society. The present may be looked upon as a probationary state, in which necessity, or the desire of distinction—of some place in the world's esteem, engages all in the development of those resources, which shall give man unlimited control over the powers of Nature, and leave to the generations which are to come the necessity for no more bodily labour than health requires, allowing to all, not merely to a small privileged class, time for intellectual and moral pursuits and enjoyments.

Such seems to be the direct good arising out of the present state of Society. Nor are the pains or evils attending the great inequalities of condition so great as would at first appear; for in nothing are the wisdom and benevolence of the Deity more manifest, than in that constitution of the mind which makes these varieties of condition interfere so little with the mass of happiness of which human nature is susceptible. It may suit some creeds to represent the misery of the world as greater than it is; and the prevailing ignorance of the constitution of the mind, and of the consequent conditions of happiness, may cause such exaggerated statements to be believed; but those who speak of this world as "a barren wilderness, a vale of tears, the mere passage to a better," can scarcely acquit themselves of the charge of base ingratitude to their Creator, who has so constituted them that they must receive a balance of happiness whether they will or not; for there are few or none but must confess, if they calculate the predominance

of their pleasurable sensations over their painful ones, that they have had "years of joy for hours of sorrow."

"No man," says a popular writer, "can judge of the happiness of another; as the moon plays upon the waves, and seems to our eyes to favour with a peculiar beam one long track amidst the waters, leaving the rest in comparative obscurity: yet all the while she is no niggard of her lustre—for though the rays that meet not our eyes seem to us as though they were not, yet she with an equal and unfavouring loveliness mirrors herself upon every wave; even so, perhaps, Happiness falls with the same brightness and power over the whole expanse of life, though to our limited eyes, she seems only to rest on those billows from which the ray is reflected back upon our sight."\*

In all the various worldly conditions in which mankind are placed, there is less difference with respect to the amount of happiness enjoyed than would at first sight appear. Nature, as if to force men to expel from society the extremes of both poverty and riches, has made evils to attend both estates.

Happiness consists in the gratification of our wants, and in the legitimate exercise of all our faculties; and its quantity is to be estimated by the number of pleasurable sensations, as compared with, or after deducting, the painful ones. To estimate the difference of condition as regards happiness, is, then, to calculate the different sources of pleasurable sensation that are open to each state, to rich and poor. An erroneous estimate is generally made from not pursuing this method, and from forming our judgment upon the

\* Bulwer.

amount of painful or pleasurable sensations which we, with our *present* feelings, should experience upon being transferred to this or that condition. In this case, the *change* from one condition to another is the chief source of pain or pleasure occupying our thoughts: whereas, in order to form a just estimate of the feelings of another in any particular circumstances, it is necessary that we should have been in his situation for an equal length of time, and not that we should immediately transfer ourselves from our present state of feeling and thinking to his.

The poor man is born in the condition in which we find him, and those things that would be inconveniences and pains to the rich are unobserved by him, since he has known no other state. Health is much more essential to his happiness than riches, for that leaves almost all the natural sources of pleasurable sensation open to him, that are open to the rich man. Thus the pleasures of benevolence, or of sympathy in the happiness of others; those arising from the constant discharge of duty; the pleasures of religion; of hope; of the imagination and memory; of self-approbation and the approbation of others; of the social affections, consisting of the love for wife, children, and friends; of eating and drinking—(appetite making up for the want of delicacies) are all independent of riches, being the natural heritage of all.

Each individual, by the benevolent dispensation of Providence, whatever his circumstances in life, is surrounded by a circle in which all his feelings may be brought into pleasurable excitement. Society consists of an aggregate of such circles, to one or other of which we all belong. It is with those within our own

circle that we sympathise, it is their approbation we desire, it is their *public opinion* that directs our conduct, and in forming an estimate of our own condition, we compare it with the condition of those within this little boundary. Each finds a source of contentment in there being still some one below him, and few would exchange conditions, all things considered, with any other individual.

Although pleasurable sensations are not thus necessarily dependent upon riches, they are to a great degree dependent upon Moral and Intellectual culture; intellectual that shall direct each feeling to its legitimate object, and moral that shall make inclination accord with such direction, so that each feeling may be exercised in accordance with the good of others. If this be not done, Nature's law is broken, and pain ensues as the inevitable consequence of the infringement. It is more in amount than in kind that the difference as to happiness consists; for pleasurable sensations, arising from the gratification of the wants of either rich or poor, are about equal in intensity; but the ignorant man, of either class, has appended to his pleasures a large amount of future pains.

Let it not be forgotten in the estimate of this subject, "that habit renders labour, when not too severe, agreeable, \* \* \* that by a law of our nature, a state of action is more conducive to happiness than a state of rest, for employment gives pleasure to every moment. \* \* \* That want is the principle of activity and happiness in man, and that when we have obtained what we want, there is no longer a desire for it, and the mind is consequently inactive. This accounts for there being more pleasure in the

pursuit than in the possession of the object of our desires. Thus it is not when we have acquired a fortune, but in the acquiring it, it is not in having no wants, but in the satisfying them, not in having been prosperous, but in prosperity, that happiness consists.”\*

The evils attendant upon Wealth, although of a different kind, are perhaps as great as those that wait upon Poverty. The very absence of those wants that press too heavily upon the poor, obliging them to labour incessantly, is frequently the cause of the inactivity of mind, the ennui, the absence of sufficient stimulus to exertion, that deprives the rich man of so much enjoyment. Not having the wants of the poor man, he cannot always replace them with others; like the man who is never hungry, and who consequently loses the pleasure derived from the gratification of appetite.† From the want of the habit of constant employment, every trifling exertion becomes a painful labour, and the effort required to secure any great pleasure, or to carry out any high moral purpose, if made at all, is made with aversion. It is a secret mankind have yet to learn, that if they would be constantly happy, it must be in the legitimate gratification of their natural

\* Helvetius on Man.

† “The vices of the great will commonly be found to arise from one cause; the experienced necessity of supplying by artificial excitation for the absence of that daily labour which constitutes at once the destiny and the blessing of mankind. The childish extravagance of Moscow, the incessant trifling of Milan, the habitual gallantry of Paris, the ruinous expenses of London, are the different directions which, according to the natural temperament, the incessant desire for occupation and excitement has taken.”—*Alison on Population*, vol. 1, p. 298.

feelings, and not in the gratification of artificial wants, which can, in general, only be satisfied by the overstrained labour of the multitude. From the multiplication of such artificial wants, "the happiness of the rich man is like a complicated machine, some parts of which are always out of order. \* \* \* Nature's pleasures are the purest, are attained at the least expense, and are always at hand."\*

It is usual in estimating the evils in the world, to take them in mass, to put together the wars, and murders, and crimes of centuries, as generally collected in the pages of history, and to say—Behold the picture of our race—but this is an unfair representation; and if the evil belonging to any particular period were analyzed, and compared with the aggregate of good enjoyed during the same period, the latter would be found greatly to predominate. History makes mention chiefly of the evil; this is thought the best worth recording, as being the most unusual; the natural state, the happiness that is noiselessly enjoyed during the same period, passes unnoticed. So it is with respect to the generality of individuals; every

\* Helvetius

How little happiness is really dependent upon artificial wants is evident if we consider "That the highest objects of luxury, in one age, become comforts to the one which succeeds it, and are considered as absolute necessities in the lapse of a few generations. The houses which are now inhabited by the lowest of the populace, were the abodes of rank and opulence three centuries ago; the floors strewed with rushes, which were the mark of dignity under the Plantagenet princes, would now be rejected even by the inmates of workhouses; and the vegetables which were known only to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, are now to be seen in the garden of every English labourer."—*Alison on Population*, vol. 1, p. 104.

misfortune, every pain, is distinctly remembered ; the enjoyment is forgotten : although each must admit, if candid, that the latter has far exceeded the suffering. Let a person examine the state of his own feelings under some severe dispensation, under some great loss or affliction, and he will find that such is the natural constitution of the mind, that it expands from under the pressure, in spite even of an effort to keep it down. Let us take the most miserable day of our lives, and divide fairly the sensations experienced in its course into painful and pleasurable ones, and there are few but must admit that the pleasurable predominate. Even with respect to cases of acute disease, of severe bodily suffering, this would be found to be the truth more frequently than is commonly imagined. From the account given of such suffering afterwards we form our idea of it as continuous ; but such is seldom the case ; frequently long intervals occur, free from pain, and are, by contrast, amongst the sweetest moments of existence, but from the very reason of their being unmarked by acute sensation, are soon lost to the memory. The body is only capable of bearing a certain portion of suffering, and if pain finally triumph, no respite being allowed by which the frame may recover strength to endure its next assaults, death speedily and mercifully arrives to release the sufferer from such an undesirable condition.

The writer quoted at the commencement of this Chapter, observes, "In the estimate of the ills of life, we never sufficiently take into consideration the wonderful elasticity of our moral frame, the unlooked-for, the startling facility with which the human mind accommodates itself to all changes of circumstances,

making an object and even a joy from the hardest and seemingly the least redeemed conditions of fate. The man who watched the spider in his cell, may have taken at least as much interest in the watch, as when engaged in the most ardent and ambitious object of his former life; and he was but a type of his brethren; all in similar circumstances would have found some similar occupation. Let any man look over his past life, he will find that the dreary present, *once made familiar*, glided away from him as if it had been all happiness; his mind dwelt not on the long intervals, but on the stepping-stones it had created and placed at each; and by that moral dreaming which for ever goes on within man's secret heart, he lives as little in the immediate world before him, as in the most sanguine period of his youth, or the most scheming of his maturity."

Mr. Alison, after speaking of the evils of misgovernment, as already quoted, says, "Nor is it to be imagined that the happiness of the individuals who are subjected to despotic government, is necessarily sacrificed during the effort of Nature to throw off the load which oppresses it. The same providence and disregard of the future, which is the immediate cause of the growth of a redundant population, afford sources of enjoyment to the individual, unknown in civilized life, and softens the stroke of suffering to a degree which can hardly be conceived in more prosperous states. It is by supposing the subjects of such governments actuated with our feelings, desires, and habits, that their condition appears so unhappy. We forget that Nature has accommodated the human mind to all the circumstances in which mankind can be placed, under the varied physical and

political circumstances of the species, and that instincts and gratifications to us unknown, compensate to them for the want of those enjoyments which to us appear indispensable. The country of Europe where distress appears in its more aggravated form is Ireland; and Persia is the dynasty of the East, where desolation and misrule have longest prevailed: yet every person who has visited the former country has observed the uniform cheerfulness and joyous habits of the peasantry; a very competent observer has expressed a doubt whether the people of Persia do not enjoy life as much as in the more civilized and laborious states of Europe; and the able author who has demonstrated that it is in the purity of domestic life, and simplicity of manners in the East, that the real antidote to the whole political evils to which they have so long been subjected is to be found, has confidently asserted the opinion, that the average amount of human happiness and virtue is not less in the East than the West. The French peasantry danced and sung in the midst of the political evils which led to the Revolution; and even under the horrors of West India slavery, the evening assemblies of the Negroes present a specimen of temporary felicity, rarely witnessed amidst the freedom or luxury of their oppressors. The freedom from anxiety, the sweetness of momentary gratification, the relaxation from labour which result from the prevalence of habits of improvidence, frequently compensate to the individual for the dear-bought comforts of prosperous life, while suffering loses half its bitterness by never being foreseen, and misfortune half its severity by being speedily forgotten. 'In peace of body,' says Mr. Smith, 'all ranks of men are nearly upon a level, and the beggar who suns him-

self by the highway, possesses the security that kings are fighting for.' "

Thus happiness is little dependent upon situation or circumstances, for, as is so justly observed, "we make an object and even a joy from the hardest and seemingly the least redeemed conditions of fate." Our feelings and faculties are capable of an almost infinite variety of direction; deprive them of one class of stimulants and they will soon make others for themselves. The greatest amount of toil, privation, and suffering, which the law adjudges to criminals as a punishment for heinous offences, is not more than that endured by thousands whom the division of labour, and the present artificial state of society, compel to seek a subsistence in mines or in some of our factories; and yet the hard drudgery of these latter being, in some sense, voluntary, is submitted to with cheerfulness, and the individuals are comparatively contented and enjoy a large balance of happiness. Instances might be brought forward of pleasure being found even in death; of fanaticism and enthusiasm overcoming bodily torment; witness the bearing of the Christian martyrs; of the Hindoo who immolates himself under the chariot-wheels of Jugger-naut; of the Mahometan who dies fighting for his Prophet; nor should the followers of Odin be forgotten, who sang hymns in praise of death, with nothing better to inspire their song than the hope of drinking beer out of the skulls of their enemies, in the palace of Odin.

It will be found that most real misery and poignant sorrow, is experienced, not in any fixed course of life, however comfortless and undesirable, but in passing

from one condition to another ; and that the intensity of the feeling will materially depend upon the suddenness of the change. How small a part these changes make of our existence, is evident to every one who has no motive for misrepresenting our condition, and who feels but ordinary gratitude for the numberless blessings he enjoys, and the wonderful adaptation of his constitution to its end—the production of happiness.

But although there is this general equalizing tendency in the distribution of happiness ; although Nature has evidently intended that there shall be a balance of enjoyment to all that breathe ; it must be admitted that great inequalities do nevertheless exist, depending upon Health, Organization, Circumstances, and Education. The present state of society contains the representatives of all the various stages of civilization, from the most grovelling ignorance and physical destitution which has scarcely gained the first step in the ascent, to the highest round of enjoyment, mental and bodily, which the registered experience of ages has placed within the reach of mankind. There cannot be a doubt that he to whom birth and circumstances have allotted this enviable position in society, who, while every imaginable physical want is supplied without care on his part, has leisure and inclination to cultivate his highest faculties, and to revel amongst the stores of literature and science which offer a continual feast to the man of taste and fortune, enjoys a happiness superior to that of the “poor child of toil,” who is not the less a loser by being debarred from the legitimate gratifications of the opulent and educated, that he is totally unconscious of what he is deprived. And here the question arises—

Admitting that the state of the world is consistent with Benevolence, is this inequality of conditions equally consistent with Justice ?

It is thought that in order to reconcile the present inequalities with the justice of God, a future state of existence in another world is necessary, where those whose happiness had fallen short in this, as compared with that of others, might be duly compensated for the deficiency. And this argument is adduced by many as one of the strongest that *reason* affords for our existence in a future state. But since we can only judge of the attributes of God by what we see and know of His works, are we not bound to admit, that if He cannot be proved to be just with respect to this world, there is no evidence that he will be so in another. Admitting, however, that justice is proved to be the actuating principle of the Deity, let us consider how its claims would be satisfied by this system of compensation in another life. Who, upon the plea of justice, must become the inhabitants of heaven? The wicked, *not* the good. For, granting that all actions are necessary, those of the wicked man could not have been other than they were, under the circumstances in which he was placed ; and the natural consequence of vicious actions being loss of enjoyment, he has already suffered from a great deficiency of happiness in the present state. And such having been the lot assigned to him here, ought he still to be among the most unhappy in another world? This question is answered by many in the affirmative, on the ground that punishment in another state will have the same benevolent object that it has here, viz., reformation ; and that by

its means, evil-doers will be fitted for the enjoyment of eternal bliss, to which the preparatory suffering will bear no comparison. But if suffering in the unseen world is to act upon individuals according to the same laws by which it operates here, it must be of long, of very long duration, before it effect its object of rendering the proper occupant of hell, a pure and suitable inhabitant of heaven. And, if we may, without irreverence, employ reason upon such a subject, the long and painful process would appear to be perfectly gratuitous; as, in the re-organization of a being for a future state, the leaving out of the causes that led to vice would seem to be the most direct means of amendment. Such causes we have seen to be dependent upon the organization of the individual, and the circumstances in which he is placed. The propensities, sentiments, and intellectual faculties of which the mind consists, are, so far as respects the majority of them, adapted only to a world like the present; and if a future state is to be unlike the present, they also must undergo a corresponding alteration. If there is to be no marrying and giving in marriage; no offspring; no difficulties and dangers; no death; then many of our mental faculties will have no use. So also, if the order and constitution of things in another world resemble not exactly those to which we have been accustomed here, the knowledge acquired on earth will be unavailable. For knowledge is nothing but experience of the qualities and properties of things; of the order in which they follow each other, and their relations to our peculiar constitution, and it would consequently be of no use were such laws changed. Why then must a

long probation in a future state be necessary? Why, in the re-organization that *must* take place, could not the mind be divested of those qualities that have led to vice here, without the aid of suffering? Or might we not even ask, why would not the creation of another more perfect being answer the benevolent design of the Creator, as well as the re-organization of the same?

Such subjects, however, not being matters of experience, but of speculation, are best left to individual opinion. It is enough, if no opinions are entertained at variance with the one great truth that all nature proclaims, viz., the Benevolence of our Creator; for we may then leave ourselves with unbounded confidence to His disposal, feeling certain, that whatever mode of government will best promote the happiness of the whole of His creatures, that He will pursue; and none but the ungrateful and selfish would desire otherwise.

But the Necessitarian does not require to call in the aid of another world, in order to reconcile the state of things here with perfect justice on the part of the Author and Disposer of all things. He believes that the scheme of Providence is to produce the largest sum of enjoyment upon the whole; and, everything possessing sensation being taken into the estimate, that God has given to every creature the situation best adapted for that purpose. A brute, therefore, had he sense to compare conditions, has just as much reason to complain that he is not a man, as man, that he is not higher in the scale of intelligence. Had man's possession of a higher degree of intelligence been conducive to the greater happiness of the whole sensitive creation, he may rest assured it would have been given to him; more he ought not to desire.

The arrangement by which man, for his own interest, provides for the happiness of so many of the animal creation, is a beautiful illustration of this tendency in the natural laws to ensure the largest sum of enjoyment. He spreads the verdant mead, and lays out pleasure grounds for the horse, the ox, the sheep, the deer; and the pang that deprives them of existence, is as nothing compared to their life of enjoyment. Were there no men to till the ground, the earth would not maintain a thousandth part of the animals that it does at present, and the want of cultivation would also unfit it for the mass of living insect enjoyment with which it now swarms.\* We cannot turn our eyes in any direction in which pleasurable sensation is not spread around; every leaf, every blade of grass, the atmosphere, the waters, swarm with creatures in a state of positive happiness, the collective sum of which, perhaps, may equal the aggregate of that of the whole human race. The happiness of an individual must be subservient to that of the human race, and the human race is again only a part of the great whole of animated existence, and man's situation and position on this earth must

\* The animals killed weekly in England for the consumption of man, are probably more than the whole of England would sustain in a wild state, without the aid of man. There are, on an average, 26,800 sheep and cattle, only, sold weekly in Smithfield to supply the London market. (Macculloch's Stat. British Empire, vol. 2, p. 497.) The number of horses alone in Great Britain is estimated at 1,500,000. "It appears that the whole value of the agricultural produce consumed by animals is £120,000,000; that required by man is only £70,000,000: in other words, the subsistence raised for man throughout the Empire, is little more than *half the amount* of that required for the animals of which he makes use."—Alison, vol. 1, p. 204.

have reference to the whole plan of God's providence for the happiness of all: then—

“How strange is human pride!  
 I tell thee that those living things,  
 To whom the fragile blade of grass,  
     That springeth in the morn  
     And perisheth ere noon,  
     Is an unbounded world;  
 I tell thee that those viewless beings,  
 Whose mansion is the smallest particle  
     Of the impassive atmosphere,  
     Think, feel, and live, like man;  
 That their affections and antipathies,  
     Like his, produce the laws  
     Ruling their moral state;  
     And the minutest throb,  
 That through their frame diffuses  
     The slightest, faintest, motion,  
     Is fixed and indispensable  
     As the majestic laws  
     That rule yon rolling orbs.”\*

Such, though a poetical, is yet a logical deduction from the doctrine of necessity. Man, without any merit on his part, without even his own consent, is brought into existence, and he differs from other animals, not in being less surely moved to action by the inevitable laws of necessity, but in being made more noble, and of higher importance than they, inasmuch as he is the recipient of a larger portion of happiness himself, and the dispenser of a large amount to others.

Is man, then, entitled to say to his Creator, Why hast thou made me thus? Why was I not placed higher in the scale of creation? Why was I made so weak, so

\* Shelley.

poor, so imperfect? Ought he not rather to acquiesce in the poet's argument—

“First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,  
Why formed no weaker, blinder, and no less?”

“Then say not, man's imperfect, Heaven in fault,  
Say rather, man's as perfect as he ought;  
His knowledge measured to his state and place,  
His time a moment, and a point his space.”

The Creator has called all into existence, and placed each in his proper sphere, and justice requires only that the existence of each should be a blessing, the whole of his being considered; this preponderance of good being secured, the Creator may make the condition of each whatever He sees fit, that is, whatever the happiness of the whole may require.

The last evil to which man is subjected is Death,\* and with this is connected the pains of separation.

\* “Death is the gradual exhaustion of our faculties, the sinking away of the powers of animal life, till they finally cease to act and to be. Now, this process may be hastened or retarded; may have its progress and its different stages; one power after another may yield—the faculty of speech, of hearing, of motion; but to fix on one particular moment rather than another, and to say that *now* the deceased person is ‘struck with death,’ is to use language without any foundation in philosophy, or support from observation. All decay is but dying; all disease is a progress towards death; every beating pulse is wearing away the channels of life; every breath of that heaving bosom is preparing for the time when it shall breathe no more. There prevails also an erroneous or an exaggerated idea of many of the circumstances that attend the dying hour. In particular, it is thought that this final event passes with some dreadful visitation of unknown agony over the departing sufferer. It is imagined that there is some strange and mysterious reluctance in the spirit to leave the body; that it struggles long to retain its hold, and is at last torn with violence from its mortal

Paley says, "In the brute creation, nature seems to have stepped in with some secret provision for their relief under the rupture of their attachments. In their instincts towards their offspring, and of their offspring to them, I have often been surprised to find how ardently they love, and how soon they forget. The pertinacity of human sorrow (upon which, time also, at length, lays its softening hand) is probably, therefore, in some manner connected with the qualities of our rational and moral nature. One thing, however, is clear, viz., that it is better that we should possess affections, the sources of so many virtues, and so many

tenement; and, in fine, that this conflict between the soul and the body greatly adds to the pangs of dissolution. But it may be justly presumed from what usually appears, that there is no particular nor acute suffering; not more than is often experienced in life; nay, rather, that there is less, because the very powers of suffering are enfeebled, the very capacities of pain are nearly exhausted. Death is to be regarded rather as a sleep than an acute sensation, as a suspension rather than a conflict of our faculties. Death is the sleep of the weary. It is the repose, the body's repose, after the busy and toilsome day of life.

"We have all witnessed, perhaps, the progress of this change, and what was it? Let our senses and our understandings answer; and not our imagination. What was it, but gradually diminishing strength, feeble utterance, failing perception, and total insensibility? The change, as it passed before us, may have been attended with accidental circumstances of mental experience or bodily sensation; but the change itself, death considered as an event, was only a gradual decline and extinction of the powers of life. This is all which we saw, or could know, as necessarily belonging to this crisis in the progress of our being. And yet, from this ignorance, we allow ourselves to be troubled by the phantoms of agitating conjecture. We imagine, and, indeed, it is common to say, that because no one has returned to tell us 'what it is to die,' there must be some mysterious and peculiar sensation, some awful physical expe-

joys, although they be exposed to the incidents of life, as well as the interruptions of mortality, than, by the want of them, be reduced to a state of selfishness, apathy, and quietism." One object of human sorrow for the departure of friends, is doubtless to induce us to make every effort to save them, to keep them with us, when suffering has rendered them incapable of helping themselves. Every one can bear witness to the intensity of affection that is felt by a family circle towards the stricken member of it, who is not likely

rience attending it. But we see nothing, and we ought not to presume anything of this nature.

"Neither are we to presume that death arouses the mind in the last moments of its earthly existence to the keenest attention, or to the most intense action of its powers. The subject, when distinctly contemplated beforehand, may do so; it may often do so in the midst of life; and well were it, if it far more frequently aroused us to do in season the work of life. All we wish to say is,—and we wish to say it to preclude all appeals, at once, to mysterious fear and unfounded hope,—that there is no peculiar, no fearful nor hopeful activity of mind amidst the solemnities of dissolution; that, in most cases, there is no activity. It is probable, that the exhausted faculties usually sink to their mortal repose, as they do to nightly sleep; and that the convulsive struggles which are sometimes witnessed, are often as unconscious as those with which we sink to the slumbers of evening rest. Nor, when the veil of delirium is spread over the mortal hour, can we regard it as the evil that it is often thought to be. It has seemed to us rather, in many cases, as a friendly veil, drawn by the hand of nature over what would otherwise be the agonies of separation, over the anguish that the parent would feel at leaving children orphans and destitute, or that the friend would feel, in saying farewell to those who were dearest on earth. Delirium often interposes, we believe, by the kind providence of God, where nature would be too weak, or faith too infirm for the trial."—("Erroneous views of death reproved," by Orville Dewey.)

long to be one amongst them: how unwearying the attention to every want; how anxious the suppression of everything calculated to trouble or annoy; how tender the forbearance, if suffering renders the dying one irritable or captious: all which devotion and kindness seem intended by nature as palliatives during life's last trials, and which could not be displayed if the death of a friend were a matter of indifference. It is, in fact, impossible to estimate the softening and moral influence which the occasional loss of some friends, and the liability to lose all, have upon the human character, nor the degree of hard selfishness that might be engendered, if we never had to contemplate a separation from our companions in life; or, which would be the same as to effect, if we could take our final leave of them without anguish, without regret. The flow of affection that is felt towards survivors when one friend has departed, the fond clinging to those that are left lest they too should soon be torn from us, show, in a direct manner, this humanizing influence to which we allude, and which, by the suppression of animosities, and inducement of kindly feelings, not unfrequently renders a bereavement, upon the whole, a blessing. "When Death strikes down the innocent and young, for every fragile form from which he lets the panting spirit free, a hundred virtues rise, in shapes of mercy, charity, and love, to walk the world and bless it. Of every tear that sorrowing mortals shed on such green graves, some good is born, some gentler nature comes. In the Destroyer's steps there spring up bright creations that defy his power, and his dark path becomes a way of light to heaven."\*

\* Dickens.

In the present state of society, when selfishness is, for the most part, the predominant feeling in every breast, the pangs of separation are perhaps, necessarily, acute and agonizing, in order to induce us to tend sedulously those who are no longer able to assist themselves, and who cannot benefit us in return; yet there is reason to hope that in a more advanced state of society even these pangs may be mitigated. When man shall have studied his own constitution, and shall act so as to follow out the object of nature, and to produce the largest sum of enjoyment to the whole, individual attachments, which are of a selfish character, will be weaker, and general attachments will be stronger. He will look upon Death as a benevolent dispensation, as natural as life; he will look forward to separation without dismay, and be consoled for the loss of one friend by beholding the world full of friends who are still left to him, each striving to make up the deficiency. The faculty that attaches us to individuals, (Adhesiveness,) and that which attaches us to mankind generally, (Benevolence,) are different faculties of the mind. In the present state of the world, the first unduly predominates; it is stronger than is consistent with the greatest happiness of the whole; hence results greater suffering on the death of our fellow-creatures, than, under a well-organized system of society, would be necessary to make us exert ourselves in their behalf during sickness.

With respect to death itself—keeping in view the object which we are justified in regarding as the one proposed by Providence, viz., the production of the greatest sum of enjoyment, not to any particular individuals, but to the whole living creation—the question

is, whether man had been better made immortal, or whether his term should have been limited to its three-score years and ten? Without death the whole constitution of things here must have been altered; it must have been an entirely different world, man must have been a totally different being, and his happiness must have been dependent upon other things than it is now. The ordinary notions with reference to knowledge and our aspirations after it, would seem to be erroneous. Knowledge is only valuable as a source of happiness, and that happiness arises principally from the direction which knowledge gives of our feelings to their legitimate gratification. It is like money, useful according to the manner in which it is used, and they who pursue it for its own sake, are like the miser with his gold. When time has blunted the feelings, when the objects of them no longer exist, knowledge is of little use as a means of happiness, unless it can be, as it is now by nature, infused into a new form, capable of all that freshness of feeling in which youth so much excels old age. Happiness depends upon a continual succession of new sensations; were man, organized as he now is, to live much longer than the time allotted to him, his sensations, from being habitual, would be too weak to afford him enjoyment; his life would become a burden; and the instinct of the "Love of Life" would be too feeble to make him wish to preserve his existence.

With the present arrangement, the great Body of Society, (considered as an individual,) with its Soul, the principle of Sensation, is ever fresh and vigorous and increasing in enjoyment. As yet it is but in its childhood: as its knowledge increases, so will its happiness. Death and Birth, the means of removal and succession,

bear the same relation to this body of society, as the system of waste and reproduction do to the human body : the old and useless and decayed material is carried out, and fresh substituted, and thus the frame is renovated and rendered capable of ever increasing happiness. The parallel between the soul of society and that of the individual man is equally complete ; as with respect to the latter, all the aimless studies and useless accomplishments of youth are soon forgotten, while only the knowledge that is serviceable is remembered, so in the great mind of society, the absurd theories and systems that occasionally rear themselves into notice, are shortly consigned to oblivion, and all the useful ideas that have existed in the individual minds of the human race, are retained. While our thoughts traverse, as if in personal recollection, the different by-gone ages of society, the minds of all the illustrious men that have lived, form part of our own, until we arrive at its infancy, concerning which, as of our own infancy, we can remember nothing. The minds, that is to say, the ideas and feelings of which they were composed, of Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, Galileo, Bacon, Locke, Newton, are thus for ever in existence, and the immortality of the soul is preserved in the great body of society. It is in this sense that the soul may be said to be immortal even here. In this sense also we may say, that for all the elements of happiness—

“ For love and beauty and delight  
There is no death, nor change,”

\* \* \* \* \*

“ ’Tis *we*, ’tis *ours* are changed ; not they.”

It is not possible, neither is it necessary to mention all kinds of evils separately ; the principles assumed

we think will enable the reader to assign to each its objects and advantages, and also, however great it may appear in mass, to analyze it, and assign to it its due relation to individual enjoyment, to which it will be found to bear but small proportion. There is one question, however, which it is doubtful if the present state of our knowledge will enable us to answer quite satisfactorily, which is, that considering happiness is so much dependent upon knowledge and civilization, how is it that society has made such slow progress in such knowledge and civilization? Why is it still in its childhood? Why has moral science, upon which happiness is as dependent as health upon physical science, kept so far in arrear of the other? There are several considerations that suggest themselves towards the solution of this difficulty. It was necessary that the whole earth should be peopled, for to ensure the largest sum of enjoyment the world will contain, is the end and aim of Providence. It is probable that if civilization had progressed more rapidly, this would not have been effected: mankind would have preferred keeping their numbers within the means of subsistence in a particular country, to going forth into the wilderness of a new world, if instinct rather than reason had not dictated their increase, and had not necessity, in consequence, obliged them to encounter all the trials and difficulties of new settlers. Such difficulties are not slight; Mr. Alison says, "The immense and apparently insurmountable obstacles which present themselves to the extension of industry on the first cultivation of the earth; the extent of morasses, the thickness of the forests, the ruggedness of the mountains, forbid the hope of success but from the accumulated force of

multitudes. In the first attempts to clear the ground, numbers perish from the unhealthiness of the atmosphere, the severity of the labour, the magnitude of the hardships to which they are exposed. From the narratives of the extreme sufferings undergone by the first settlers in distant colonies in our own times, even with the aid of iron instruments and the arts of civilization, we may gather what must have been the condition of the human race in remote and now forgotten periods.”\*

Another reason why society has advanced so slowly is, that physical comforts must be first secured, before moral and intellectual pleasures can be enjoyed, and necessity was required to drive men forward to the discovery of those arts and sciences upon which the increase of physical comforts depends. We appear to be fast approaching that state in which the powers of production will be so far increased, as to afford leisure for moral and intellectual pleasures to all. To have given man such moral and intellectual desires, at the same time that he was obliged to work eight or ten hours per day in order to supply his physical wants, must have diminished rather than increased the amount of his enjoyment; wants and desires, without the means of gratification, being pains.

There is another consideration of great importance to which we cannot attach too much weight, viz., that all knowledge to be available, must partake of the character of *experience*: it is probable, therefore, that any quicker mode of revealing knowledge to mankind than the present slow, experimental process, must have been ineffectual. The wisdom of others is of little or no

use to the individual, until experience has made such wisdom peculiarly his own; and the same law applies to society at large.

And lastly, in the words of Mr. Alison, "If man had been destined merely to exist, like the inferior animals, upon the fruits of the earth, he might have gone on increasing from generation to generation, like the back-woodsmen in America, and at no very distant period overspread the whole earth with his descendants. But it was not in so hurried a manner that the great year of existence was intended to be passed, nor for the gratification merely of his animal wants that this race was implanted in the earth. He was intended to advance in the individual and the species; to rise from the grossness of animal to the dignity of intellectual nature; in the words of his Creator, he was ordained not merely to 'replenish' the earth, but to 'subdue it.' To him were ultimately destined the command of the elements, and the powers of thought; the fervour of genius, and the dignity of intellect; the heroism of virtue, and the constancy of misfortune. For these elevated purposes it was essential that the progress of the species should not be too rapid; that the earth should not be replenished merely with rude and unthinking husbandmen; that his command over the elements should increase with the elements with which he had to contend; and that the growth of the human mind should keep pace with the enlargement of the species. Such a provision is made in the varying wants and desires which arise in the human breast; in the blind impulses which actuate him at one period, and the far-seeing sagacity which directs him at another; in the bursting vigour and activity which ani-

mate him in one stage of his progress, and the decline and decrepitude which enfeeble him at another. Unlike the inferior animals, which at once multiply up to the measure assigned them by nature, many ages elapse during the childhood of his being. The infancy of the race is as long in proportion as that of the individual. Long as his species has covered the earth, it has not yet entered upon the manhood of existence. The corrupted communities, and now decayed empires, which have successively risen and fallen during this constant but unobserved progress, have been swept away when they had performed their mission in human affairs. There are destroyers provided for the carrion of nations, not less than the corpses of individuals; pernicious remains are not permitted to taint the moral any more than the natural atmosphere; unseen in ordinary times, the vultures of the North appear in the distance, when their cleansing is required; the Scythian cavalry scent from afar the odour of human corruption, and the punishment of the vices of nations conducts the mighty system of human advancement."\*

Had history been written with a right view of the nature and objects of evil, much light would have been thrown upon this question, as well as upon all those connected with the advancement and progress of the race. Even now, a universal history of civilization would dispel much of the darkness that still envelops the subject. When the common superstitions concerning Evil, shall give place to the above views of its nature and objects; when it shall in all cases be regarded as remedial, and its causes, therefore, inquired into, a much more rapid advance of the race towards

\* "On Population," vol. 1, p. 80.

the perfection of which it is capable may be expected to take place. Nature will then no longer be judged by her dealings with regard to a single people, nation, or even generation—whom she no more hesitates to cut off, if the general good requires it, than a surgeon does to amputate the limb which threatens the life and welfare of an individual—but with regard to the general good of all her children in all times and places; and the dispensations which, to our short-sighted wisdom, frequently appear as unmixed evils, will then prove her to be guided by an unerring and benevolent Power. Although there must still be many difficulties attached to this subject, and the causes of many evils must still remain unexplained, yet to those who trace out final causes, who study the Creator in his works, the mystery of Evil may be sufficiently unravelled to give infinite confidence in His providence, and faith that farther knowledge will make manifest the benevolent tendency of all creation, and bring home to every heart the all-cheering conviction that “WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT.”

## CHAPTER III.

### THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY.

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#### SECTION I.

##### MORAL OBLIGATION.

WE hear of Moral Obligation, of acting according to conscience, and not according to self-interest, pleasure, appetite, desire; but it is seldom clearly defined in what Moral Obligation consists. Some say it is acting in accordance with the will of God: but then arises the question, what is the will of God? Others say that we are to be governed by an inward monitor, which all possess: but then what is to be the standard by which the indications of this inward monitor are to be judged, since we seldom find two persons in whom its promptings coincide on all subjects. "We are to do so and so, because it is right," says one; "Because common sense, reason, the fitness of things, the law of nature, justice, the public good, require it," say others. But as Mr. Bentham has ably shown, all these are mere modes of expressing the individual opinion of any one who chooses to dogmatise concerning right and wrong, without assigning any reason for it beyond his own internal conviction.

The science of Morality goes farther than merely to lay down rules of conduct: it has to show the reason

for them, and the foundation of the obligation to obey them. The Foundations of Morality can only be discovered by studying the constitution of man and its relation to everything around him. The application of the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity to Virtue and Vice, Praise and Blame, Reward and Punishment, has shown us that, abstractedly, all actions are alike, both with respect to their fitness and unfitness, or with reference to the motives that produced them; that, in *themselves*, they are all equally deserving of praise or blame, reward or punishment, because they are all the produce of causes, arising out of natural constitution and circumstances over which the individual has no control; and that, therefore, the only distinction which can be made between actions is with regard to their tendency. Actions, then, must be viewed as right or wrong, as in accordance with common sense, reason, the fitness of things, the law of nature, justice, the public good, not with reference to anything in themselves, that marks them as such, but according to their tendency—their tendency to produce happiness or misery, pleasure or pain. That it must be as their tendency to produce happiness or misery, has been proved by showing the nature of man's responsibility or *obligation* to act in one way rather than another; it appearing that such accountability is founded upon pain attending some actions, and pleasure others, in proportion as such actions are or are not calculated to promote the happiness of all the sensitive creation. It is to this issue that all the advocates for different standards of morality are obliged to come, if pushed to a conclusion: they are all obliged to acknowledge that the fitness of things means their fitness to

produce happiness; and so of the rest; and that conscientiousness and veneration, which teach us to "do justly and to walk humbly with our God," are virtues only because they promote the general happiness. But though all are ultimately obliged to take this test, and to admit that God being infinitely benevolent, happiness must be the end and aim of creation, yet a great point of dispute still remains, whether happiness here, or happiness hereafter, is the end, and ought to be the aim, of man's existence. This question, of course, must be decided by the relation which man's faculties bear to things around him. We know, from the relation that the lungs bear to water, that we were not intended to live in the water; we know, from the relation that the human stomach bears to the different kinds of food, that it was not intended to digest grass, like that of a cow; from the relation of the eye to light, we know that we were not intended to live in darkness; so with respect to the relation that the mental faculties bear to things around us, we find that they have direct reference to the present life, and that they would be as useless in a state unlike the present, as the fins of a fish on land or the wings of a bird in the water. So that whatever may be the intention of our Creator with regard to us in a future state, we are certain that he intended us for happiness in this, as happiness is the natural result of the legitimate exercise of all our faculties; and those faculties, although some few of them are capable of a direction towards a future state of being, have all direct reference to the present world. The obligation, then, that a man is under to act in one way rather than in another, is owing to its tendency to happiness to the avoidance of

pain, and Morality may be defined as "the science which teaches men to live together in the most happy manner possible."\*

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## SECTION II.

## PAIN AND PLEASURE.

The ground being so far cleared before us, our line of reasoning is henceforth simple and straightforward, relating only to the question of Pain and Pleasure—Happiness and Misery. These will be found the ultimate springs of all our actions. Pain and Pleasure, which are only other names for desire and aversion, liking and antipathy, being to volition in the sensitive creation, what attraction and repulsion are to the motions that go on in the physical world. Man, as we have seen, is equally the agent of Necessity with all other created beings, and this is the law, the first law of his nature, that he should wish for and seek his own happiness; and he is no more capable of avoiding it, or of acting contrary to it, than the atoms of matter can refuse to be guided by the influence which is called attraction. This proposition, however, requires explanation, for it will be immediately denied by many, who, from want of clearly understanding the nature of the law referred to, feel convinced that they are impelled to action by a thousand motives which cannot be said to partake of the character of either pleasure or pain. But they who reason in this way, for the most part think only of mere bodily pleasure and pain. All kinds of feelings

\* Helvetius.

emanating from any part of the body; all actions of the mind, whether proceeding from the Intellectual Faculties, the Sentiments, or the Propensities, come under the denomination of Sensations, as before explained; and all sensations are pleasurable or painful, though in a thousand different degrees, at least all that are powerful enough to impel to action. Locke says, "all action has its source in uneasiness;" at all events, we have previously seen that all action has a cause. We act either instinctively or from motive. If instinctively, we are impelled by some desire, which desire proceeds from the action of some faculty, and each faculty, when indulged in its natural action is the source of pleasure, and when ungratified, or disagreeably affected, produces pain; pains and pleasures are thus as numerous in their kind as the faculties. One individual will feel pleasure in doing good, another in doing mischief; one in saving money, another in spending it; one will instinctively run away at the slightest cause of alarm, another will as instinctively face it. In all which cases it is not the less a pleasurable or painful sensation that induces each individual so to act, because he does not stay to make a calculation of the balance of pleasures or pains. When calculation does take place, we have seen that the will is determined by the greatest apparent good, and the anticipation of pleasure derivable from the good is the motive to action. The lower animals are impelled immediately to action by pleasures and pains, without even knowing that there are such feelings, i. e. without having any abstract notion of either one or the other, and by far the greater part of men's actions are performed in the same way, instinctively, and without any calculation or reference

to either pleasure or pain. Some of the most intelligent of the animals, dogs for example, are enabled to make some sort of calculation, and to balance future punishment against present enjoyment, and so also does man in proportion as he becomes enlightened and his feelings are put under the direction of reason. It is here that the moralist can be of use, by enabling men to make a more correct calculation than their unassisted reason could otherwise accomplish ; by showing from experience and from the constitution of nature, what conduct invariably leads to happiness in the end, and what to misery. The duty of the moralist then is to enable men to make a correct calculation of their pleasures and pains.

If the common objection be urged—"Are all men, then, eternally calculating pains and pleasures in all their actions?" we answer, no ; they more frequently act instinctively, that is, without calculation ; but the pain or pleasure of the gratification or non-gratification of their wish, or desire, impel them into action. Take, for instance, the most common desire, that of food—appetite. A man, before he eats, does not sit down to calculate the pleasure he shall have in eating, or the pain he shall suffer if he do not ; but he feels a desire to eat, which desire, if analysed, will be found to consist of a slightly painful or uncomfortable feeling which increases in intensity until it is gratified. All other desires which form the motives to action, are similar in character, but not being equally necessary to the preservation of self, if not gratified the uneasy feeling ceases instead of increasing in intensity.

Again, are all men moved to action only by the expectation of self-enjoyment, or is it possible to disregard our own individual interests? Self-enjoyment or individual interest may form no part of our object or aim, and yet it is not the less pain or pleasure that impels us to action. It may be the pleasure of performing what we conceive to be our duty, or the pain following the neglect of it. It may be the pleasure we have in promoting the interests of others, or the pain of seeing them in want of such assistance; at any rate we cannot be indifferent, whether the end of the action regard ourselves individually or not; for in a state of indifference there is no motive, nothing to move the will, and we must will before we act.

Bentham says, "No man ever had, can, or could have a motive differing from the pursuit of pleasure or the avoidance of pain." And also that "the first law of nature is to seek our own happiness;" and in illustration of this he says, "Prudence, in common parlance, is the adaptation of means to an end. In the moral field that end is happiness. The subjects on which prudence is to be exercised are ourselves and all besides: ourselves as instrumental, and all besides as instrumental to our own felicity."

"Of what can the sum total of happiness be made up, but of the individual units? What is demanded by prudence and benevolence is required by necessity. Existence itself depends for its continuance on the self-regarding principle. Had Adam cared more for the happiness of Eve than for his own, and Eve, at the same time, more for the happiness of Adam than for her own, Satan might have saved himself the trouble of temptation. Mutual misery would have marred all

prospects of bliss, and the death of both have brought to a speedy finale the history of man.”\*

“But self-regarding prudence is not only a virtue—it is a virtue on which the very existence of the race depends. If I thought more about you than I thought about myself, I should be the blind leading the blind, and we should fall into the ditch together. It is as impossible that your pleasures should be better to me than my own, as that your eye-sight should be better to me than my own. My happiness and my unhappiness are as much a part of me as any of my faculties or organs, and I might as well profess to feel your toothache more keenly than you do, as to be more interested in your well-being than in my own well-being.”

“It will scarcely be denied that every man acts with a view to his own interest—not a correct view, because that would obtain for him the greatest possible portion of felicity; and if every man acting correctly for his own interest, obtained the maximum of obtainable happiness, mankind would reach the millenium of accessible bliss; and the end of morality—the general happiness, be accomplished. To prove that the immoral action is a miscalculation of self-interest; to show how erroneous an estimate the vicious man makes of pains and pleasures, is the purpose of the intelligent moralist. Unless he can do this he does nothing: for, as has been stated above, for a man not to pursue what he deems likely to produce to him the greatest sum of enjoyment, is in the very nature of things impossible.”

“Every man is able to form the best estimate of his own pleasures and his own pains. No description of

\* Deontology, vol. 1, p. 18.

them, no sympathy for them, can be equivalent to their reality. No story of a blow ever produced a bruise ; nor was the agony of tooth-drawing ever felt by mere interest excited in the sufferings of a friend under the hands of a dentist. Even were it otherwise, the power of sympathy is nothing till it acts upon self ; a truism, which is almost reducible to the self-identical proposition that a man can feel nothing else but his own feelings. To escape from one's self, to forget one's own interests, to make unrequited sacrifices, and all for duty, are high-sounding phrases, and, to say the truth, as nonsensical as high-sounding. Self-preference is universal and necessary : if destiny be anywhere despotic, it is here. When self is sacrificed, it is self in one shape to self in another shape ; and a man can no more cast off regard to his own happiness, meaning the happiness of the moment, than he can cast off his own skin, or jump out of it. And if he could, why should he ? What provision could have been made for the happiness of the whole, so successful, so complete, as that which engages every individual of that whole to obtain for himself the greatest possible portion of happiness ? and what amount of happiness to mankind at large could be so great, on the aggregate, as that which is made up of the greatest possible portion obtained by every individual man ? Of the largest number of units, and those units of the largest amount, the largest sum total must be the necessary result."\*

The above quotations speak very plainly, and it is absolutely necessary that the principle should be stated as broadly as possible, because there has been and still is, among moral philosophers, considerable mystification

\* Deontology, vol. 2, p. 121.

of the subject. The want of proper attention to two facts has mainly caused this obscurity, one of which is, that mankind do not seek happiness or pleasure immediately, but they seek the object of their desires, and happiness attends upon their gratification: the other, that one class of these desires has the happiness and welfare of others for its object, and it is supposed that in attending to such impulses we disregard ourselves, which is not the case, as we merely sacrifice "self in one form to self in another." To be constantly preaching self-sacrifice is of no avail, for it is only where those feelings predominate that give a pleasure in acting for the good of others, that the good of others will be preferred. An habitual disregard of self and attention to the interests of others, is frequently found, but it is only where there is more pleasure in attending to others than to self. When this is clearly understood, the folly of *preaching* self-sacrifice to the *selfish* will be manifest; and it will be seen that to further the interests of morality, we must strengthen by cultivation that part of our nature, those moral feelings, that have the good of others for their object: in short, would we have a man pay habitual regard to the welfare of his neighbour, we must address those feelings, and place him in those circumstances that will make it both his pleasure and his interest to do so.

We need not fear the conclusion to which we are constrained to come, that pleasures and pains are the sole springs of action, and that a man necessarily seeks his own happiness, as the law of his being; in fact, "that he can feel nothing else but his own feelings." The object of the Science of Morality, therefore, is simple; it is not to dogmatize about duties, but to

show what conduct will, on all occasions, best promote man's *real* interest; what will produce to mankind the largest sum of enjoyment; for this only constitutes duty. In this investigation we shall find that the conduct which produces the greatest happiness to the whole of the sensitive creation, produces the greatest amount of enjoyment to the individual.

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### SECTION III.

#### MAN CONSIDERED IN HIS RELATION TO EXTERNAL OBJECTS.

Man's real interests can only be discovered by examining into the nature of his own constitution, and the relation it bears to everything around him. It is from this examination that we infer what were the Creator's intentions with respect to this world, and we may rest assured that it is only by acting in accordance with these purposes of His providence that we can hope to ensure our own happiness. Our former Chapters have been occupied in considering the nature of man, and of the things by which he is surrounded, and we have now to consider their relation to happiness, and in what way the largest sum of enjoyment can be produced by their joint action.

Man, as we have seen, is surrounded on all sides by agents which have received a definite constitution, and which bear a certain relation to his well or ill-being, in proportion as he makes himself acquainted with their invariable mode of action, and conducts himself in accordance with it; in working out, then, the object of

his being, happiness, he is subject to the influence of these agents, and his pleasurable or painful sensations will depend upon his own actions being in conformity to the action of the laws which regulate them, and to the invariable sequences going on around him.

It is the use of reason in the observance and registering of such laws that raises man so infinitely above the brute creation, and in proportion as he discovers and obeys them, he advances from the savage to the civilized state. The following passage from Dr. Arnott, well sets forth the advantages that man has derived from the study of the first class of the natural laws :—

“The greatest sum of knowledge acquired with the least trouble, is perhaps that which comes with the study of the few simple truths of Physics. \* \* \* He who studies the methodised *Book of Nature*, converts the great universe into a simple and sublime history, which tells of God, and may worthily occupy his attention to the end of his days. We have said already, that the *laws of Physics* govern the great *natural* phenomena of Astronomy, the tides, winds, currents, &c. We will now mention some of the *artificial* purposes to which man’s ingenuity has made the same laws subservient. Nearly all that the civil engineer accomplishes ranges under the head of Physics. Let us take, for instance, the admirable specimens scattered over the British Isles :—the numerous canals for inland traffic ; the docks to receive the riches of the world, pouring towards us from every quarter ; the many harbours offering safe retreat to the storm-driven mariner ; the magnificent bridges which everywhere facilitate intercourse ; hills bored through to open ways for commerce by canals, common roads, and railroads, the

canals in some places being supported, like the roads, on arches across vallies, or above rivers, so that here and there the singular phenomenon is seen of one vessel sailing directly over another; vast tracts of swamp or fen-land drained, and now serving for agriculture; the noble light-house, rearing its head amidst the storm, while the dweller within trims his lamp in safety, and guides his endangered fellow-creature through the perils of the night, &c. &c.

“In Holland, great part of the country has been won and is now preserved from the sea, by the same almost creating power; and now rich cities and an extended garden smile, where, as related by Cæsar, were formerly only bogs and a dreary waste.

“As a general picture it is interesting to consider, that in many situations on earth where formerly the rude savage beheld the cataract falling among the rocks, and the wind bending the trees of the forest, and sweeping the clouds along the mountains' brow, or whitening the face of the ocean, and regarded these phenomena with awe or terror, as marking the agency of some great but hidden power, which might destroy him; in the same situations now, his informed son, who works with the laws of nature, can lead the waters of the cataract, by sloping channels, to convenient spots, where they are made to turn his mill-wheel, and to do his multifarious work; the rushing winds, also, he makes his servants, by rearing in their course the broad-vented wind-mill, which then performs a thousand offices for its master, man; and the breezes which whiten ocean are caught in his expanded sails, and are made to waft their lord and his treasures across the deep, for his pleasure or his profit.

"In Architecture, also, Physics is supreme, and has directed the construction of the temples, pyramids, domes, and palaces, which adorn the earth.

"In respect to machinery generally, Physics is the guiding light. There are, for instance, the mighty steam-engine; machines for spinning and weaving, and for moulding other bodies into various shapes, yea, even iron itself, as if it were plastic clay; wind-mills and water-mills; and wheel carriages; the plough and instruments of husbandry; artillery and the furniture of war; the balloon in which man rides triumphantly above the clouds, and the diving-bell, in which he penetrates the secret caverns of the deep; the implements of the intellectual arts, of printing, drawing, painting, sculpture, &c.; musical instruments; optical and mathematical instruments, and a thousand others."\*

If in addition to these Physical laws we consider those of Chemical agency, we shall perceive the vast influences which they both exert over the happiness and welfare of man; but so much as he gains by attention and obedience to them, so much will he suffer by inattention and disobedience—if the elements are his mighty servants to do his bidding—let him not complain that if through ignorance or idleness he neglects to secure the mastery, their unrestrained forces will dash him and his works to destruction.†

\* Elements of Physics, p. 21.

† The Physical Law has its own sanction, its own rewards and punishments, in the same manner as the Organic and the Moral Laws have each their own—whilst they all act in harmony. Fire will burn, water will drown, the virtuous man no less than the vicious; but upon him whose bodily frame is in a healthy state, physical injury is less likely to take serious effect than upon his

Besides the connexion which man has with the world of inanimate matter, governed by the Physical laws, he is related to it as an organized being ; and that he may fulfil the purpose of his existence—happiness, he must be acquainted with the laws of vital and sentient being, and obey them. He must understand the construction of his own frame, the uses and functions of its parts, the relations which it has with food, air, exercise, rest, habit ; the means of preserving health, and of co-operating with the “medicating power” of Nature in restoring it when lost. He must learn the nature of the soil, how to use and improve its powers of production, so that it may yield in abundance the vegetables which are, directly or indirectly, to serve him for food, for medicine, or various purposes of utility and pleasure ; to ascertain those which will afford the most wholesome and grateful nutriment, and to reject those which would be deleterious. He must study the nature and habits of the inferior animals, so that he may not only make them best subserve his use, but secure to their limited being a balance of pleasurable sensations.

As the capability of enjoyment rises with the complexity of the apparatus for furnishing it, so also must the liability to pain. In proportion to the importance to happiness of the observance of the laws of life and

who has neglected the organic laws ; whilst he whose moral faculties have their proper supremacy, is less liable to incur the risk of such injury, than he whose reason and moral powers are disordered by headlong passions and blind propensities.

The whole of this subject has been so clearly illustrated in Mr. Combe's well-known work on the Constitution of Man, that it is unnecessary to pursue it here to any length.

sensation, must be the severity of the punishment attending upon the breach of them, and pain—sometimes intense pain, is required to admonish the offender. Is it not then most evident that if man would seek his own interest, if he would avoid pain, he must conform to the organic laws, and act so as to keep the powers of his bodily frame in a healthy state, or that in which they are most susceptible of pleasurable sensation? But, on the contrary, man carries his body about with him, ignorant of the offices of its several parts, of the relation of the lungs to pure air, of the stomach to the most wholesome food, of the skin to secretion, waste, and reproduction, and of the nervous system and brain to thought and feeling. Were man not dependent upon reason, which is dependent upon knowledge, for the proper regulation of these offices—had he instincts like the lower animals for his guidance, he might trust to nature alone for the pleasurable or painful sensations dependent upon the proper exercise of these functions; but reason is given him to extend almost infinitely his sphere of action, and his consequent capability of enjoyment, and it is only by the exercise of that reason that he can preserve his own pleasurable existence.

The mass of suffering incident to ignorance and the consequent neglect of this class of nature's laws is incalculable; plagues, epidemics, every kind of disease, melancholy, madness, mental depravity—for the mind depends as much upon the organic laws as upon external circumstances—are all attributable to this cause. Nor do the consequences of this ignorance and neglect rest with the individuals upon whom they are chargeable, but they descend to the third and fourth

generations, and thus it is that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children.

Evident, however, as appears the importance of this knowledge to the happiness of mankind, is it furnished to them by those who are constituted their instructors? No, they teach that these and other evils are a necessary part of human nature, consequent, not upon their own ignorance and transgression of laws with which they ought to be acquainted, but upon the first transgression of Adam. That they have been inflicted as arbitrary chastisements or trials by God, and that they can be removed only by him in the same manner. They are, therefore, instructed to pray for the removal of these evils without any effort of their own towards it. Blind leaders of the blind! Does not the voice of nature, which is the voice of God, speak trumpet-tongued to you that these evils are the necessary consequence of your own actions; that if you would be relieved from them, you must study their causes, which will be found to be disobedience to those laws upon which your very existence is dependent? That pain, or the evil consequence, as it is called, of such transgression, is a most merciful dispensation instead of a curse, and that could you, as you foolishly pray, be delivered from it without altering the conduct that causes it, the complicated structure upon which your happiness is dependent would soon be destroyed?

It is the duty of man, therefore, to study the nature of everything around him, to make himself acquainted with the particular constitution which they have received from the hand of the Creator, and their relation to his own organization, for they all act upon him for good or for evil—they are all capable of producing either plea-

sure or pain, and which of these they shall produce, will depend upon the adaptation of his conduct to their properties and relations.

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#### SECTION IV.

##### MAN CONSIDERED IN HIS RELATION TO HIS FELLOW MAN.

The Creator claims equal obedience to the Moral Laws. Men were intended to live together in society; the laws which regulate their intercourse with each other, and by the observance of which they are enabled to live together in the most happy manner possible, are called the Moral Laws.

We have seen that pain and pleasure are the moving springs of action with man, as with the other animals, and that it is the law of his being to act according to what he conceives will produce to him the greatest sum of enjoyment. The question then which follows for investigation, is, whether mankind, living together in society, will best promote their own happiness by seeking each his own individual enjoyment, without reference to the enjoyment of others, or whether it will be best secured by each seeking his own happiness in the happiness of all. This question can only be solved by ascertaining what is the law of the Creator—His intention as developed in the nature of the faculties that have been given to us. It will then appear that man's feelings bear such relation to his fellows that he cannot be happy whilst they are unhappy; that God has so constituted him that in order to be as happy himself as he is capable of being, he must do all that he can to

promote the happiness of others ; and that, as in the administration of the Physical and Organic laws, he who acts contrary to them is punished, because he did that which was calculated to injure himself, personally—so in the administration of the Moral laws, he who commits an action the tendency of which is to injure his fellows, will be punished also for acting contrary to the Moral law. From the want of a clear perception of the tendencies of actions ; from ignorance that a deviation from the Moral law is attended with punishment as certainly as from the Physical, it is too often assumed that vice would be pleasant enough were it not forbidden ; and many do that which they know will injure their fellows, because they think the punishment uncertain, while the pleasure is immediate. But if the Moral law certifies to us that it is the intention of the Creator, that each should seek his own interest only so far as is consistent with the interest of all, then each departure from the law will be attended with punishment that cannot be escaped—with evils that are inevitable.

The difficulties that man has experienced in solving the mysteries of God's moral government, in tracing His law in the moral world, have arisen principally from his taking an erroneous view of his own nature and of his situation here. His pride or ignorance has always prevented his carrying out the doctrine of Necessity to its legitimate consequences. He has regarded himself *solely* as an individual, and has reasoned upon the constitution of things here as it relates to himself only ; he has considered that certain rights are due to him as an individual, and believing the Divine Being to be infinitely just as well as benevolent, whatever he

receives short of this supposed due, he conceives will in justice be made up to him hereafter. He does not know, or he does not reflect, that Justice is only the handmaiden of Benevolence; that it is useful only in so far as it tends to promote the production of the greatest amount of felicity, and that if Injustice produced most happiness, Injustice would be the virtue and Justice the vice. The object of Infinite Benevolence being to produce the greatest sum of enjoyment, that must be justice to individuals that best promotes this object, whatever may be the portion allotted to them of the common stock.

What is man, viewed philosophically by the aid of the doctrine of Necessity? A mere link in the chain of causation, connected with innumerable links before his existence, and with the future chain ad infinitum, the consequences of his existence being endless; calling, probably, numberless beings into existence by the same necessary law by which he himself began to be. A mere atom in the mass of sensitive creation, called into existence without any choice on his part, and moved by influences over which he has no more control than an atom of matter over attraction or repulsion, or whatever other laws it may be constituted to obey. He, an atom of the great body of mankind, bearing the same relation to it as a single atom of the human body does to the whole: the atom is introduced into the system by the laws of nature; it passes through the several stages of assimilation—becomes capable of feeling, and again passes away; so does man from the great body of society, the eternal receptacle of “youth, and beauty, and delight.” But independently of these views which are suggested by the doctrine of Necessity,

were it not for the action of one particular faculty of the mind, as we have shown before, we should perceive ourselves to be in reality, and not only in the poet's imagination,

"Parts of one stupendous whole  
Whose body Nature is, and God the Soul!"

Man, however, in his instinctive tendency to individualize, makes himself the centre from which he judges of time and space. Within the bounds of his horizon is comprised his world, beyond which his ideas, his feelings can scarcely extend; and it has been well observed, that if China with its millions were swallowed up by an earthquake, few would have less appetite for dinner; but if one within a man's own horizon, within his own little circle, dies, he mourns, and the whole of God's economy must be inverted to afford him relief: yet from the *great body of mankind* some half-hundred have departed—into it some half-hundred have been born, ere his watch has indicated the smallest measurable portion of time. To the eye that views *mankind* and not *man*, it would seem as wise to mourn for the departed, supposing even that they exist no more, and are to us as before they were born, as to mourn for those who might have been born, but yet were not. To the "Infinite," with whom there is no succession—no time—no past and future, the existence of a being is as *real* before its existence, *to our seeming*, as after—the chain of causes and effects with which such existence is connected, is as perfect and unbroken.

Can the Creator be supposed to have any other object with respect to this world than the production of the largest sum possible of enjoyment? Is there a higher object—one more consistent with every attri-

bute of Deity? And would man have any right to complain, even if his portion in life were less happy, than if he had not been made instrumental to a great amount of happiness in the world besides his own? In the moral government of the world we everywhere find individual happiness made subservient to the general good. Moved on all occasions by necessity, man can merit nothing, and can, in justice, claim nothing but a balance of enjoyment upon the whole of his being. To the very existence of man, as man, general laws are necessary, and the result of these general laws is to produce great variety of conditions with reference to the relative quantity of happiness enjoyed by each creature. Throughout social existence, as we have previously seen, man is made to suffer for the faults of his fellow; the effects of his neighbour's injustice fall upon himself, and by this arrangement the general well-being is secured, by creating the strongest of all motives for each to dispel the clouds of ignorance around him, and to endeavour to carry his fellows forward with himself in the march of improvement. Thus the government of a country may be badly conducted; individual and class interests may alone be consulted; the authors of the wrong, and their contemporaries, may not suffer so much, in consequence, as the generation that succeeds them; but to them, nevertheless, the suffering is necessary to oblige them to repeal the selfish and noxious laws, and to make such as shall benefit the majority. The generation that follows will reap the advantage of the reforms produced by such suffering, in the same way that the then existing generation may be enjoying the fruits of the sufferings of former generations. The oppres-

sion, the priestcraft, and the ignorance that produced the French Revolution, had been in operation for generations, and thousands who had had nothing to do with their production, were yet involved in the common suffering; not, however, without having partaken of the advantages transmitted by the struggles of former ages during the progress of civilization. The effect of the Revolution was the breaking up of old institutions which were not in accordance with the advancing light of the age, and the clearing away of barriers which selfishness had everywhere set up against the general good; thus purifying the moral and social atmosphere of deleterious influences everywhere abounding, in which freedom and happiness could not breathe and live, and preparing the country for the production of a much larger sum of enjoyment to all its inhabitants. We may lament that the unfortunate victims were many who had had no share in the production of the causes that led to this moral earthquake, and that the poor harmless Louis XVI. suffered for the sins of his fathers; yet we immediately see that this evil, great and crying as it was at the time, bore no proportion to the good which it served to introduce. The Necessitarian sees no injustice in this arrangement, even when considered with reference to this world only, because those who broke the law, and those who did not, "moved merely as they were moved," and the punishment was not intended for the fault, but for the remedy. Again, plagues and earthquakes carry off mankind by thousands, but the object of the law which thus scatters destruction is to free the earth, or particular districts, from influences that might destroy the enjoyment and vitiate the physical consti-

tution of the millions that remain, and are to follow. In the case of natural calamities, if the innocent suffer with the guilty, (if indeed we are philosophically warranted in making such a distinction,) yet they are gainers by the existence and operation of the same law by which they suffer; for without the constant action of such laws the earth could not be kept habitable, and those sufferers would either not have been, or would have lived in a very inferior state of enjoyment to that in which they had been placed previously to their destruction.

Hence we may infer that in God's moral government of the world, His object is to produce the greatest possible sum of happiness to the whole; and that the present apparent interests of individuals, of hundreds and thousands, are not considered, when such interests stand opposed to laws upon which the general good depends. If each individual be "an atom of the mass" connected with it by sympathies and influences innumerable, flowing from all points and commingling with an intricacy too complicated for our acutest powers to unravel, that which produces the greatest happiness to the whole, must produce, when all things are considered, the greatest happiness to the individuals of which that whole is composed. If this then is the Creator's mode of procedure in the production of happiness, for man to oppose himself to it, and to set up individual interests as paramount, must as inevitably lead to suffering, as any breach of the physical or organic laws, because it is as much a breach of the law of God, and of the institutions of the Creator in the moral world.

This law for man's guidance, "that he should seek

his own happiness in the happiness of others," is legibly marked on his constitution, an instinct having been given to him by which he frequently is impelled to act for the good of others, without the least calculation of the results of such conduct to himself. This instinct, or tendency to Benevolence, is of different relative strength in different constitutions, and so strong has it proved in some, that, combined with other feelings that have a similar tendency, it has induced the sacrifice even of life for the good of others.

The Moral Law, then, requires a conduct in accordance with the production of the greatest happiness, and the duty of the moralist, as before stated, is to lay down rules that shall best further that end. But the question arises here—how is a knowledge of such rules to be obtained? It will never do to leave individuals to calculate the balance of pleasures and pains before every action; the wisest, the best, and the most experienced, would be constantly liable to err were that to be the established mode of proceeding. Mankind might as reasonably be expected to determine, on all occasions, the effect of the varied influences of the laws of attraction and repulsion, or to state at once what chemical results would be produced by the combination of different materials, as to be able, without reference to general laws, to decide what conduct would lead to the greatest good upon the whole. It is as necessary in Morality to have laws as in Physics, and no less essential to our happiness to be acquainted with them. Morality, viewed in this light, as a science, has not been much pursued, although the laws of happiness are as calculable as the laws of life, and the science of Morality is as certain as that of Physiology. But

important in the highest degree as this branch of knowledge must be allowed to be, there are several causes why it has made so little progress. Men, as we have seen, are divided as to the very foundations upon which the science must be based ; some imagine that there is a higher object to be attained than the production of happiness ; others, that happiness hereafter, to be obtained through a life of suffering or probation here, is the sole end to be pursued. Some, again, suppose that the Christian Scriptures contain all that is essential to our moral guidance : as, however, the rules therein are not sufficiently explicit for *all* relations of man with his fellows, and as besides to the majority of the world these Scriptures are not given, an internal monitor has been superadded called Conscience, which if *attended* to, and not *perverted*, will dictate, on all occasions, what is right and what is wrong. But the principal reason why Morality has not advanced as a science is, that the mental constitution has not been understood, and in ignorance of this, laws for the production of the greatest happiness were empirical and fruitless, as they could have no more foundation in real knowledge than the science of Medicine before the discovery of the circulation of the blood ; and as before Harvey's time, bleeding and blistering were considered the almost universal remedies for all diseases and organic derangements, so in the present time heaven and hell, that is, the selfish fear of the one or hope of the other, is preached as the universal panacea for all moral disorders. But as knowledge of the structure and functions of the several organs of the body is essential in order to minister to their disorders, so an intimate

acquaintance with the faculties and functions of the mind is requisite to remedy moral disease.

Man, as we have seen, is a compound of instincts, and of reason or intellectual faculties for the proper direction of these instincts. The instinct is the incentive to action, and reason the guide to the object of such action. Some of these instincts have reference to man's individual welfare. They induce him to cling to life, though excessive pain should for the moment predominate, rendering life for the time being undesirable; they induce him to supply his body with the material necessary for its sustenance; to attach himself to those who administer to his pleasures; to accumulate for a future day; to defend himself and repel aggression; to meet necessary danger; cautiously to avoid that which has a tendency to injure; to desire approbation; to exalt himself, and to view things only with reference to self. These are called the selfish feelings. Another class of man's instincts leads him to seek for gratification in the welfare of the great body of society; to desire the happiness of his fellow-creatures; to treat them with deference and respect; to do justly himself, and to see that justice is done between man and man. These are termed disinterested feelings, not because they have not as direct a reference to individual happiness as any of the others, but because the happiness derived from their gratification is a consequence and reflection of the happiness of others. Man is thus connected by one part of his organization with the earth, and his happiness requires obedience to the physical and organic laws; by the other portion he is connected with the race of man-

kind and the whole mass of sensitive existence, and his happiness equally requires that the laws that connect him with these should be obeyed.

To living in society then he is indebted for a great part of his enjoyment, a thousand fold of that which he could possibly experience in an isolated state; but that he may derive full benefit from the social system, he is repeatedly called upon to give up the immediate gratification of the selfish feelings, whenever such gratification would militate against the well-being of others; for the wound inflicted upon society must extend to himself, and cause greater pain than the non-gratification of the selfish desire. Thus to sacrifice his own immediate interest to that of his fellows, is termed virtue; to persist, on the contrary, in self-gratification, to the detriment of others, is vice. Virtue, then, in this sense of the word, must be synonymous with true self-interest, because if it were not for its exercise, man could not live in union with his fellows, and would thus be deprived of all the numberless advantages of the social state.

With reference, therefore, to the question whether we best promote our own interest by seeking our own individual enjoyment, without regard to the enjoyment of others, or whether we should seek to secure our own happiness in the happiness of all: it has been answered, firstly, by showing that the law of God's providence in the government of the world is the sacrifice of individual to general interests: and, secondly, that if men were to seek their own individual enjoyment only, society could not subsist; for every injury that our selfish pursuits should bring upon our

fellow-creatures, would be immediately retaliated upon ourselves, and perpetual warfare ensue: constant aggression would produce constant revenge. And, lastly, it is shown by comparing man's faculties with each other, that he could not be happy in the gratification of the selfish propensities alone. Happiness consists in the proper exercise of all our feelings and faculties; but they must all be exercised harmoniously, so that in gratifying one we do not offend the others. Thus, in the gratification of the instinctive love of offspring, we may endeavour to promote the interests of our children at the expense of others, but in so doing Conscientiousness is outraged, and the pains of remorse are the consequence. We may seek the approbation of our fellows, but if by that means we occasion uneasiness to others, Benevolence is offended, and we suffer more from this than we should enjoy from the momentary approbation that we might have received. But all our faculties are sources of happiness when exercised legitimately, and all have a wide field of action without interfering with the rights or happiness of others, and the object of the moralist is to show how each may be gratified consistently with this limitation. The greatest possible amount of happiness can only be experienced when the disinterested feelings predominate, and in proportion as these take precedence over the rest, does happiness increase; the reason of which is, that while the gratification of the selfish desires is single and solitary, and confined to one object, that of the disinterested feelings is boundless in its range, and is composed, not only of the enjoyment which always results from the legitimate exercise of the faculties, but

also of the happiness reflected from that of all benefited by such exercise: the former is ever but an unit; the latter always compound.

But not only is it necessary to morality that those feelings which have the interest of others for their object should have the supremacy, the intellectual faculties must also be cultivated and enlightened. To ensure our own pleasurable existence being the first law of our being, and the happiness of all, the means by which it is to be ensured, the intellect is required to regulate the conduct so that it may best advance these means. The feelings that prompt us to action are mere blind impulses; those that have for their object our own individual welfare are as likely to destroy as to benefit us, unless guided by reason, and those that have for their object the welfare of our fellow-creatures are as likely to injure them as to increase their enjoyment, unless similarly directed. Thus a mother of the human species must be guided by reason, and not, like the brutes, by instinct, in the rearing of her offspring; and however much she may desire its welfare, she cannot promote it but by studying the organic and physical laws that have reference to its food, clothing, and general well-being. So we may naturally desire to do right, to act justly; but nothing but enlightened intellect can tell us what is right, what is justice. In the exercise of benevolence we may create more misery than we relieve, unless the intellectual faculties make a strict investigation and calculation with respect to the real tendencies of actions. For instance, we may meet a miserable-looking street beggar, we may be excited to compassion, and to relieve ourselves by the gratification of such a

feeling, we may give him an alms; but that such an action is misdirected benevolence, is proved by statistical data which show that such charity produces more misery than good, by its tending to create a class of persons which must necessarily be a depraved and miserable one. The greatest happiness, then, that man can enjoy requires the constant supremacy of the intellectual and moral faculties; and the comparative happiness of individuals will be found to be in strict and constant proportion to the degree in which this supremacy is found. The generality of mankind, however, seem satisfied with a much lower standard: the intellectual faculties occupy a most humble position; undirected impulse or instinct dictates most of their actions, and the moral feelings, instead of being the leading springs of action, whence should flow most of their pleasures, are constituted merely the guardians of the propensities, with no higher office than to restrain their exercise and prevent their abuse. If a man in the present state of society follows his calling, of whatever character that may be, without wilfully interfering with the rights of others; if he injures no one; if he performs the religious duties sanctioned by public opinion, every Sabbath, with a decent and reverent demeanor; and his duties as a citizen to the extent that is expected of him, he considers himself a moral man. But here is no supremacy of the moral feelings; in this poor, negative kind of morality, their high claims are wholly unanswered. No, not only would they forbid him to interfere with the happiness of others, but they would cause him to be ever on the alert to promote it by all the means in his power. It is the law of the Creator, connecting us with one an-

other, that we should "love our neighbour as ourselves." He has impressed it on the intellectual faculties by enabling them to trace out the mode in which this law leads to the greatest happiness. He has impressed it unalterably on our moral constitution, by endowing us with a faculty which makes the love of our neighbour almost as necessary to us as the gratification of hunger and thirst, and a source of enjoyment so exquisite that all others seem in comparison poor and unsatisfying. Since the law of God requires that we should actively seek the good of others—that the moral feelings, directed by enlightened intellect, should ever employ their energies in systematic efforts for the production of the largest sum of enjoyment possible, that man may be strictly declared to be immoral who allows a single opportunity of making a fellow-creature happier, to pass him. This great, first, moral law we must make, on all occasions, the rule of our conduct, working it out ourselves to the best of our ability; not trusting, however, solely to our own calculations, but borrowing from the collective wisdom of the highest minds and the dictates of their experience.

The constitution of man being so far understood, and the relation traced of the Physical, Organic, and Moral Laws to the foundations of happiness and misery, i. e. pleasure and pain, it becomes evident that a systematic obedience to all the sets of laws, on the part of all mankind, can alone ensure the perfect happiness of the race or of any one individual belonging to it. But since this entire obedience presupposes a perfect knowledge of all the properties, relations, and combinations of matter; of the nature of our own constitutions,

bodily and mental, and of the ultimate consequences of all actions—knowledge which can never be in the possession of a finite, created, intelligence—it follows that perfect happiness can never be the lot of man. It is, however, an important step gained to know that every advance towards perfect knowledge is also an advance towards perfect felicity.

An exposition of the *Principles* of Morality is the object of this Chapter, and not the carrying out of those principles into detail; some few remarks, however, with reference to the regulation of the mind and conduct, may serve to illustrate the foregoing.

“Know thyself,” has been the leading injunction of the moralist in all ages. Mental Philosophy is sufficiently advanced to make this knowledge more attainable than it has yet proved. It furnishes a tolerably correct catalogue of the propensities, sentiments, and intellectual faculties peculiar to man; and the relative proportion in which they are possessed by the individual may be approximately assigned. Possessed of this knowledge, man may learn to avoid those temptations to which, by constitutional temperament, he is peculiarly prone; and experience will soon convince him that the best way to resist temptation is to avoid it, and where to avoid it is impracticable, at least he will be forewarned, and forewarned is forearmed. Knowing the use and abuse of each faculty, he will be aware when he is tempted to overstep the bounds which nature and the moral law have set to each desire. Above all it is most essential that he shall be placed in a situation for which his natural endowments have fitted him, and so far as circumstances permit, will he

choose one which will provide for the daily use of his highest feelings, in directly promoting the happiness of others.

In connexion with the most prominent duties upon which happiness will be found to depend, may be mentioned the Law of Labour with its numerous dependencies. As we are obliged to consume, so the moral law imperatively requires that we should give an equivalent; if not, the world is exactly so much the poorer by what we have consumed. All the comforts and conveniences of life are the produce of labour; and although the present laws of society allow one man to possess the produce of the labour of hundreds and of thousands, yet the moral law does not the less require that an equivalent should be given, and ordains suffering and loss of happiness to follow invariably upon the breach of this law of natural justice, not perhaps *directly* to the individual, but to the whole community of which he forms part. We shall see, in tracing the causes of the evils that at present pervade society, that they are, in a great measure, owing to this breach of morality. But as society is at present constituted, how is the breach of this duty to be avoided, and how shall we calculate what is the amount of the debt that we owe to society? Let each estimate the product of his labour, whether of head or of hands—so much he is fairly entitled to; but for all of his income which exceeds this, he is indebted to others. It is of no moment from what quarter the income may be derived; when traced to its original source, it will always be found to be the gift of society. And how is the debt to be paid? In the present unjust division of the produce of labour, a moral man can only consider his income as given to him in trust for

the interests of all ; he will take care, therefore, that it receive the direction that is best calculated to promote the interests of all. His mode of living will be at the very lowest rate that is sufficient to furnish each faculty or desire with its legitimate gratification. This he would receive, and to this he would be entitled, if the produce of labour were equally and justly distributed : all that he spends beyond this, is spending that which properly belongs to others. As knowledge unveils the beauties of nature, artificial enjoyments become less necessary, and the labour required for their production may, therefore, be dispensed with. To the pure and well-regulated mind the study of the natural sciences is a source of endless occupation and delight ; it is making God a companion instead of man. The enjoyments proceeding from the legitimate gratification of our faculties are cheap, nature itself supplies the greater part of them ; and therefore are the pleasures of the poor man and of the rich more equal than is ordinarily supposed. The surplus income, after such wants have been supplied, belongs to society ; and if by immediately distributing it among those who want it, most good would be done, it would be our duty so to dispose of it ; but it might be shown that such a mode of dispensing it would injure society more than benefit it. Our duty, then, rather lies in doing all we can, by the means with which we have been entrusted, to promote the good of the whole body of society, by the spread of knowledge, by reforming abuses, and by correcting the present vicious system for the distribution of the products of labour—a system by which the mass of the people in all countries are reduced to toil so incessant, that anything like the spread of education

or the knowledge of the natural laws among them is impossible. The constant and unvaried labour to which the many are condemned, is far different from that habitual activity the greatest happiness principle requires—an activity which results from the healthy and daily exercise of all our feelings and faculties. The decree that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, was intended as a blessing, and not as a curse, and the true satisfaction and enjoyment resulting from obedience to the law of labour here enforced, will more than repay us for the loss of those flimsy and artificial gratifications by which society endeavours to tempt us into an opposite course. The happiness flowing from a state of mind consequent upon the systematic effort to do good, would be far more than equivalent to that which any elevation of state in society could procure, provided that such a station could only be maintained by squandering the produce of the labour of a thousand poor.

One of the surest foundations of happiness is intimately connected with the duty we have been enforcing, viz., moderation and consistency in our desires and expectations. If our enjoyments are such as nature affords from the habitual gratification of our higher faculties, they are easily attainable; they lie within ourselves and immediately around us, and it is not in the power of society to deprive us of them. Such happiness does not depend upon wealth and splendour, power or fame; for the secrets of nature are more valuable than secrets of state, and our own good opinion than that of all the world. There can never be want of employment that is pleasurable; and habitual activity is the source of health to both mind and body. Expectations

founded upon nature's rewards can seldom be disappointed, and should one source fail, a thousand are open which do not depend upon the unmitigated and poorly-requited labour of our fellow-creatures. Could the true standard of happiness be set up in society instead of the false one now erected, how easy and straightforward would appear the means by which to make that happiness our own ! " To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God," would no longer be regarded as the dictum of the Creator to be blindly obeyed by the creature ; but all nature and our own hearts would join Him in requiring it of us—we should fulfil the end of our being, and be happy.

Akin to that independence of spirit which sets fashion and public opinion on one side, in its steady pursuit of the legitimate means of happiness, is Sincerity ; a virtue urgently called for in the present fictitious state of society. While mankind attach merit or demerit to *opinion*, as if opinions were optional and the proper subjects of praise and blame, the opposite vice of Insincerity will be commonly generated. If a man differ essentially from his brethren in his religious belief, or political sentiments, he may act consistently and conscientiously according to his principles, but his character will seldom escape wholly unimpeached.

Sincerity will not yield to expediency, if we calculate correctly. The best mode of attacking error is by spreading truth, or, at least, what appears to us after sufficiently careful examination, to be truth ; but whatever may be the convictions at which we may arrive, and whatever may be the opinion of society with respect to such convictions, we are bound to state them when called upon. Without forcing them upon society un-

seasonably and uncalled for, they must not be dissembled or concealed, otherwise the interests of truth, and consequently the cause of human improvement and happiness, must suffer. Were each mind honestly to declare the faith that it holds, truths that are now treated as errors dangerous to the interests of society, would be at least regarded with respect, out of deference to the talents and character of those that entertain them, and the improvement of our institutions would be more rapid.

Sincerity may be equally demonstrated to be the interest of individuals. For though the "world has ever shown but small favour to its teachers ;" \* though it has ever regarded with an evil and a jealous eye the propounders of new truths, yet the honest expression of all that we believe will be found to be most in accordance with the promotion of our own happiness. We may be neglected and even persecuted by society at large ; yet the sympathy and friendship of the few real lovers of truth, who are capable of appreciating our motives and views, and the internal consciousness arising from the activity of the highest feelings, will

\* "The world has ever, we fear, shown but small favour to its teachers : hunger and nakedness, perils and reviling, the prison, the cross, the poison-chalice, have, in most times and countries, been the market-price it has offered for wisdom, the welcome with which it has greeted those who have come to enlighten and purify it. Homer and Socrates, and the Christian Apostles, belong to old days ; but the world's martyrology was not completed with these ; Roger Bacon and Galileo languish in priestly dungeons, Tasso pines in the cell of a madhouse, Camoens dies begging on the streets of Lisbon. So neglected, so 'persecuted they the prophets,' not in Judea only, but in all places where men have been."—Carlyle's *Miscellanies*, vol. 1, p. 341.

more than repay us for all that the world is capable of withholding. Unless this virtue of perfect sincerity be practised, it is impossible that a man's friendships and connexions can be formed upon the only lasting and desirable footing, viz., sympathy of thought and feeling ; and one friendship engrafted upon this genuine stock surpasses all the ties of mere consanguinity. Though the friends of the man who dares to promulgate and support unpopular truths are necessarily few, yet they are more valuable, and are the source of more happiness than a host bound to him by the ordinary worldly ties, or than the stupid staring and loud huzzas of the multitude.

The error most to be guarded against in the carrying out of the greatest happiness principle, according to the Utilitarian Philosophy, is, as remarked by Mackintosh, " that of sliding from general to particular consequences ; that of trying single actions, instead of dispositions, habits, and rules, by the standard of utility ; that of authorizing too great a latitude for discretion and policy in moral conduct ; that of readily allowing exceptions to the most important rules ; that of too lenient a censure of the use of doubtful means when the end seems to them to be good ; and that of believing unphilosophically, as well as dangerously, that there can be any measure or scheme so useful to the world, as the existence of men who would not do a base thing for any public advantage. It was said of Andrew Fletcher, ' he would lose his life to *serve* his country, but would not do a base thing to *save* it.' " \* And such is the conduct that the greatest happiness principle enjoins. Exceptions to general rules, the dictates of the higher feelings, must

\* Mackintosh's Dissertation, Encyc. Brit., p. 383.

*never* be allowed, however great may appear to be the good that would result from a departure from the rule in any particular case. The plea of expediency must never be listened to. To do evil that good may come will be found to be an impossibility, when the action is carried out into all its consequences. For in judging of an action, we should not only regard the particular benefit that will accrue to ourselves or others from it, but what would be the consequence if such actions were generally admitted. Thus on no occasion can it be right to tell a lie; for though it is possible for a particular case to occur in which good might ensue from deception, yet if the principle of falsehood were admitted, no one could be believed. So, though a particular case might occur in which most happiness might result from depriving a man of his due, yet if injustice were general, society could not exist. A serious mischief is done to the mind by admitting even the supposition that, in any case, the greatest happiness principle will allow of a departure from the general rule of right. Conscience can admit of no appeal; it must be a supreme ruler; for habitual obedience to its dictates is the only means of preventing the mind from being divided against itself, and of keeping it in the state which is necessary to happiness. The Utilitarian Philosophy requires, therefore, to be used with caution. It serves to test the soundness of general rules, and to supply a motive where no such general rules exist: the well-being of society can never be secured by leaving it to every individual to calculate the consequences of each action, but by the obedience of each to those rules that experience has shown generally to tend to happiness. The performance of duty, therefore, not

the pursuit of happiness, may be considered as the safest road to happiness; trusting, as we may do implicitly, that if we act in accordance with the will of God, in obedience to the moral law, our well-being will be best secured; even as it has been shown with respect to the physical and organic laws.

The main thing to be sought, then, is the habitual predominance of the moral feelings; the maintenance of them in a state in which "the prospect of advantage through unlawful means should never present itself to the mind;" or if it did, that its expulsion should follow instinctively, without any calculation on the subject as to whether the "particular circumstances" do not make it lawful; for he that hesitates is lost. If an action be considered at all doubtful, the thought of it is occasionally entertained, the mind becomes accustomed to the possibility of its performance, and will then generally yield to the first strong temptation. Thus even thoughts at variance with the highest purity of mind should never be permitted to gain entrance, for evil thoughts invariably lead to evil deeds, as minor crimes to greater. So the habitual indulgence of *one* fault lowers the tone of the whole of the moral sentiments, and is incompatible with the higher virtues, and consequently with the highest happiness.

But can it be *proved* that virtue, or obedience to the Moral Law, always produces the greatest happiness if steadily pursued—because the interests of virtue seem to demand that it should be so proved? If that which, all things considered, will produce the greatest sum of enjoyment be the only thing worth pursuing, this is not a question that will admit of being left in any doubt. In the present artificial state of society, where its laws

are in so many instances opposed to the laws of nature, every individual act of virtue cannot be said to lead directly to happiness. The sacrifice of external advantages required by such an act may even be very great; but we must bear in mind, what moralists too often forget, that it is not in every act of virtue that the reward is to be looked for, but in the general amount of happiness resulting from virtuous dispositions, habits, and feelings; a state of mind which is only attainable by the invariable and constant practice of virtue. A man's virtue may be of the negative kind, that is, confined to doing no one any injury; but if he do to no one any good, although he may not actually suffer in consequence, he will lose all the happiness derived from active virtue. His condition will be similar to that of a man born blind, who suffers not positively from the want of sight, never having known what it is to see, but who loses all the advantages derivable from that sense. So the man of low moral manifestation may not be a greater sufferer, but he is susceptible of many degrees less happiness than the highly moral man, in the same way that the brutes are capable of less enjoyment than himself. "If we know a man who is palpably cold-hearted, grasping and selfish, we are authorised to conclude, First, that he is deprived of that delicious sunshine of the soul and all those thrilling sympathies with whatever is noble, beautiful, and holy, which attend the vivacious action of the moral and religious faculties: and, Second, that he is deprived of the reflected influence of the same emotions from the hearts and countenances of the good men around him."\* Mackintosh, in speaking of Leib-

\* Combe's Moral Philosophy.

nitz's Ethics, observes, " It entirely escaped his sagacity as it has that of nearly all other moralists, that the coincidence of morality with well-understood interest in our outward actions, is very far from being the most important part of the question; for these actions flow from habitual dispositions, from affections and sensibilities which determine their nature. There may be, and there are, many immoral acts, which, in the sense in which words are commonly used, are advantageous to the actor. But the whole sagacity and ingenuity of the world may be safely challenged to point out a case in which virtuous dispositions, habits, and feelings, are not conducive in the highest degree to the happiness of the individual; or to maintain that he is not the happiest, whose moral sentiments and affections are such as to prevent the possibility of the prospect of advantage, through unlawful means, presenting itself to his mind. It would indeed have been impossible to prove to Regulus that it was his interest to return to a death of torture in Africa. But what if the proof had been easy? The most thorough conviction on such a point would not have enabled him to set this example, if he had not been supported by his own integrity and generosity, by love of his country and reverence for his pledged faith. What could the conviction add to that greatness of soul, and to these glorious attributes? With such virtues he could not act otherwise than he did. Would a father, affectionately interested in a son's happiness, of very lukewarm feelings of morality, but of good sense enough to weigh gratifications and sufferings exactly, be really desirous that his son should have these virtues in a less degree than Regulus, merely because

they might expose him to the fate that Regulus chose ? On the coldest calculation he would surely perceive that the high and glowing feelings of such a mind during life, altogether throw into the shade a few hours of agony in leaving it. And, if he himself were so unfortunate that no more generous sentiment arose in his mind to silence such calculations, would it not be a reproach to his understanding not to discover, that though in one case out of millions, such a character might lead a Regulus to torture, yet, in the common course of nature, it is the source, not only of happiness in life, but of quiet and honour in death ? A case so extreme as that of Regulus will not perplex, if we bear in mind, that though we cannot prove the *act* of heroic virtue to be conducive to the interest of the hero, yet we may perceive at once that nothing is so conducive to his interest as to have a mind so formed that it could not shrink from it, but must rather embrace it with gladness and triumph. Men of vigorous health are said sometimes to suffer most in a pestilence. No man was ever so absurd as for that reason to wish that he were more infirm. The distemper might return once in a century. If he were then alive he might escape it ; and even if he fell, the balance of advantage would be in most cases greatly on the side of robust health. In estimating beforehand the value of a strong bodily frame, a man of sense would throw the small chance of a rare and short evil entirely out of the account. So must the coldest and most selfish moral calculator, who, if he be sagacious and exact, must pronounce that the inconveniences to which a man may be sometimes exposed by a pure and sound mind, are no reasons for

regretting that we do not escape by possessing minds more enfeebled and distempered."\*

It may be asked, whether our own happiness be an inducement to morality sufficiently strong? Whether it will be able to produce the self-denial necessary to form a highly moral character? For morality constantly requires the sacrifice of immediate pleasures to greater ones more distant, and of present enjoyment to the good of others. But if our own happiness is not a sufficient inducement to morality, what is? Our own happiness results from the gratification of our desires and affections; we desire the approbation of the public and our own esteem; the love of those with whom we associate: we desire to do what is right; the happiness of others; the love of God; and if stronger motives to action than these can be pointed out, what are they? Are not these the principles of action by which the generality of mankind are influenced? The enjoyments proceeding from the highest feelings of our nature, the love of mankind and of that which is right, are beyond all comparison more animating and durable, as well as more refined and elevated, than those proceeding from selfish or sensual gratifications; and all that can be said, therefore, of him who is called the sufferer for conscience sake, is, that he prefers the higher pleasure to the lower.

One more essential to our greatest happiness we shall mention. It is requisite that the mind should be freed from the degrading notions of the character of the Deity that have been handed down to us from the dark ages of ignorance and superstition, and that it should entertain views more consistent with the Divine

\* Mackintosh's *Dissertations*, p. 33S.

Perfections. It is the tendency, we think, of the above principles to give expanded views of God's dealings with his creatures; and the mind that is thoroughly imbued with them will find its own happiness in being able to reject, as derogatory to the character of God, what is inconsistent with the highest principles of its own nature. It will not be driven to the miserable subterfuge of supposing that what are Benevolence and Justice to us, are not so to God; that Infinite Benevolence can ordain a balance of misery, or that a balance of misery in this world, and infinite misery in the next, must necessarily be the portion of one part of God's creatures to ensure the welfare of the rest; that the Omniscient Deity can propose a plan for the temporal and eternal interests of His creatures, which at the same time He knows is inefficient to the purpose, because it will not be accepted by them; that the best and highest happiness of His creatures here is inconsistent with their happiness hereafter; or that the final purposes of creation are God's honour and glory. No; from the mind that has contemplated the perfections of the Almighty in the book of his works, such degrading notions will be banished, and it will tremble to impute motives and actions to God that are inconsistent with the highest virtue even of His creatures; though they should be revealed by an angel from heaven, or by a priesthood claiming for itself inspiration from the Highest. More consistent is the Atheist than he who allows himself to entertain such ideas; more reasonable were it to believe in no God, than in one possessing such attributes! As we have attempted to show, the argument for the existence of God from the necessity of a First Cause is unphilosophical, and cannot be

maintained ; it involves as great a difficulty as it solves. There is no more difficulty in supposing the eternal existence of Matter, with its properties, than in supposing that God and his attributes are uncaused. What we term cause and effect, however, are mere antecedence and consequence, and such succession does not involve, so far as we can discover, any necessary connexion, but has been established and is maintained to answer a particular purpose. The existence of God, of the pervading Spirit of Creation and Intelligence, rests upon a much surer foundation if inferred from the uniformity of such causes, and the adaptation and relation of them all to one end—the production of happiness. Such a line of argument, however, cannot coincide with the common notions of God's providence ; of His moral government of the world ; or with the ordinary ideas concerning the nature of evil ; for the illustrations of design in such a scheme are unworthy even of the limited intelligence of man. But he who looks deeper into the ways of Providence, finds a scheme worthy of Omnipotence, in the production of the largest sum of enjoyment possible ; that He works not by partial laws, but by such as pervade the whole sensitive creation, and cannot be resisted by any supposed freedom of will. He feels the most implicit confidence in God, finding that there is no evidence for the existence of any other object but the good of his creatures ; that pain is necessary for his preservation, and is as his schoolmaster to instruct him and impel him forward in the race of improvement—that it is intended to correct error, not to punish it. He feels and knows that the laws of God are not changeable, but that he may depend upon them in the

calculation of his well-being; and that there is no necessity for us to pray to God that He will alter His laws for us to be happy, but that if we do, but study and obey them, our happiness will infallibly follow; that, as it is the law of his existence that he should desire his own happiness, and morality is the most direct road to it, he must, as he advances in intelligence and sees more clearly this connexion between virtue and happiness, of *necessity* choose the former. To the man who can divest his mind of the degrading superstitions of his childhood, and exercise it upon the great plan of Providence, every cause and effect that he may witness, every truth that he may discover, is a new illustration of the goodness of God. To see Him in His works; to know what He does, and wherefore He does it, is to feel for ever in His presence: he who thus seeks the Pervading and Creating Spirit of the universe, sees on every side of him wonders going forward which only a God can perform; each atom obeying the laws of order given to it; each plant elaborately and systematically assuming the form peculiarly its own; each animal working out the object of its being, and Sensation—Feeling—the great Soul of the world, periodically changing its garment, as generation after generation of men, and all living creatures, are organized, vitalized, and again return to their mother Earth to form new combinations. “Is not God’s Universe a Symbol of the Godlike, is not Immensity a Temple? Listen, and for organ-music thou wilt ever, as of old, hear the morning stars sing together.”\*

\* Sartor Resartus, p. 263.



# THE PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY.

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## PART III.

### SOCIAL SCIENCE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF SOCIETY.

WE have examined the Constitution of Man, and the laws of his Physical, Moral, and Intellectual Being,—and we have seen that there is nothing in the constitution of human nature that should prevent the *whole* race from becoming what any *one* member of it has become.

We have observed the laws of Mind and Intelligence to be equally fixed with those of Matter, and we find that man moves merely as he is moved, by the original constitution or organization which he has received at birth, and the circumstances in which he is placed; and that knowing such original constitution and circumstances, we can, for our guidance, calculate as much upon volition as upon the physical laws of Attraction and Repulsion: that in consequence of the necessary limitation of his faculties, and his ignorance of the nature of all things around him, he is liable to do that which will injure him, and to leave undone that which is essential to his well-being and existence, and that pain, (which in its various modifications is called evil,) was appointed to drive him into the proper course of action, or to restrain him from that which is hurtful. Pain is thus the necessary consequence of man's disobedience to the laws upon which his well-being depends,

and pleasure the consequence of his obedience to such laws. Pain and pleasure, therefore, regulate all the actions of sensitive creation; and God's government of the world consists in his attaching pains and penalties to certain actions, and pleasures to others—a simple revelation of His will, intelligible to all mankind—a language universally understood.

We have seen that evil is in all cases remediable by the discovery of the cause, and by pursuing a different mode of action to that which produced it, and that happiness is therefore dependent on knowledge.

Morality we have defined to be the science which teaches men the laws by which they may live together in the most happy manner possible, the fundamental moral law being the production of the largest sum of enjoyment to all, and not the happiness of the few at the expense of the many; and we have shown that man must necessarily obey such laws, when he discovers the connexion between them and his own well-being, as it is the law of his existence to follow that which will produce the greatest happiness.

We have now to examine the present organization of Society, in order to ascertain how far it is in accordance with those principles which have been shown to be essential to the production of the greatest amount of happiness. In considering this question, we propose to trace the many evils and abuses that afflict Society to their source, and to examine how far the numerous remedies proposed for their abatement and reform, by various conflicting parties, are calculated to effect that purpose. As the Working Classes are by far the most numerous part of the population in all countries, in considering the mode by which the largest amount of happiness may be produced,

their condition surely ought to constitute the principal object of regard. Hitherto the working classes have seldom been viewed in so important a light; they have been looked upon by Political Economists, and too much so by their Rulers, as means only to the production of the largest amount of wealth, not as means to the largest amount of happiness. Athens, in the time of Pericles, contained 30,000 free citizens and 400,000 slaves: what these slaves were to the free state of antiquity, have the working classes been to us; for necessity has been and is now, a harder taskmaster than any mere instrument of human tyranny. But we trust that the time for their emancipation draws near, when the steam-engine shall take the place of the slaves, and do the drudgery of Society, and when all the higher and nobler parts of their nature, that peculiarly distinguish them as men, may have full scope, and they shall no longer be regarded as the mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.

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## SECTION I.

### DIVISION OF SOCIETY, ANNUAL INCOME OF THE KINGDOM, AND MODE OF ITS DISTRIBUTION.

The population of Great Britain, and we shall for the present speak of Great Britain alone, is estimated by Mr. M'Culloch to consist at the present time of 18 millions of inhabitants.\* The average rate of increase of the whole population has been ascertained to be about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum.

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\* Statistical Account of the British Empire, vol. 2, p. 509.

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 Handicraft, as Masters or Workmen ... ..	1,333,837
Labourers and Operatives employed in Agriculture and Manufactures ... ..	3,135,299**

By this division there would be rather less than three persons dependent upon each of these, or less than four people to a family.

The average annual income of Great Britain, Mr. M'Culloch estimates at about £300,000,000, which is perhaps nearer the truth than the much larger estimates of some other parties.†

The land in cultivation in England and Wales is estimated at ... ..	Acres. 28,749,000
" " " Scotland ... ..	5,043,450
The whole extent of surface ... ..	51,000,000
The Rent of Great Britain is estimated at ...	£34,778,685
Profits of Occupiers of Land ... ..	31,500,000
Profits of Manufacturers, Professional Men, &c., as determined by the Income Tax in 1814 and 1815, with 35 per cent. estimated increase added ... ..	50,000,000
National Revenue ... ..	50,000,000
Total ... ..	<u>£166,278,685‡</u>

The total of which Rent, Profits, and Taxes, deducted from the annual income of the kingdom, leaves

\* Porter's Progress of the Nation, sec. 1, p. 53. † Vol. 2, p. 509.

‡ It is not pretended that the above data are absolutely correct; they are given only as being as near an approximation to the truth as we have any means yet of making.

£133,721,315, as the share of the Retailers, and of the Labourers and Operatives. Deduct only one-third as the share of the Retailers, supposing that some of them may be included in the other classes, it leaves for the 3,135,299 of all kinds of Agricultural and Manufacturing Labourers, £99,157,544, being rather less than one-third of the whole annual produce. This is the share allotted by the Landowner and Capitalist to the Labourer of that, which, in consequence of his labour, becomes joint capital. It is not quite £33 per year, or 12s. 8d. per week, for each family. For the use of land, machinery, capital, for liberty to work, and for protection, the working man thus gives 8 hours labour out of every 12.

"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

152,600 persons in all, possessing an income above £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 of independent fortune in Britain, that is, of persons who can live without daily labour, 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, "are deserving the

\* Alison's Principles of Population, vol. 2, p. 48.

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."

## SECTION II.

## ON THE INCOMES OF THE WORKING CLASSES, AND MODE OF EXPENDITURE OF THEIR WEEKLY EARNINGS.

The sum already mentioned as the average income of the family of a working man, consisting of four persons, viz., £33 a-year, or about 12s. 6d. a-week, will be found very nearly to coincide with the information derived from all other sources. If we reckon the family to consist of five persons, which is nearer the average than four, we must add about 3s. to the weekly earnings, making them 15s. 6d., or £40 a-year.

From the table drawn up by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in 1832,\* (since which there has

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	WEAVING BY HAND.			
								Quality.	Woven by	s.	d.
* Spinners, men		1	0	0	1	5	0	Nankeens, fancy, men	9	0	15
women		0	10	0	0	15	0	Do. common, children			
Stretchers ...		1	5	0	1	6	0	and women	6	0	8
Piecers, boys & girls		4	7	0	7	0	0	Do. best, men	10	0	13
Scavengers		0	1	6	0	2	8	Checks, fancy, men	7	0	7
IN THE CARD ROOM :								Do. common, children	6	0	7
Men ...		0	14	6	0	17	0	Cambrics, all ages	6	0	6
Young women		0	9	0	0	9	8	Quiltings, men & wom.	9	0	12
Children		0	6	0	0	7	0	Fustian-cutters, all ages	10	0	12
Throstle Spinners		0	5	0	0	9	8	Machine-makers,			
Reelers		0	7	0	0	9	0	men	1	6	0
WEAVERS BY POWER :								Iron-founders, men	1	8	0
Men ...		0	13	0	0	16	10	Dyers & dressers, do.	15	0	1
Women		0	8	0	0	12	0	Ditto, young men	0	12	0
Dressers' men		1	8	0	1	10	0	Ditto, boys	0	5	0
Winders & Warpers		8	0	0	11	0	0	Tailors, men	0	16	0
Mechanics...		1	4	0	1	6	0				

been no material alteration,) of the wages paid to labourers in cotton factories and other descriptions of workpeople in Manchester, the average weekly earnings, including all kinds of employment in the cotton factories, was from 12s. to 14s. 6d. If with these we include the wages of tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, bricklayers, plasterers, &c., it raises the average to from 13s. 6d. to 15s. 9d. per week. The wages of some of the persons employed in the factories are as high as 30s., and of the other class of workpeople 24s. per week.

The condition of the hand-loom weavers is much

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Porters ...	0	14	0	0	15	0	Bricklayers ...	0	17	0	1	0	0
Packers ...	1	0	0				Bricklayers' labourers	12	0				
Shoemakers ...	0	15	0	0	16	0	Painters ...	0	18	0			
Whitesmiths ...	1	2	0	1	4	0	Slaters ...	0	3	8	per day		
Sawyers ...	1	4	0	1	8	0	Plasterers ...	0	19	0	1	1	0
Carpenters ...	1	4	0				Spademen ...	0	10	0	0	15	0
Stonemasons ...	0	18	0	1	2	0							

Subjoined is an account of the prices of the principal articles of provision in Manchester, from 1826 to 1832, both inclusive, also drawn up by the Chamber of Commerce:—

ARTICLES.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.	1832.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Beef, best ...	7 lb ... 0 6½	0 6	0 6½	0 6	0 5½	0 6	
Do., coarse	7 lb ... 0 4½	0 4	0 4	0 3½	0 3	0 3½	
Bacon ...	7 lb ... 0 7½	0 8	0 7½	0 7½	0 6½	0 7	0 7
Bread-flour	7 12 lb 2 5	2 5	2 7	2 9	2 7	2 6	2 4
Do., wheaten	7 lb ... —	—	0 1½	0 2	0 2	0 1½	0 1½
Cheese ...	7 lb ... 0 7½	0 7½	0 8	0 6½	0 7½	0 8	0 7½
Malt ...	9 lb 2 1	2 4	2 2	2 2	2 1	2 4	2 2
Meal ...	10 lb 1 7½	1 8½	1 7½	1 5	1 6	1 6	1 3
Potatoes ...	252 lb 9 9	4 9	5 8	6 6	6 0	6 3	4 3
Pork ...	7 lb ... 0 6½	0 7	0 6½	0 6½	0 5	0 5½	0 5½

“ These authentic statements fully demonstrate that, as respects wages, the condition of the workpeople employed in cotton factories is eminently prosperous.”—M'Culloch, vol. 1, p. 664.

worse. From the Report of the House of Commons on the Hand-Loom Inquiry in 1835, it appears that the wages of the hand-loom weavers have been generally reduced since 1815 to one-third of the wages paid at that period.

The weekly wages that a fair average weaver can earn by the kind of work at which the majority of the weavers are now employed, are stated in evidence by weavers, manufacturers, and others, to be at

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Aberdeen	3	6 to 5	6	Nett	Manchester	5	0 to 7	6	Nett
Bolton ...	4	1½		"	Paisley ...	6	0 to 7	0	Gross
Dundee ...	6	0 to 7	0	"	Perth ...	4	9 to 7	9	Nett
Forfar ...	6	0		"	Preston ...	4	9 to 6	9	Gross
Glasgow ...	4	0 to 8	0	Gross	Spitalfields	7	9 to 8	6	"
Huddersfield	4	6 to 5	0	Nett	Stockport	9	0		"
a few as high as 16s.					Coventry	7	6		Nett
Lanark ...	5	0			Nuneaton	4	8		"

From the same Report we have a table by Mr. Needham, in which the price of weaving and the price of food are given, during five periods of seven successive years each, and one of two, comprising the time between the years 1797 and 1834.

From 1797 to 1804, a weaver could earn 26s. 8d. per week, which would purchase 100lbs. of flour, or 142lbs. of oatmeal, or 826lbs. of potatoes, or 55lbs. of butcher's meat, which would give a general average of a relative proportion of these articles of 281lbs.

From		s.	d.		lb.
1804 to 1811 the general average of Wages,	20	0	do. of Food,	238	
1811 to 1818	"	"	"	131	
1818 to 1825	"	"	"	108	
1825 to 1832	"	"	"	83	
1832 to 1834	"	"	"	83	

During the time that wages are reduced to this

extremely low rate, it may naturally excite surprise, that all this class of workpeople do not find other employments. But, in fact, this very low rate of wages has a tendency to increase rather than diminish the number of this class, for this reason; a single man cannot live on so small a sum, he, therefore, marries as soon as possible, and he with his wife manage to support themselves on their joint earnings. The children are early trained to the same employment; so that when a family consists of five persons, and two of the children are above eight years old, their joint weekly earnings will amount to 12s. or 14s. per week. This class of people is thus continued because they require the services of their children early, and because they have not the means, even if they could spare them, of bringing them up to any other employment.

Mr. Porter, in his "Progress of the Nation," p. 122, states, that

"Among the questions sent to the various parishes in England, during the enquiry into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws, it was asked 'What on the whole might an average labourer, obtaining an average amount of employment, both in day-work and piece-work, expect to earn in the year, including harvest-work and the value of all his other advantages and means of living, except parish relief? And what on the whole might a labourer's wife and four children, aged 14, 11, 8, 5, respectively, (the eldest a boy,) expect to earn in the year, obtaining as in the former case, an average amount of employment?'

"The answer to these queries from 856, give, for the annual earning of the man, an average of	...	...	...	...	£27	17	10
And the answers from 668 parishes, give as the annual earnings of the wife and children an average of	...	...	...	...	13	19	10
Annual income of the family	...	...	...	...	£41	17	8

"To the further question, 'Could such a family subsist on the

aggregate earnings of the father, mother, and children; and if so, on what food?' Answers were returned from 899 to the following effect,—71 said simply 'No;' 212, 'Yes;' 12, 'Barely, and without meat;' 491, 'With meat.'"

This account of the rate of wages of the agricultural labourers may be considered a very favourable one; for it is to be observed, that it is not what they really do earn, but what they might earn with an average amount of employment, supposing them all employed. Other accounts state the income of the Agricultural Labourers, particularizing Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Worcestershire, and Wilts, at an average of £22. 7s., or 8s. 6d. per week. A correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* says, that few earn more than 8s. per week, and that this, allowing 9d. per week for rent, 1s. 6d. for fuel, 9d. soap, candles, &c., leaves 5s. for food, which, for a man and wife and four children, is just 10d. a-week for each; or, allowing them food three times a-day, it will give something less than one halfpenny a meal.

The above rate of wages of each class is calculated upon the supposition that the people have constant employment, which is by no means the case. Scarcely a year passes in which the Cotton-Factory hands are not, at different periods, put upon half work. In fact, derangement in the currency, in both England and America; changes in the fashion; foreign competition, and other causes, are constantly in operation to throw the mass of the manufacturing population out of employment, and to put even the very best workmen on half work. The state of the weather and other peculiar causes, have the same effect in out-door employments; so that it requires the constant effort, the almost unceasing labour of the whole of a family to keep the

average rate of wages at the sum mentioned, all the year round; when we have seen what this weekly income will furnish, and call to mind all the casualties to which the poor are constantly subject, we shall not be surprised that four or six millions annually for poor's rates are required.

Whether this low rate of wages is peculiar to the labouring population of Great Britain, is an interesting question connected with the present inquiry, as, in looking to the cause, it will help to determine whether it belongs to our particular institutions, or is the common feature in all the different States of Europe, whatever their form of Government, amount of Taxation, &c. We shall find, that the poverty of the working classes is common to all the countries of Europe, with very little variation as to the degree in which it exists. The people of Norway and Switzerland appear to be the most exempt from extreme poverty.\*

Of course, in considering the amount of wages received in other countries, it will be necessary to take into account, not only the money price, which may be of very different relative value to what it is in England, according to the amount of necessaries that it may furnish, but the quantity of work that is done for it. It will be also necessary in comparing the relative condition of the people of different nations, to consider what things may be called *necessaries* in each. Differences of climate, and, consequently, differences in the habits of the people, render the wants of one people no criterion for those of another, and a man would be starved in

\* See Mr. Laing's very interesting account of the Norwegians.

England with the lodging, food, and clothing, that would suffice to make him very comfortable in the south of Europe.

There are several writers who furnish information upon this subject. The following estimates are taken from Porter's "Progress of the Nation," chap. 4:—

**SWEDEN.** "The daily wages of artizans are 1s. 7d., and of skilled agricultural labourers 7d. or 8d., while the unskilled obtain no more than 3d. or 4d. Families can subsist upon their earnings. Agriculturists in the southern provinces live upon salt fish and potatoes; in the northern provinces, porridge and rye bread form their food. Pauperism has increased in a greater ratio than the population."

**DENMARK.** "A man with a wife and four children, who work every day of the week, including Sunday, earn among them about 12s. sterling per week. The principal food of the labouring people is rye bread, groats, potatoes, coffee, butter, cheese, and milk; provisions are cheap, and with prudence and economy, the earnings of a family are sufficient for their subsistence."

**MECKLENBURG.** "The wages of artizans vary from 7s. to 10s. 6d. per week in towns, and in the country they are about 1s. 3d. less. In addition to money wages, working men are boarded and lodged by their employers. Labourers in the country are paid 3s. 6d. per week, and have found for them a dwelling with a garden, pasture for a cow and two sheep in summer, and provender for them in winter. With these advantages they are enabled to procure a sufficiency of good sound food, and occasionally to indulge in the use of meat, which falls to the lot of very few of the working classes of the countries on the Continent of Europe."

**FRANCE.** "Mr. Scott, the British Consul at Bourdeaux, in his reply to the questions of the Poor-Law Commissioners, states, that a common labourer earns, all advantages included, £21. 12s., and that his wife and four children, aged 14, 11, 8, and 5, could earn about £12 more. That such a family could lay something by, as the wants of the lower classes are much fewer than in England. But from causes previously mentioned, that few of the peasants have any surplus at the end of the year; on the contrary, they are mostly in debt."

**HOLLAND.** "The amount of the annual earnings of a labouring

family here is stated to be from £12. 10s. to £18. 15s. Mr. Porter says, 'It should be borne in mind, however, that from the habits of the people, and the comparative cheapness of provisions in Holland, as compared with England, the expenditure of the smaller sum in the first-named of these countries, is more nearly equivalent to the larger payment than would at first appear.'

**BELGIUM.** "A skilled artizan may earn in summer from 1s. 2d. to 1s. 5d. per day, and in winter from 10d. to 1s. 2d. If unskilled, artizans will earn little more than half these rates. With these wages, joined to what may be earned by the wife and children, a family may subsist on rye bread, potatoes and milk. It is but rarely that they can procure meat. In towns where manufactures are carried on, the situation of artizans is better than that just described. Agricultural labourers are generally boarded by the farmers with whom they work."

Mr. Jelinger Symons, in comparing the results of labour at Home and Abroad, gives us the means of estimating the above amount as compared with English money. He says,

"As a general proportion, (subject, however, to large variations,) we may perhaps assume, that in Switzerland 1s. will go as far for a working man as 1s. 3d. here; in France, Belgium, Rhenish Prussia, as far as 1s. 4d. here; in Austria, and many parts of Prussia, as far as 1s. 5d. here; and in Wurtemberg, part of Austria, some of the Duchies, and Bohemia, as far as 1s. 8d. or 1s. 10d. here; always comparing towns with towns, and country with country, agricultural with agricultural districts, and manufacturing with manufacturing districts.

"TABULAR VIEW OF WAGES ABROAD AND AT HOME.

Classes of Labourers.	In France and Belgium, average weekly wages.	In England, average weekly wages.	Difference in favour of England after adding one-third for greater cost of food.
1st Class Mechanics.....	12s. 6d.	20s. 0d.	3s. 4d.
2d ditto ditto.....	9s. 0d.	14s. 0d.	2s. 0d.
Farm Labourers.....	6s. 6d.	10s. 0d.	1s. 4d.
Spinning Factory ditto, } men, women, & children }	6s. 3d.	10s. 6d.	2s. 2d."

With reference to this apparent cheapness of labour

abroad, Mr. M'Culloch says, (vol. 1, p. 666,) that "Mr. Cowell has shown the nugatory nature of the statements laid before the Factory Commissioners, as to the cheapness of foreign as compared with English labour. It may be true that a workman earns 30s. or 40s. in a given time in a mill in Manchester, and only 15s. or 20s. in a mill in France or Prussia. But what has this to do with the cost of labour? Arthur Young said that a labourer in Essex was cheaper at 2s. 6d. a-day than a labourer in Tipperary at 5d. Without knowing the quantity of work done in the mills of which we know the earnings of the workmen, we have no ground whatever for affirming that the labour performed by the one who gets the least money is really the cheapest." \* \* \* "Mr. Edwin Rose, who had been practically employed as an engineer in different factories in France and Germany, on being examined by Mr. Cowell, stated distinctly, that it took twice the number of hands to perform most kinds of factory work in France, Switzerland, &c., that it did in England; and that wages there, if estimated by the only standard good for anything—that is, by the *work done*—were higher than in England!"

There are many causes that make the standard of living necessarily higher in England than it is in most countries abroad; and if we estimate the condition of the operatives by the things absolutely necessary for them, and the incessant labour required to furnish them, there is little doubt, whatever may be the nominal rate of wages, that the condition of the working man in Britain is the worst.

But a statement of the rate of wages per week furnishes very little information generally, as to the

real condition of the poor; and all the remarks that are commonly made upon the subject show that very few understand how this income is expended, or what it will furnish. If the poor require assistance, it is attributed to idleness, improvidence, or connexion with some party whose professed object is the improvement of their condition as a body; and if one in a hundred, with more honest pride and independence than his neighbours, prefers quietly and secretly to endure the hard struggle with poverty, rather than to make a parade and a trade of his miseries, he is cited as a proof that the poor ought not to require assistance, for they are in reality well enough off, if they would but be content. Alas, let these censors look a little beneath the surface—let them ascertain “how do poor men live,”\* and they will see in what this “well off” consists. The following are details of the weekly expenditure of some of the most industrious and frugal of the working families in this neighbourhood, (Coventry,) whose earnings are from 14s. to 20s. per week. It must be observed, however, that even the first-mentioned sum may be considered too high as a general average, if we take the year throughout, or a series of years, in which good and bad states of trade will always be included, although there are families who, by their joint earnings, make 20s. per week, and also a class of mechanics who realise as much, such, for instance as Curriers, Tailors, Plasterers, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Painters, &c.; but these constitute a very small part of the great body of the working class.

\* There is an excellent article with this title in *Tait's Magazine* for January, 1839, which all ought to see who take an interest in the subject.

Weekly expenditure of a family of five persons, man, wife, and three children, earning 14s. per week :—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
House Rent... ..	2	0	Brought up ...	9	0½
1½ cwt. of Coals ...	1	0	Potatoes, 3 lb per day, 21 lb	0	9
1 lb of Candles ...	0	6½	Sugar, 1½ lb ...	1	0
Soap, Soda, Salt, Pepper	0	4	(This is often mixed with a		
Oatmeal ... ..	0	3	little warm water for dinner		
Milk, one pint each day	0	7	and supper, with bread.)		
(This is mixed with water,			Tea or Coffee ...	0	4½
and, with bread, generally			Bacon, Bullock's Liver, or		
serves the three children			other coarse meat ...	1	2
and father for breakfast.)			Clothes, Haberdashery,		
Flour, 1½ stone, with Yeast			and mending Shoes... 1	8	
and Baking ... ..	4	4			
(This will make 27 lb of				14	0
bread, and allowing only 3					
meals per day, is only 4 oz.					
per meal, each person.)	9	0½			

For their clothing this class depend a great deal upon friends and charities, and the majority have no other bed than straw in bags of wrapping.

Weekly expenditure of a family of five persons earning 20s. per week :—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
House Rent ... ..	2	6	Brought up ...	11	4½
Candles, 1¼ lb ...	0	8	Tea or Coffee ...	0	6
Coals, 1½ cwt. ...	1	0	Beer ... ..	0	3
Soap and Soda ...	0	5	(This is generally had on Satur-		
Starch, Blue, Pepper, Salt	0	2½	day and Monday nights, 1½d.		
Milk, 7 quarts ...	1	2	each night.)		
Oatmeal ... ..	0	3	Butter ... ..	1	1½
Cheese, 1½ lb ...	1	0	Bread ... ..	4	0
Meat 4 lb ... ..	2	0	(This class eat less bread than		
(Generally divided so as to serve			those who earn less.)		
for three dinners.)			Rice or Sago ...	0	3
Bacon or coarse Meat ...	0	6	Benefit Club ...	0	6
Potatoes, 18 lb ...	0	8	Medicine ... ..	0	2
Sugar, 1½ lb ... ..	1	0	Clothes, Bedding, &c. ...	1	10
	11	4½		*£1	0 0

\* The above are the prices which the poor are now paying, December 1839, in and about Coventry; provisions being, at the present time, very high.

As we before observed, the above is the highest estimate for the wages of artizans ; as it may be safely affirmed that the average rate of wages for a family of five persons, including all classes of labourers, and excluding the Irish, which would sink the estimate much lower, is not more than 14s. per week. Two-thirds, therefore, of the families of the working population of Great Britain have not £1 a-week to spend ; and yet who is prepared to say that the above is an extravagant outlay ; that any one of the articles enumerated as part of the weekly consumption of such a family, ought to be dispensed with ; who, indeed, will say, that there is enough for five people even of any one article ? Is 1s. 10d. per week, or £4. 15s. 4d. per year, enough to supply a family with decent clothing ? Will it supply to each member of it a Sunday suit, with hat, shoes, stockings, flannels, &c., to say nothing of bedding ? On the contrary, we know that the whole sum would but barely furnish the man alone with the requisites to make a respectable appearance ; notwithstanding the much-vaunted results of machinery, which have been said to put good and sufficient clothing within the reach of all. Again, can we say that the above expenditure for fire, candles, or meat, is exorbitant ? Nothing is allowed for beer—for the half-pint on Saturdays and Mondays, can scarcely be reckoned—and we see but too well that if this luxury were indulged in, it would grievously intrench upon the necessary items ; necessities which must be shared with the children, and are, therefore, far more important.

Different families would, doubtless, have different modes of spending their 14s. or 20s. per week : the above details are merely intended to show what such

sums will procure under the management of a good housewife, and are valuable from their not being merely hypothetical, but furnished by artizans themselves as the actual mode in which they are accustomed to lay out their earnings.

The first thing that strikes us in looking over their estimate, is, that the expenditure is quite up to the income ; that, besides the 6d., in the latter case, to the Benefit Club, there is nothing laid by to enable them to meet those casualties which beset the poor on all sides, independently of that most serious and yet most common one, want of work. There is no provision for the very young children ; none for settling the elder ones respectably in the world ; none for old age ;—but here it is sadly forced upon our observation how speedily nature provides for the aged poor in a manufacturing town ; how seldom, indeed, is it permitted to the over-worked artizan to live out his threescore years and ten !

The cry of improvidence is uniformly raised against the poor at periods of distress when their claims are more than commonly urgent ; but it would be as well if those who think it a duty to exhort the poor to the practice of economy, as being the one thing needful to ensure to them continual prosperity, and to a habit of saving as the only safeguard against the day of adversity, would point out in what this economy is to consist, and where the saving is to begin. It is true that by the exercise of some self-denial, an artizan of the lowest class may contrive to put by a small sum—a few pence weekly,—as has been proved by the experiment of Provident Societies ; but it must be remembered that the chief benefit that such a man derives from his con-

nexion with one of these societies, consists in his being brought by it into intercourse with his rich neighbours, who have thus the opportunity of knowing and appreciating his character without any degrading efforts on his part to obtain their notice, and who are enabled to render him timely aid and kind offices, in a manner the least offensive possible to his self-respect; advantages which he may enjoy conjointly with the wholesome feeling that he is in some way entitled to them, from his own efforts after independence. The chief benefit does not consist in his having realized an efficient fund from his own savings. On the contrary, we know that however resolutely and perseveringly one of this class may put by a portion of his wages, the accumulated sum must necessarily be so trifling in amount, that the first casualty, an illness, or a burial, or a dearth of employment, soon swallows up the little fund, and leaves him burdened with debt.

And have not the poor motives enough to save, independently of the exhortations and advice of their more comfortable neighbours? Have they not the strongest that can appeal to human nature—the good of their children; their respectability amongst their fellows; their fear of the workhouse? Yet they do not, and they cannot provide against the evil day. No! providence there may be, economy there must be, but saving is next to impossible.

The above rate of wages not only furnishes no savings, but plainly allows nothing for all those comforts and luxuries which, though not absolutely essential to life, add so much to its value; and many of which a person in a middle station of society would pronounce it fairly impossible to subsist without. For instance,

books, newspapers, periodicals, (of which latter so many are published exclusively for the use and benefit of the poor), admittance to a place of worship, mechanics' institutions, lectures, theatres; postage and carriage; occasional relaxation from labour; excursions into the country; a little extra outlay for high days and holidays; good education for the children, which fourpence a-week will not furnish; proper medical attendance;—for although in the above estimate twopence per week is allowed for medicine, less than sevenpence a-week, the required subscription to a Self-supporting Dispensary, is too small a provision against sickness.

An examination of this sort, which shows what the means of even the first class of mechanics are equal to, is more likely to carry conviction and to instruct, so far as regards the real condition of the whole body of the poor, than pictures of local misery and distress which may be suspected to be exaggerations—as such pictures frequently are. We find that the wages of even the most fortunate among the operatives, furnish barely the necessaries of life, without allowing any surplus for those depressing circumstances that so often occur, and which frequently reduce a family, first to the second class, and then to the workhouse. It will not be found that we exaggerate if we state that the great mass of the working population is kept as near to the starving point as possible, and that their constant exertion is necessary to enable them to keep from sinking below it, and independent of charity and the workhouse. This will assist us, in part, to account for the fact that in those towns which possess many endowed charities, the condition of the working population is the worst. For so long as a poor man feels

that his only resource is in himself, necessity gives him strength, and his efforts to keep his head above water, although often painfully great, are seldom unsuccessful; but no sooner does he find that there are charities to be had for the seeking, and he is tempted to run after them, and to trust to something besides his own unwearied exertions, than his resolution fails, his energies flag, and he begins to sink. It is true charity to help the poor to help themselves, but to weaken in any way their self-dependence is to inflict a positive injury.

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### SECTION III.

#### THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

It is very much the custom of political economists to represent the condition of the labouring classes as eminently prosperous, compared even with what it was in the middle of the last century. "The labouring classes," says Mr. M'Culloch, "have been the principal gainers (by the improvements in the arts and sciences), as well by the large numbers of them who have succeeded in advancing themselves to a superior station, as by the extraordinary additional comforts that now fall to the share even of the poorest families."\* That the improvements in the arts and sciences, and in machinery, have raised the condition of the middle, and increased the comforts of the upper classes—of all kinds of capitalists, there can be no doubt. That they have raised many to the middle that belonged to

\* Statistical Account of the British Empire, vol. 2, p. 494.

the lower class, is equally certain. Neither can it be denied that the poor can now obtain many things that were considered as luxuries even to the rich, two centuries ago. And yet that the body of them is happier, and therefore better off, there is much reason to doubt. They judge of the condition of their class, not by what it was two hundred years ago, but by the condition of those above them. If they have more comforts, they have more anxiety; and such extra comforts, which, by the advance of the age, have become necessities, are earned only by more incessant labour.

We shall find also, on a close examination, that much of the apparent improvement that is observable in the condition of the poor, lies very near the surface.

“Among the popular fallacies employed to propagate the belief of the increasing prosperity of the labouring classes, are the Savings’ Banks. But we will venture to say, that labourers who are householders, rearing families, are rarely indeed contributors to these useful establishments; unless they have some extraneous source of income. We have demonstrated the utter impossibility of a married workman, in the ordinary trades, saving anything, unless he starve his family. A very large proportion of them are female servants and children, who are directed by their mistresses and friends to this means of placing their small savings. Instead of the wonted gown or cap, a present from a sensible mistress to a faithful servant, is now frequently a deposit receipt for a pound or two—the nest-egg of the future board. In examining the classes and description of depositors in a savings’ bank, in an English county, we find the greatest number to be female servants, who also hold the greatest amount of funds. There are also children, apprentices, schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, seamen, clergymen, half-pay officers, revenue officers and pensioners, small farmers and females engaged in trade—probably single women—guards and drivers of coaches, and male domestic servants; but a small proportion of artificers, mechanics, and handicraftsmen, or of the labourers of husbandmen, and that small number, it is fair to conjecture, are

single men, saving that they may prudently marry, if ever a working man can prudently marry."

"Another common fallacy in looking to the condition of the labouring population, is the reduced price of all manufactured goods, and especially of clothing. The flimsy texture of the spurious wares which have deeply injured the character of British goods in every market of the world, and driven them from some, is never considered. A labourer's wife may now have four or five pretty-patterned cotton gowns for 4s. or 5s. each, where her grandmother's would have cost 20s.; but then it would have worn and washed out six of the gay and modern flimsy dresses; which, moreover, must cost four times lining and furnishing; and either the housewife's time, if she have the necessary skill, or else her husband's money to the mantuamaker. The same spurious economy holds of all articles of female, and many of male dress, used by the labouring class. How true is it that what is low-priced is not often cheap! But admitting that the pretty cotton gown and shawl, and the Sunday stockings of women and girls, are greatly cheaper, though worthless and flimsy, how does it stand with the more essential articles of clothing in our climate? We shall take the women's flannel and stuff petticoats and gowns; their warm, long-wearing shawls and cloaks, stout shoes, and worsted stockings. These, if good, and of lasting texture, are no cheaper—cannot be cheaper than those which labourers' wives formerly manufactured for themselves in their cottages, and now often go without, because they cannot afford to wear them, unless the lady of the manor deal out garments at Christmas. Articles of prime necessity to the comfortable condition of working men's families, are meat, beer, substantial woollen fabrics and good shoes; and these never have been cheap in wealthy, manufacturing England; and never can be, even in the best times, easily admissible to the labouring class in anything like reasonable plenty under the present system." \*

The operation of machinery upon the condition of the working classes, notwithstanding the great decrease in price of many of the necessities of life consequent upon its improvement, is clearly indicated in the follow-

\* Tait's Magazine, 1839, p. 21.

ing passage from Porter—article, Pauperism:—"Owing to the operations of the 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." Now, although this may be in part accounted for from the injurious operation of a bad system of poor-laws, yet it is a sufficient indication that the labouring population in both town and country, were kept as near the starving point as possible. The sum expended for the relief of the poor in 1834 in England and Wales, among a population of 14,531,957, was £6,317,255.\*

We would avoid giving an exaggerated picture of the condition of the working classes, and pass over, there-

\* On the condition of the people, in both town and country, a great mass of information has been collected, which may be found in accounts published by the Statistical Society; in the Reports of the House of Commons on the Education, (1838,) and on the Health, (1840,) of the Poorer Classes in large Towns; in Dr. Alison's Report on the Poor of Scotland, and Mr. Alison on the Principles of Population; in Mr. Slaney's State of the Poorer Classes in great Towns; in the Reports of the Hand-Loom Inquiry, and of

fore, not as untrue, but as partial, the great number of heart-rending descriptions that are daily presented to us of the state of the labouring population in particular localities, London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Huddersfield, and extensive agricultural districts.

the Poor Law Commissioners, &c. We select the following from such statements:—

"In London, one-tenth of the whole population are paupers, and 20,000 persons rise every morning without knowing where they are to sleep at night; at Glasgow, nearly 30,000 persons are every Saturday night in a state of brutal intoxication, and *every twelfth house* is devoted to the sale of spirits; and in Dublin 60,000 persons in *one year* passed through the fever hospital."—Alison on the Principles of Population, vol. 2, p. 80.

"The number of individuals charged with serious offences is in England five times greater than it was thirty years ago; in Ireland six times; but in Scotland 27 times."—Ibid, vol. 2, p. 98.

"The cost of punishing and repressing crime is calculated at above a million and a half sterling in England and Wales."

"The annual cost of vicious characters, of both sexes, throughout the country, is estimated at ten millions per annum; the cost of 4,700 vicious characters in Liverpool alone was reckoned at £700,000 per annum."

"The outlay in drunkenness and in the use of spirituous liquors injurious to health, (after every allowance for reasonable conviviality,) is above fifteen millions per annum throughout the kingdom."

"The poor rates *now* amount annually to upwards of four millions per annum."

"Here, then, we have an enormous aggregate outlay, amounting to above thirty millions per annum, (equal to the whole interest of the national debt,) the cost of poverty and crime, to be gradually and constantly lessened, as we turn our exertions to the improvement of the physical and moral condition of the poorer classes.

"The safest, the wisest, the cheapest way to support any given number of persons, from birth to death, is to teach the young, to encourage and assist the middle-aged, and to protect the old; to induce the people to *exert themselves to support themselves*, and to

These accounts, however, show that if the average annual income of the poor be £30 or £40, that income is most unequally distributed so far as regards particular districts.

The following statements, descriptive of the condition

be frugal, industrious, provident for their own benefit. But to do this they must have fair play; they must have reasonable encouragement, leading, and assistance; they must be afforded the *means of gradually improving their condition*, and not doomed to constant toil to increase the general wealth, which they ~~see~~ fructifying and augmenting, while they are depressed and dispirited, confined to unhealthy habitations, amidst filth and wretchedness, and with no relaxation or amusement but the occasional excitement of drunken excess. Can any one deny that this is the case with multitudes of the poorer class in great towns? It is vain and idle to say it is their own faults; that they are reckless, improvident, dissolute. They are the children of the circumstances in which they are placed, and these circumstances speak aloud, and in a tone not to be mistaken, of the error or neglect of those whose duty and interest it was to have improved their condition."—Mr. Slaney's Reports of the House of Commons on the Education and Health of the Poorer Classes, &c., p. 11.

From the same source we quote also the following:—"In Liverpool there are upwards of 7,800 inhabited cellars, occupied by upwards of 39,000 persons, being one-fifth of all the labouring classes in that great town; and an account of undoubted veracity states, 'that the great proportion of these inhabited cellars were dark, damp, confined, ill-ventilated, and dirty. In Manchester, also, nearly 15,000 persons, being almost 12 per cent. of the working population, live in cellars; and in the adjacent town of Salford, 3,300.'

"The proportion of cases of fever occurring among the inhabitants of cellars is about 35 per cent. more than it ought to be, calculating the proportion of the inhabitants of cellars to the whole population; the mortality of Liverpool was last year 1 in 33½. 'That of all England, 1 in 51, and of Birmingham, 1 in 60.'

"Mr. J. Robertson, an eminent surgeon at Manchester, after

of the poor and of the effects of the incessant toil to which they are reduced, in the deterioration of the race in both bodily and mental constitution, were given by a physician of eminence, in a course of lectures on Education, delivered at the Philosophical Institution,

remarking that, when well fed, the families of working people maintain their health in a surprising manner, even in cellars and other close dwellings, states, 'That in 1833-4-5 and 6, (years of prosperity,) the number of fever cases admitted into the Manchester House of Recovery, amounted to only 421 per annum; whilst in two pinching years, 1838-9, the number admitted was 1,207 per annum.'

"In Leeds, with a population of above 80,000 persons, the state of the streets, courts, and dwellings inhabited by the working classes, appears greatly neglected; paving, sewerage, and cleaning, (as applicable to the health and comfort of these workmen,) seem seldom thought of, and never enforced; and the general conclusion of the Town Council is, 'that the greater part of the town is in a most filthy condition, which demands an immediate remedy.'

"Your Committee cannot help repeating their conviction, that, in addition to the physical evils which this want of the means of carrying off the refuse and impurities from their dwellings entails upon the poorer classes, it is impossible to deny, from the evidence before them, that their moral habits are affected by the same causes. That a constant residence in a tainted and polluted atmosphere, whilst it predisposes them to disease, and renders them less able to repel its attacks, also produces a degradation of moral character, an indifference to the common decencies of life, and an utter recklessness of all those comforts which persons in their station might be expected to enjoy.

"The effect of this utter prostration of energy, and of all the better feelings of the mind, has been to reduce multitudes, who might otherwise have passed with credit through their humble spheres, to have recourse to ardent spirits as a desperate alleviation of their wretchedness; and your Committee need hardly point out how surely this irresistible temptation leads, step by step, to habitual dissipation and debauchery."

Birmingham, in the spring of 1839, and their interest and value principally depend upon their being founded on personal experience, derived from long practice amongst the poor in both town and country. The enlightened and philanthropic lecturer defined the end of Education to be the improving and perfecting of every human being, in every bodily and mental faculty; and his object in the following quotations was to show the counteracting circumstances which make education in this sense quite unattainable by the mass of the people.

"The large manufactories of Lancashire, and some parts of Scotland, present a combination of all the evils incidental to the condition of a working man, and on a large scale.

"Too early employment—too long employment—too much fatigue—no time for relaxation—no time for mental improvement—no time for the care of health—exhaustion—intemperance—indifferent food—sickness—premature decay—a large mortality."

"There is every reason to believe the frame of body and mind of persons employed in manufactories, where they are on their feet all the day, in a heated atmosphere, and living on poor diet, becomes so feeble and irritable, as to lead, as a matter of course, to intemperance and disorderly passions, and to an actual degeneration of the species; so that the mortality becomes very great, and the sickly and imperfect state of a great proportion of the children who are reared, is such that a greater and greater deterioration in each generation is inevitable. The visitor to the large manufactories sees little of the misery they entail. The sick and feeble are at home; in miserable houses or in cellars. Those who are present are interested by the coming of strangers, and their general appearance, it is only fair to state, bespeaks animation and pretty good health. The visitor sees them for half an hour, but he cannot forget that as he sees them—on their feet, and in continual although not perhaps, laborious exertion, they remain during the whole of every day except Sunday. For the consequences he must go to their homes; he must inspect their food; their lodging, accommodations; he must observe what are their relaxations, and, if they can so be called, their pleasures. Still more—he must examine their children,

and particularly when all the causes acting upon them have brought them into the public Charitable Institutions; and then he will see what neglect and over-work can do for an industrious, and even an intelligent class of people.

"He will find these children, for the most part, not deficient in intelligence; but also for the most part, *sickly*. The remarkable thing, indeed, if the poorest children are looked at, in the workhouses and asylums, (the children of parents reduced to indigence, or gone to an early grave, entirely worn out,)—the remarkable fact is, that there is an *universal* appearance of sickness among them; a healthy face and figure is an exception:—the spectator is surrounded with pale, blue, flabby faces, inflamed eyes, diseases of the scalp. Many little creatures sit over the fire, with faces of old people; shrivelled, wasted, wretched objects, with slender limbs, a dry, harsh, loose, coarse skin; large joints, prominent eyes and jaws:—these little creatures are cold and feeble and fretful, and utter plaintive cries like a suffering animal. Ask the medical officers concerning these circumstances, and you will learn that the children are well fed, well lodged, well clothed, and allowed proper exercise in the open air, and the older children are instructed in a school. Education, physical and moral, is not neglected; but it is working on materials too imperfect to be much improved. The organization is frail and incomplete: the stock of life is barely sufficient for a few years. If the children are attacked with acute illness, they can neither bear the disease nor the remedies: the loss of a little blood is fatal to them. Chronic affections cling to them. Curative processes cannot be set up. The medicating power of Nature is not active in their frames. The tissues of their bodies are all unfinished pieces of Nature's workmanship, and prone to disease; their hearts are feeble, and blood is not vigorously circulated, nay, it is not healthily elaborated in their bodies; and the regulating nervous system is as faulty as the rest of their economy. Herded together, without parental care, and the thousand little offices comforting to early childhood, their affections have a small range, and their countenances are blank and melancholy. They are even the victims of diseases never seen amongst the comfortable classes of society. Every common disorder leaves consequences not to be got rid of—measles and smallpox leaving ophthalmia and blindness.

"All this is distressing, but not wonderful. In many a region,

misery and exposure produce a marked physical degeneration, and even create diseases scarcely known in other circumstances.

"It might lead me away from my immediate subject, if I were to state how often epidemics of all kinds prevail among the poor alone. Yet you cannot be too often reminded that as such diseases find a reception in miserable courts and alleys, and from thence spread over the more happily circumstanced families, *so also* the moral infirmities allowed to grow among any part of a population, spread their infectious influence all around. There is, however, another, and a very large portion of our community, whose state, although often boasted of, is not, in my opinion, more favourable to the preservation of *perfect* life of body and mind than that of the manufacturing poor. I mean the labouring poor of agricultural districts. What I say concerning these poor people is the result of much observation of them, and I consider it a duty to lift the veil from a subject surrounded by many respectable prejudices. I know that they are kindly visited and assisted by the wealthier classes living in the country, and charity waits upon them in every shape, in sickness, or for the education and clothing of their children. Indeed but for this charity—and often, but for the boundless charity of the clergyman alone—the people would be utterly lost. But their extreme poverty, and their constant labour, so influence them, that the majority—I am sure I speak within bounds—have never the enjoyment of health after forty years of age. A thousand times in the course of dispensary practice, I have felt the mockery of prescribing medicines for the various stomach complaints to which they are so liable, and which are the product of bad food—insufficient clothing—wearing toil—and the absence of all hope of anything better in this world."

"The peasant's home is not the abode of joy or even of comfort. No 'children run to lip their sire's return, or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.' The children are felt to be a burden, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and lying on beds worse than the lower animals; they are ragged or clothed by charity; untaught or taught by charity; if sick, cured by charity; if not starved, fed by proud charity; of which they bear the marks in the fantastic uniformity of their dress, or in the prison-look imparted by the general order under which they live, that their clustering hair shall be cut close to their heads, lest they should grow up fond of admiration. Observe their

look of humility, of discontent,—their abject curtseys. In such a habitation—in the poorhouse—is it possible to apply Physical and Mental Education? Its very elements are repelled from such a place. Dulness of the mental faculties, obtuseness of the moral feelings, and sickly bodies, can alone be formed." \* \* \* "In agricultural districts, boys are very early employed in the fields; and their minds become utterly vacant. The scenes in which they live have no charms for *them*. They toil early and late in certain services; *never* live well; are condemned to poverty if they marry. For them also physical and mental education is quite out of the question.

"The girls are no better off—many of them work laboriously; and marry the poor labourers we have spoken of. Others become servants. Servants in under-ground or back kitchens—no out-of-door exercise—no friends—no followers—no visits to others—no mental or other variety—yet every virtue expected from them, and a good humour which not even the inconsideration and injustice and caprice of others can ruffle."

"In the case of the manufacturing labourer, the necessary poverty is, I presume, by no means so pressing: their wages are better; they buy provisions in towns, at better advantage; but their exhaustion from over work, and their living surrounded by temptations to sensual gratifications, and particularly to intemperance, conspire to make them as destitute as the agricultural labourer. The latter, excluded from many temptations, *never* receives enough to support a family; his food is just sufficient to prevent divorce of soul and body for the best years of his sad life; if sickness assail him or his children he has no hope but the poor-house; and after toiling until he is old, the yawning poorhouse still awaits him. On the brink of that gulf he has ever been, and he sinks into it at last."

"I lately accompanied a friend over a large and 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

and schools for the boys and the 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 head 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 predoomed, from childhood—from birth—*before* birth—to ignorance and helplessness, or to crime; to the lowest toil—to want—to premature death, or to pauperism 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 repair 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 mental 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, you see 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. Less time is required for their total extinction than is commonly supposed. Sir A. Carlisle says, that where the father and mother are both town-bred, the family ends with the third generation.

"I am unwilling to accumulate painful images; it may be enough to quote the words of a very able writer on Medical Statistics, which point at several instances of human deterioration. 'Life and death, then,' says Dr. Bissett Hawkins, 'mainly depend on the *prosperity* of the circumstances which surround us: physical prosperity and moral happiness, which often depend and re-act upon each other, present a safe-guard at every crisis of existence, both to individuals and to nations. We may often judge with tolerable accuracy of the mortality which is likely to exist in any given country, town, or hospital, from the degree in which poverty or wealth, knowledge or ignorance, misfortune or success, are seen to prevail. Wherever *want* or *misery* prevails, there the mother is more likely to die in labour, there still-births will be more frequent, there the deaths during infancy will be more numerous, there epidemics will rage with more violence, there the recoveries from sickness will be more tedious, and the fatal termination of it more probable; and there, also, will death usually approach at an earlier period of life than in happier situations.'

"My reason for dwelling on these points is, that I would fain show the mockery of expecting, by anything which philanthropy can devise, the production of mental power, or even of virtue, any more than of healthy bodies, in the children of a very considerable portion of all the most civilized communities of Europe, in their present condition; and that until this condition is so modified that the human economy can be healthily exercised, no physical education—no general instruction—no scheme of benevolence—can train these

children into healthy adults. *You cannot engraft virtue on physical misery.* To hope to plant Temperance, Forethought, Chastity, Content, in a soil where the body and soul are corrupting, where the materials of the body are advanced towards death, and incapable of the full actions of vitality, is the dream of benevolence. You must secure good food, clothing, lodging, and cheerful mental stimulus to *all* classes, before you can raise them above that condition in which they will be glad to forget their misery in any sensual gratification that offers. Until then, they must continue feeble and sickly, discontented and fretful, and prone to fly for consolation to stimulants; and, becoming parents, their children will inherit their imperfections, some dying early, and others living in such a state that at length, perhaps, the intolerable magnitude of the physical and moral evil may suggest a remedy, and the means of effecting that first object of education, the formation of a healthy and virtuous people.

"It seems scarcely credible that in an age which, compared with feudal days, appears civilized, thousands of children are every year born only to be the prey and victims of disease, of early death or of public punishment; their parents not able to support the life they have created; and the wretched progeny being consigned, one may almost say, before birth, to fill the hospitals and jails; to be swept away by diseases from which all the comfortable classes are comparatively protected, or to linger out a wretched age in the poorhouse. There is no physiologist who, contemplating these things, can complacently conclude, that it is *not possible* to do something better for the health and life of *every* child that is born into the world.

"I anxiously wish to avoid being betrayed into exaggeration on these points; and I would say, generally, that there are not many occupations which would be in themselves unwholesome, if it were not for the number of hours in which it is requisite for those to be employed who live by the labour of their hands, or even by the exercise of their minds, in business. The merchant's desk, the professional man's study, the author's library, the artist's studio, the manufactory, the shop, possess nothing deadly to mankind, if human beings are not too long in them at one time; or too laboriously exercised whilst there, or not exposed to fatigue at too early an age. It seems a sad result for an honest and industrious house-

painter, that his hands and feet should become paralysed, and that he should be liable to attacks of excruciating pain and delirium. It would seem cruel to consign a youth to such a business, but with care and cleanliness these results are, generally speaking, avoidable; and if time be allowed in which good air may be breathed; the working clothes laid aside; they may be altogether escaped. Scarcely any of the evils arising from trades and occupations are unavoidable in themselves. The circumstance, therefore, that constitutes the hardness of life of the working classes, is not so much the nature of their work; for in this, and the muscular or mental exertion required for it, there is actual benefit to the health, and pleasure to the sensations, and recreation to the mind; but it is the absorption of *life itself into labour*, so that the body and the mind are no longer educated, no longer heeded, when life's toil has fairly begun, and the health of both must be sacrificed, and men *must die to live*."

"It would occupy too much time to take even the most passing view of the poor of large cities *not* employed in manufactures. Dr. Bateman, who wrote so much and so well on the diseases of London, tells us, what we may well believe, that in hot weather their houses are so heated and ill-ventilated, as to produce a state of faintness, depression of spirits, languor, pains in the back and limbs resembling those from fatigue, a fluttering in the region of the stomach, vertigo, tremors, cold perspirations, and various symptoms of indigestion; with a feeble pulse. Impure air, fatigue and anxiety, contribute, he says, to produce these effects; which they chiefly do in woman. How these must influence the temper, affections, and habits, and how interfere with the proper care of their children's bodies and minds, I am sure you will readily imagine.

"Visit the same poor people in winter; you will find every cranny closed, and fever carrying off its victims in great numbers.

"Often, very often doubtless, moral evils flow from hence to the better quarters of the town, and poison the peace of happy families: often, very often, the infection of fevers there cherished, floats over the luxurious parts of the capital, and awakens the great and wealthy to the sense of the common lot of humanity.

"Nor can we from these evils ever be free until *all* receive the benefits of physical, and moral, and mental education, which they *cannot do* so long as they are steeped to the lips in poverty.

"You must give them—the poor citizen—the manufacturer—the agriculturist—*leisure* for instruction, and comforts which will prevent their being reckless; and then—fear not that they will *refuse* to be comfortable. Then they will become provident, careful of their health, prudent as to marriages, temperate, content—in short, reflecting creatures, exercising that now dormant brain, that capability and god-like reason, which their good Creator gave them, not to rust in them unused."

"From the observations I have made, you will gather that I do not believe the world to be so constituted that a large portion of mankind must, from the very necessity of nature, be consigned to constant poverty, ignorance, suffering, disease, vice, and premature death.

"I even confess, that I am shocked when I hear the sacred writings quoted with comfortable satisfaction over 'good men's feasts,' as affording assurance that there must ever be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water;' for without at all denying the necessity of these services, I have never found any reason to believe that hewers of wood and drawers of water must, as a matter of course, be starved, and sickly, and vicious, and limited in this life to half of the allotted years of men. I fear we dishonour the Great Unseen Father of all his creatures by suppositions of this kind; and wrest the words of Scriptures to some purposes which He is far from approving.

"Valueless, indeed, in my opinion, would all our own advantages be, if we could still cherish the selfish belief that for us and for our children alone such gracious advantages were conferred.

"There is nothing in the structure and capacities of any portion of mankind to sustain the notion that the same Deity who endowed them with feelings, affections, appetites, sensations, and intellect:—the same Being who accorded to rich and poor alike the gifts of light and air, has still ordained, that to any one class, and for ever, are to be denied the power to enjoy, not mere physical life alone, exempt from many miseries now incidental to their share of it, but also those pleasures of contemplation and reflection, those upliftings of the mind to Him, and all that intellectual and spiritual life, which alone gives mere physical life any solid value to us. Feeling, that for us the delights of existence are increased a thousand-fold by the possession of health and by opportunities of instruction, whereby are developed countless sources of pure and elevated enjoy-

ment, we must not—we cannot—ungratefully turn round and say that, except for a small number, the blessings of good air, good food and clothing, immunity from epidemic diseases, leisure and freedom of heart, healthy and peaceful old age, and a disposition to seek after immortal good, are for ever and absolutely denied."

Such is the account presented to us of the present condition of the majority of the working class, by one of the leading minds of the age; and there is no reason for supposing that their condition in other countries is more prosperous.

"It has been observed," says Mr. Alison, "that the paupers of England are better fed than the labouring poor of the Continental States; it may be safely affirmed that, in every gradation of rank above the workhouse, the difference is still more remarkable. Mr. Young observes that 'the labouring classes in France are 76 per cent. worse clothed, fed, and lodged, than their brethren in this country; and it is a remarkable fact, that, with the increase of agricultural wealth in the former country since the Revolution, a corresponding change in the diet of the peasantry has taken place. Notwithstanding this change, however, it is calculated by the latest political writer in the two countries, that the quantity of butcher-meat, butter, and cheese, consumed in Britain is 50 per cent. greater than in France. A comparison of the food of the poorer classes in Poland, where the peasantry live entirely on inferior grain, while their splendid harvests of wheat are transported untouched to the London market, with that which is consumed by the same classes in Sweden or Switzerland, where ages of comparative freedom have diffused opulence through the rural population; or of that daily in use among the Irish poor, with that which for ages has subsisted among the opulent yeomanry of England, is sufficient to demonstrate the truth of these observations.'"

"Traversing the country south of Moscow," says Clarke, "it is as the garden of Eden, a fine soil, covered with corn, and apparently smiling in plenty. Enter the cottage of the labourer, and you find him, though surrounded with these riches, often in want of the necessaries of life. Extensive pastures often furnish no milk to him; in autumn the harvest affords no bread to his children; every road is covered with caravans bringing the pro-

duce of the soil to the lords of Petersburg and Moscow, while the cultivators who raised it are in want of the necessities of life.'"

"In the rich and fertile plain of Lombardy, where three crops annually repay the labour of the husbandman, and the means of perpetual irrigation are afforded by the streams that descend from the adjoining mountains, want and indigence generally prevail among the peasantry. Inhabiting a country which abounds in wine, it is seldom they drink anything but water: their clothing is scanty and wretched; their dwellings destitute of all the comforts of life. On the public roads, in the villages, in the cities, the traveller is assailed by multitudes of beggars, whose squalid looks and urgent importunity attest but too strongly the abject distress to which they are reduced. On the mountains, as on the plains, he perceives the traces of a numerous population, and the benignity of the climate clothes the wooded slopes with innumerable villages, whose white walls and elegant spires give a peculiar charm to Italian landscape; but within their walls he finds the well-known features of public misery, and the voice of distress supplicating for relief, in scenes which, at a distance, appear only to teem with human happiness."

"Provisions are incomparably cheaper in Poland and in Russia than in this country; but are the Polish or Russian peasants half as comfortably fed, lodged, or clothed, as the corresponding classes in this country? Every one knows that, so far from being so, or obtaining any benefit whatever from the cheap price of provisions in their own country, they are in truth the most miserable labourers in Europe, and feed upon scanty meals of rye bread, in the midst of the splendid wheat crops, which they raise for the more opulent consumers in this country. In the southern provinces of Russia, wheat is often only ten shillings a quarter, from the total want of any market. But what is the consequence? Why, that wages are so low that the Cossack horseman gets only eight shillings and sixpence a-year of pay from government. Wheat and provisions of all sorts are much cheaper in Ireland than in Great Britain; but nevertheless, the Irish labourers do not enjoy one half of the comforts or necessities of life which fall to the lot of their brethren on this side of the Channel."

"The mere necessities of life are sold almost for nothing in Hindostan and China, but, so far from obtaining any benefit from

that low rate of prices, the labouring classes are so poor as to taste hardly anything but rice and water; and wages are so low, seldom exceeding two-pence a-day, that every sepoy, foot-soldier, and horseman, has two, and every native, three attendants to wait upon his person.\*

To the friend of humanity it affords, however, unspeakable consolation to reflect, that if there is any truth in the principles advocated in the former parts of this work, the evils we have been considering are not a necessary part of human nature, nor irremediable. That such is the case may be inferred from the advance already made, from the improved physical condition of the upper and middle, and in some respects even of the lower, classes of society as compared with what it was a century ago. The tables of mortality show a great increase in the average term of human life.

“ In 1700 the mortality in London was 1 in 25	
1751 ... ..	1 “ 21
1801 ... ..	1 “ 35
1811 ... ..	1 “ 38
1821 ... ..	1 “ 40
In 1801 in England and Wales ...	1 “ 44
1811 ... ..	1 “ 50
1821 ... ..	1 “ 58
1831 ... ..	1 “ 52”†

Various epidemics and diseases have entirely disappeared.

“ There died of the plague in London,

In 1348 about 100,000	In 1625 about 35,000
1563 “ 20,000	1636 “ 10,000
1592 “ 15,000	1665 “ 68,596!
1603 “ 36,000	

“ And this was the last—what the Court never thought of, the Fire of London effected.”

\* Alison, vol. 1, pp. 202, 200, 435, 434; vol. 2, 419, 420.

† Ibid, vol. 1, p. 222.

Life has been lengthened in proportion as man's knowledge of the Physical and Organic laws, and his obedience to them, have increased, and we trust to show that nothing more is necessary to remove the numerous evils that now afflict society, and the working classes in particular, than a similar knowledge of, and obedience to the Moral Law, which requires that all our Institutions should be framed in accordance with the happiness of the greatest number. In proportion as we succeed in doing this, we shall find that moral evil will disappear from the face of the earth, like those physical calamities which have given way before science and increased knowledge of the laws of Nature.

## CHAPTER II.

### ON THE MEASURES PROPOSED FOR THE AMELIORATION OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

ALTHOUGH the labouring population constitute the majority of the people in all countries, yet have their interests and condition been strangely neglected. Governments, with respect to most of their acts and proceedings, would scarcely seem to be aware of their existence, excepting as a necessary part of the machinery of the country for the production of wealth; and their wrongs might for ever remain unredressed, did not the extreme of them at times compel this class to become troublesome, and consequently important to the State. With Political Economists production is the grand object; distribution being left to find its own level; although it is evident, that if distribution be still left to find its own level, as it has hitherto done, the world may be filled with goods by the aid of machinery, whilst those who have nothing to give but their labour in exchange, may want all the necessaries of life. The two great divisions of what is called "civilized society," consist of those who possess property, and those who live only by the wages of labour, and it has been usual to consider the interests of both classes as one; yet nothing is more certain than that those vast physical resources and improvements which have so much increased the comforts of one class, have done little or nothing for the other. Of the immense masses of wealth produced

in Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, and others of our large manufacturing towns, but little has fallen to the share of the working classes, for it is there that poverty, with its accompanying vice and misery, exists in all its most aggravated forms. Rents have risen 50 per cent. within the last fifty years,\* and the condition of the agricultural labourer is the same as it was before, or but little improved. The property of the fund-holder, and all property, has increased with the increased powers of production, but all facts show that this advantage has not yet been shared with the working class as a body.

The evils arising from the present imperfect condition of the people are now forcing themselves into general notice ; and all parties have their remedies, in Politics, in Emigration, in Education, in Religion, in Social Reform ; and in examining how far these remedies are likely to prove efficacious, we must keep in mind that they are to be judged of according to their bearing upon the condition of the working classes ; not upon the powers of production : we must consider also, not only whether the proposed measure is good in the abstract, but how far it is applicable to and practicable in present circumstances.

It generally happens that those whose station gives them an influence over public opinion, are too much engaged with their own individual interests to give the subject the attention that it deserves. They are born to some party in politics, as in religion, and not seeing how the condition of the people around them immediately affects their own, they seldom examine either into its real state, or into its cause ; but satisfy them-

\* M'Culloch, vol. 1, p. 536.

selves with the opinions prevalent, and the measures proposed by the sect or party to which they belong.

Of Strikes, Trades' Unions, and all combinations of workmen against the capitalists, we have seen in numberless instances the utter failure; the capitalist being always able to starve the workman into taking the offered terms; terms, dictated by the demand for labour.

Political Unions can at present do little more. Supposing it to be granted that they were mainly instrumental in obtaining a Reform in Parliament; yet questions having direct reference to the condition of the people are seldom brought forward in this Reformed Parliament; and if little has been said, still less has been done.

The late union of the working men for the purpose of obtaining what is called the Charter, the chief object of which is an extended suffrage, has demonstrated how utterly incapable this class is of undertaking the management of its own affairs. Whatever may be the opinion with respect to the desirableness of placing political power in the hands of the majority, it cannot be doubted, that in the hands of a majority such as our working classes in their present condition constitute, it would tend more to their injury than benefit. "Order, Heaven's first law," would soon cease to exist. Whatever exception may be made in favour of some few amongst them who have far outstripped their brethren in reason and intelligence, it may be asserted that, as a class, they have no knowledge of the foundations upon which society is built; of the steps by which we have arrived at our present stage in civilization; of the necessity to the advancement of the race, of that

which now strikes us as a glaring abuse ; of the mutual sacrifice of our natural liberty which is hourly called for, to ensure to us the advantages of living in society at all. They have no knowledge of the causes of the evils that oppress them, and where, therefore, the remedy should be sought. Scarcely any two among them agree as to what should be done, had they the necessary power, and they are consequently led away by every demagogue who can put sufficient energy and unction into his holdings forth, and who has his own especial quack medicine for the diseases of the State. It is quite impossible, as society is now constituted, that they, with their limited means of acquiring information, and the incessant toil to which they are subjected, can acquire sufficient knowledge for their own governance, or perhaps even to choose those who are qualified. Legislation requires more knowledge than any other profession. A legislator ought to be intimately acquainted with the constitution of human nature ; the constitution of society ; the history of civilization ; with the particular character of the people, and of the institutions of the country for which he would legislate. This is a knowledge to be acquired only by long and arduous study, the time for which is denied to the multitude. Universal suffrage, including all that can make that suffrage available, will be excellent and necessary, when the people know how to use it ; but a great improvement in their physical condition must take place before this can be the case. They must be emancipated from the thralldom of the capitalist, before any mere governmental changes can materially affect their condition. Changes brought about by the representatives of the people in ignorance of the

causes of oppression, would only make things worse, by affecting the order, tranquillity, and security necessary to the spread of knowledge, and to the improvement which can be based only upon such knowledge.\*

POLITICS.—The great body of reformers throughout the country are looking to political reform, to governmental changes, to effect our relief from the evils under which we suffer; and the periodical press may be said almost exclusively to represent this party. But in all countries the condition of the great body of the people—of the working classes, is, with but slight differences, the same. In all the wages of labour are, relatively to what such wages will purchase, equally low and insufficient: and yet some of these countries possess all for which liberal politicians of this school are contending. Is not this, therefore, evidence of some fallacy in the views

\* "The most common error in the present day consists in supposing that the people in general are to be influenced, even in regard to contemporaneous events, by their reason; whereas they are entirely governed in their opinions on such topics, by their interests, their prejudices, or their passions. The Girondists, in the Legislative Assembly of France, confidently expected that, by the force of their arguments, they would bear down the efforts of the Jacobins; but events soon proved that where popular passions are roused, the force of demonstration itself is speedily destroyed by the contests of faction. This consideration furnishes an unanswerable argument against the extension of the elective franchise to the great body of the people. It has no occasion to be illustrated by argument; experience everywhere demonstrates its truth; and mankind will in the end be generally convinced, that to subject the Legislature to the *direct* influence of the multitude, is to subject them in periods of tranquillity to the contentions of interest, and in moments of agitation to the storms of passion."—Alison, vol. 2, p. 286.

of this party, if indeed the object of their measures be to raise the condition of the people? In questioning, however, whether the measures of what is called a liberal and enlightened policy do often or always conduce to this end, and in endeavouring to show their exact bearing upon the condition of the people, we would not wish to appear to condemn such measures, or to represent them as containing no good. It is impossible not to be aware of, and to appreciate, the benefits that have been and will be conferred by them upon all possessing property; it is obvious also that increased production must reflectively, and in a minor degree, benefit those who have no property, but who live by the wages of labour; and that it will raise many of the latter class into the former: but that such policy will not materially ameliorate the condition of the majority, may, we think, be demonstrated.

First amongst the remedies of this class to which the people are taught to look for relief, is the lessening of Taxation, cheap Government, and the taking off the duties on everything that the working man finds necessary for the support of his family. The national debt and our heavy taxation, it is said, press down our people into the dust. But in those countries where there is no national debt, and where taxation is light, is the condition of the people better? It appears a hard thing that the working man should have to pay at least 7s. of every guinea that he earns, in direct or indirect taxation. Lodging, meat, beer, clothing—everything is taxed, and out of an income of £50, he pays perhaps £17 towards the government of his country, and the interest of its national debt. And yet, supposing the same rate of taxation to affect the capitalist, and

that his income is £1000 a-year, he pays only £333, leaving in the one instance, £34 a-year, and in the other, £667; it thus reduces one party to the point of starvation, and leaves the other with every means of luxury. But were the working classes relieved from all taxation, and were those who are so much better able to bear the burden made to do so, how would it affect the former? At first, and for some little time, the operative would find that his guinea per week would go much farther in supplying his wants; it would not only yield necessaries, but comforts. But soon the inevitable fluctuations in trade, and a lessened demand for labour, would throw him out of employment, and in order to obtain his share of the work that remained, he would necessarily offer his labour for less and less remuneration, until within a short period his wages would again be reduced to the starving point,—as we find to be the case in other countries where the necessaries of life are cheap.

One advantage he would derive—but that would also be fleeting, although, perhaps, not equally so—the demand for his labour would be more steady in consequence of additional markets abroad being opened to his employer. This, however, in many cases, would throw people out of employment elsewhere, or if their wages admitted of any reduction, would grind them down to meet this additional competition.

These observations apply, of course, to the present prevailing question of Corn Law or no Corn Law; that is, as much to the tax on bread as to any other. It is unjust to a country that bread should be made dear that rents may be high, particularly as it is allowed that rents have risen full 50 per cent. in the last half century;

but let not the working classes suppose that the abolition of this tax, any more than that of any other, would in the end be of much benefit to them. "The money-rate of wages, wholly independent of the price of provisions from year to year, is entirely regulated by it, other things being equal, from ten years to ten years."\*

Under the present system the working classes are merely the instruments of production, and to relieve them of taxation would have exactly the same effect upon production as improvements in machinery; as they would be able to live for less, they would be enabled to produce for less. This would lead to increased demand, depending, of course, upon the cheapness of the produce. No increase, therefore, of wages would take place, but a great increase of population, similar to that which has taken place in Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, and other large towns, where improvements in machinery, and our consequent power of producing cheaply, have enabled us to command extensive markets. But in a short time population would be upon a par with this increased demand, and foreign competition, over-speculation, fluctuating currencies, and all the various causes that disturb our commercial atmosphere, would again throw the people out of employment, and produce all the distress for which we now seek a remedy.

The great political questions of the day are questions concerning more or less representation—more or less taxation—whether this or that section of the aristocracy shall have power and patronage; but they are not questions that tend ultimately to raise the condition of the people; the utmost that we can expect from the satis-

\* Alison, vol. 2, p. 418.

factory solution of them is, that by enabling us to produce more cheaply, increased demand may give employment to the working classes for a time, when otherwise there would be none, and thus afford leisure to introduce gradually and securely other measures which can alone be effectual to the desired end.

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS.** It is upon the theories of the political economists that the creed of reforming politicians is principally based. Their expectation is that improved education, and increased habits of prudence and economy, will ultimately induce the working classes to keep population within the means of support.\* Not the support which their own labour would furnish, had it a profitable direction, but the support which it is the interest of the capitalist, in the present artificial relations of society, to afford. The main object of this party is to increase production—to multiply capital; and as the most direct means to this object, they look to perfect freedom of trade, the abolition of all monopolies, bounties, and prohibitions, by which all trade would be made to flow into its natural channels; each country furnishing that for which nature has best qualified it, and which costs, therefore, the least labour to produce, that we may no longer be obliged to grow

\* "The result to be aimed at is to secure to the great body of the people all the happiness which is capable of being derived from the matrimonial union, without the evils which a too rapid increase of their number involves. The progress of legislation, the improvement of the education of the people, and the decay of superstition, will, in time, it may be hoped, accomplish the difficult task of reconciling these important objects."—*Mill's Elements of Political Economy*, p. 58.

wheat upon land unfitted for it, any more than we should attempt to grow grapes and oranges in our northern latitudes. Free trade so far would be undoubtedly the true policy, and would benefit all, if the labourer received his due share of the produce. As a general principle, no more labour should be spent in production than is absolutely necessary, and articles ought never to be produced in one country, that can be obtained at a less cost through the medium of exchange with another. But this policy, as society is now constituted, tends to make a nation great only in the sense of the political economists, i. e. to increase its power and resources; to multiply its ships and navies; to enlarge its rents and profits, and means of paying taxes; to add to the number, wealth, and importance of its merchants and manufacturers, and of all capitalists; but to leave all who live by labour alone, in little, if any, better condition than they were before. It is even possible that it might leave them worse than they were before. While individual advantage only continues to be pursued, free trade would not be confined to the exchange of one nation with another, of that which each nation was best fitted by nature for growing or manufacturing, but would lead to the competing of each with the other in trade and manufactures for which they might possess nearly equal natural advantages. This would throw each open to the competition of the whole world, and would reduce everything to the lowest possible price; and although this might double and triple the means of those who possess property, it would not benefit the working man, because, in order to effect this reduction in goods, his wages must be reduced to the lowest possible rate also. It could only then be by getting goods

produced cheaply that manufacturers could employ their capital to advantage; and if any circumstances were to raise the price of wages, they must be thrown out of the market. Why do our manufacturers at the present time desire the repeal of the Corn Laws? Principally that the operative may be able to live for less, and that, therefore, by a reduction of wages, they may bring their goods cheaper to the foreign markets, which would otherwise be closed upon them. With our superiority in machinery and manufacturing skill, free trade would much increase our production, and if the labourer had his due share of the profits instead of being paid in the shape of wages, it would benefit him as well as the capitalist. We must not forget, however, that this result would be owing to our manufacturing supremacy, and would last only so long as that was maintained, but should any circumstances tend to lower that supremacy and turn the scale against us, we ourselves should be driven from those markets from which we now drive others, or into which, at least, we prevent their entering.

The question of Free Trade is nearly identical with that of Taxation; and in the practical bearing of each upon the condition of the operatives, the establishment of the one and abolition of the other, would be the same. To abolish monopolies and to remove prohibitions is to take off indirect taxes: but there would be also the farther effect of opening fresh markets upon the reciprocity system; thus increasing the cheapness of all articles, (because produced at less cost,) and the demand for them at the same time. With an increased demand for goods would come an increased demand for labour, and this, say the advocates of free trade, would

raise wages and the condition of the operatives. Reasoning abstractedly, Malthus's theory with respect to the increase of population, would appear irrefutable; the only argument against it is, that all facts from the beginning of the world to the present time prove it to be based on false premises; for as comforts and artificial wants are generated, checks come into operation which Mr. Malthus leaves entirely out of his calculation. So also with respect to the question before us, abstractedly reasoning, it would seem obvious that a great increase in the demand for labour would considerably raise wages and the condition of the operative, but have we not sufficient facts before us to show that this would not be the case excepting in a very limited degree? In agricultural labour, such might be the result, but in manufacturing labour it would appear that the operation of machinery, and other causes affecting trade which we have before mentioned, would always be sufficient to counteract the natural effect of an increased demand for labour—or rather, machinery would always be multiplied to supply that demand.

We must bear in mind that the principal advantages to be derived from free trade are increased cheapness and increased demand from extended markets. Now Manchester possessed all the advantages in this respect that free trade could possibly give to any town or country. Improvements in machinery by Watt and Arkwright, and peculiar advantages of situation opened to it the markets of almost the whole world. It was enabled to import its raw material from India, to manufacture it, to send it back again, and yet undersell the Indian who works for twopence per day, in his own market. In this department of cotton-spinning, the improve-

ments in machinery enabled one man to do the work that it required 200 men to do before; and here one would think that if the extra produce were divided fairly between the capitalist, or owner of the machine, and the operative, there was plenty of room for the improvement of his condition. But did it increase his leisure? No. Were his wages increased for doing 200 times more than he did before? But very little: for the competition for employment of those who were at first thrown out of work by the extra productiveness of the machine, obliged him to work the same number of hours, and to be satisfied with nearly the same rate of wages as before. Where then was the advantage? The extra number of pieces produced went to the warehouse of the capitalist, and by reducing them in price, he forced them all over the markets of the world. The reduced price occasioned a greatly increased demand; capital flowed in that direction; manufacturers and merchants multiplied and grew rich; and the number of hands employed, instead of being ultimately decreased, was increased until it reached the number of about 1,200,000,\* with whose condition Parliamentary enquiries have made us but too well acquainted.

The greatest advocates for freedom of trade can scarcely expect that it can do more for the country at large, than improvements in machinery and other peculiar local advantages have already done for Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and some other of our large manufacturing towns, and as the question is one of peculiar moment and interest, and one towards which the country is looking with great expectation, we shall state what is said, on good authority, of the condition of the

\* M'Culloch, vol 1, p. 638.

people in such towns. The following description is given of those employed in the cotton factories, by Dr. Kay:—

“THE FACTORY SYSTEM.—The population employed in the cotton factories rises at five o'clock in the morning, works in the mills from six till eight, and returns home for half an hour or forty minutes to breakfast. This meal generally consists of tea or coffee, with a little bread. Oatmeal porridge is sometimes, but of late rarely, used, and chiefly by the men; but the stimulus of tea is preferred, and especially by the women. The tea is almost always bad, and sometimes of a deleterious quality; the infusion is weak, and little or no milk is added. The operatives return to the mills and workshops until twelve o'clock, when an hour is allowed for dinner. Amongst those who obtain the lower rate of wages, this meal generally consists of boiled potatoes. The mess of potatoes is put into one large dish; melted lard or butter is poured upon them, and a few pieces of fried fat bacon are sometimes mingled with them, and but seldom a little meat. The family sits round the table, and each rapidly appropriates his portion on a plate, or they all plunge their spoons into the dish, and with an animal eagerness satisfy the cravings of their appetite. At the expiration of the hour they are all again employed in the workshops or mills, where they continue until seven o'clock, or a later hour, when they generally again indulge in the use of tea, often mingled with spirits, accompanied by a little bread. The population nourished on this aliment is crowded into one dense mass, in cottages separated by narrow, unpaved, and almost pestilential streets, in an atmosphere loaded with the smoke and exhalations of a large manufacturing city. The operatives are congregated in rooms and workshops during twelve hours of the day, in an enervating, heated atmosphere, which is frequently loaded with dust or filaments of cotton, or impure from constant respiration, or from other causes. They are engaged in an employment which absorbs their attention, and unremittingly employs their physical energies. They are drudges who watch the movements, and assist the operations of a mighty material force, which toils with an energy ever unconscious of fatigue. The persevering labour of the operative must rival the mathematical precision, the incessant motion, and the exhaustless power of the

machine. Hence, besides the negative results, the total abstraction of every moral and intellectual stimulus, the absence of variety, banishment from the grateful air and the cheering influences of light, the physical energies are exhausted by incessant toil and imperfect nutrition. Having been subject to the prolonged labour of an animal—his physical energy wasted, his mind in supine inaction—the artizan has neither moral dignity, nor intellectual nor organic strength to resist the seductions of appetite. His wife and children, too frequently subjected to the same process, are unable to cheer his remaining moments of leisure. Domestic economy is neglected—domestic comforts are unknown. A meal of the coarsest food is prepared with heedless haste, and devoured with equal precipitation. Home has no other relation to him than that of shelter—few pleasures are there—it chiefly presents to him a scene of physical exhaustion, from which he is glad to escape. Himself impotent of all the distinguishing aims of his species, he sinks into sensual sloth, or revels in more degrading licentiousness. His house is ill-furnished, uncleanly, often ill-ventilated, perhaps damp; his food, from want of forethought and domestic economy, is meagre and innutritious; he is debilitated and hypochondriacal, and falls the victim of dissipation."

"The City of Glasgow 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. Acland'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.
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 probably unprecedented in any other

country in Europe during the same or perhaps any other period, and a parallel to it is only to be found in the transatlantic provinces. It is a fact well worthy of observation, that the progress of population in New York from 1820 to 1830, was as nearly as possible the same as that of Glasgow from 1830 to 1840; both cities at the commencement of the respective periods having 200,000 inhabitants, and having increased to 290,000 at their close. (Chevalier's America.) Here then, if anywhere, was to be found an example where, in consequence of the prodigious and unprecedented prosperity of the place, ample scope was afforded for the voluntary system, whether in religious instruction or temporal relief. And that the merchants of Glasgow are at least equal to any in Europe, in the benevolence and liberality with which, on all important occasions, they come forward for the relief of the distress by which they are surrounded, or for any purpose of public charity or munificence, is amply proved by the following list of subscriptions made by them annually, or for the last seven years:—

For Church Extension ... ..	£42,300
House of Refuge for young Criminals ... ..	14,800
Female House of Refuge ... ..	4,800
Normal School ... ..	4,900
Infirmary, annually, £4,500 in seven years ...	31,500
Wellington Testimonial ... ..	9,500
Relief of Poor in 1837 ... ..	7,000
In seven years ... ..	<u>£114,800</u>

“Nevertheless, so far are these splendid subscriptions from being able to keep pace with the progress of destitution and suffering in Glasgow, that, as already mentioned, there are no less than 80,000 persons for whom there is no accommodation whatever for attending any place of religious worship, of whatever persuasion, in the city and suburbs. About £20,000 a-year are levied for the support of the poor in the city and suburbs, in addition to innumerable private charities, and much individual beneficence. Yet in spite of all this munificence the following is the account given of the state of the most destitute part of the community, by two most competent observers, whose valuable works, well known to the public, have gained for them both an extensive and well-earned reputation. ‘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 1 in 41 in 1823, to 1 in 24 in 1837, while the annual average mortality of London is about 1 in 36, and over all England 1 in 51, 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 dunghill 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.\*

"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.

\* Alison, vol. 2, p. 87.

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 3000 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 workmen are 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 prevalence of such habits is in the highest degree dangerous to the increase of mankind. Nothing more ruinous to public welfare can be imagined than the existence of a large body of men in the State, whose employment is uncertain, while their passions are uncontrolled: whose increase, like that of the lower animals, is wholly uninfluenced by the dictates of reason, and who are steady in nothing but the indulgence of desire. Experience has proved accordingly, that the proportion of marriages in these classes is

much greater than in the agricultural districts; and the increase of population is still more rapid, as the dissolution of manners has multiplied to an incredible degree the number of bastards."\*

"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 its people, and this policy ably and steadily pursued, and accompanied with the advantages of our cool, 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 increased 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."†

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 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 can be little 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

\* Alison, vol. 1, p. 190.

† Ibid, p. 519.

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*.

Such are the results that have followed, and such are the results that may be anticipated in the present state of society, divided as it is into Capitalist and Labourer,

\* The system of embezzlement appears to be very general in all manufacturing towns where the artizan is entrusted with the raw material to manufacture at his own home.

In Coventry the manufacturers complain much of the prevalence of the system. Weavers, from silk partly purchased and partly embezzled, introduce goods into the market, through parties calling themselves manufacturers, at prices with which the fair trader has

\* from that system of policy that seeks the market of the world for the produce of our manufactures. Its tendency is to create large masses of population; to reduce them to the lowest point of the social scale; and to make them dependent, not from year to year, but almost from day to day, upon all the fluctuations in trade; all the changes in our commercial relations; and all the various casualties that daily occur in numerous countries throughout the world. "Great Britain is to be regarded now as a great workshop, which diffuses its fabrics equally over the frozen and the torrid zone; which clothes alike the negroes of the West Indies, the labourers of Hindostan, the free settlers in Canada, the vine-growers of the Cape, and the sheep-owners of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land."\* Thus a great part of our population is not only subjected to all those causes that tend so frequently to derange our commercial system at home, but is made dependent upon the good conduct and stability of all the different countries in the world; and is also subjected to the competition of the whole world. If America, for instance, over-trades, or mis-manages her monetary system, our exports to that country may fall in one year from about 13 millions to three millions, as in 1836 and 7. If she chooses to exercise her own manufacturing skill, possessing, as she does, so many natural advantages,

no chance of competition, part of the silk being stolen, and part of the labour given for nothing. But this is 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 who, in bad and fluctuating times, feel themselves driven to such demoralizing practices, or to the workhouse.

\* Alison, vol. 1, p. 519.

the difference of a hundredth part of a farthing per yard, is sufficient to drive our cotton manufacturers from markets, upon the retaining of which almost the very existence of their workmen depends.\* The demand for labour, therefore, being consequent upon such numerous and complicated relations, is it wonderful that such formidable distress should occasionally arise in our large manufacturing towns from want of employment, or that competition amongst the operatives should always keep them poor and destitute?†

The question, then, of Free Trade, is not as to whether it would be a most effectual stimulant to the increase of what political economists designate the wealth and industry of the nation; for of this there can be no doubt, as long as we retain our present manufacturing

\* "Putting these things aside, the repeal of the proposed duties will be felt where it is not perceived. Many of them being taxes on materials, their effect is to increase the wholesale price of manufactured goods; the great object proposed in their repeal is to stimulate the foreign trade, by enabling the manufacturer to reduce the price of his exports. Trifling, as regards the commodity, these taxes often are not; but if they were, it is trifles that are driving us from foreign markets. Three per cent. is the advantage of the American over the British manufacturer in the coarser cotton articles, which are superseding ours nearly all over the world. In a yard of cotton, this is so small that no fraction of a coin can express it—we must resort to the decimal parts of a thousand to present it to the eye. But to the foreign merchant, who buys hundreds and thousands of yards, three pounds, or even three shillings, will turn the scale against us."—Spectator, January 2, 1841.

† The conviction is forced upon us that the only thing that can make the principle of free trade *safe* and to the ultimate interest of the majority, is that all should be first made independent of foreign markets, so far at least as the mere necessities of life are concerned—and this is incompatible with the present form of society.

skill; but whether such advantages are worth having, when coupled with the necessity of calling into existence such populations as those of Manchester and Glasgow: whether it is safe or desirable that England should become the workshop of the world on such conditions: and whether that which now constitutes our greatness according to the political economist, may not ultimately be the means of our destruction. We doubt if any country can long continue prosperous, where the manufacturing population greatly exceeds in numbers the agricultural.

But if Free Trade would increase the wealth of the country, it is thought that it must necessarily have a favourable bearing upon the condition of the poor; for it is said that "every addition that is made to the luxuries of the great, becomes in the end an addition of comfort to the poor." But this does not seem to be borne out by facts; for we find that those who produce luxuries for the rich are generally in a worse condition than those operatives who are employed in producing necessities. Examine, for instance, the condition of the ribbon weavers, lace makers, milliners' apprentices, and gilders. We have also seen the proportion which voluntary contributions bear to the real wants of the poor in the city of Glasgow, where the accumulation of wealth by a few has been immense, and the contributions are undoubtedly liberal. No, we clothe the whole world in our cloth and cottons, while the producers of such cloth and cottons are naked at home, that the whole world in return may collect its luxuries to pour into the laps of the rich! The great wealth amassed by the few, is squandered, partly in an unprofitable, (so far as the operatives here are concerned,) foreign trade,

and in keeping a number of idle, unproductive servants, or useless horses, each one of which consumes the produce of as much land as eight men.

As a proof of the futility of those measures for which the extreme liberal party are contending in this country, may we not instance the Americans, who possess all the advantages which it is the hope of the veriest Radical to see realized here? They have no national debt; no corn laws; no taxes; an extended representation; and yet what is their condition? If their working classes are better off than ours, it is owing to none of these things, but to peculiarities in their position as a young country, which every day is making less apparent. It is owing to that kind of labour being in demand of which machinery cannot supply the want, and which, therefore, must be competed for by the capitalists. But this state of things never does and never can last long. The condition of the Americans is exactly what might have been expected from the leaving free and untrammelled the *selfish spirit of trade*. The pursuit of wealth, competition for individual advantages, are but modes of expression for the predominance of the selfish principle; and where this pursuit is the business of every day—of all the day, where self-interest is ever the one thing cared for, necessarily without reference to the good of others; where each is constantly striving to excel his neighbour, trusting for distinction, not to the ennobling qualities of our nature, but to that wealth for which all are contending; what kind of character must we expect to see produced? One utterly selfish. If we may trust the reports of travellers, the spirit of aristocracy, the inviolable attendant of the present social system, is growing

fast amongst the Americans, notwithstanding their republican and democratic institutions. America affords also other illustrations of the inefficiency of anything that the present system of trade can effect, for improving the condition of the operatives. Possessed of every possible advantage for the production and distribution of wealth, there are seasons of greater distress in America than in the old and more thickly-populated countries. There are more failures and greater fluctuations in fortune, and the insatiable thirst for and pursuit of wealth, leads the people from everything upon which real happiness can alone be founded. Miss Martineau says,

"Under the present principle of property, the wisdom and peace of the community fall far below what their other circumstances would lead themselves and their well-wishers to expect. \* \* \* The moralists of America are dissatisfied—the scholars are dissatisfied—the professional men are dissatisfied—the merchants are dissatisfied. Are the mechanics and farming classes satisfied? No! not even they; they must be aware that there must be something wrong in the system which compels them to devote almost the whole of their working hours to procure that which, under a different combination of labour, might be obtained at a saving of three quarters of the time."

Captain Marryatt, describing the condition of the city of New York in 1837, says,

"Two hundred and sixty houses have already failed, and no one knows where it is to end. Suspicion, fear, and misfortune have taken possession of the city. Had I not been aware of the cause, I should have imagined that the plague was raging, and I had the description of Defoe before me.

"Not a smile on one countenance among the crowd who pass and repass; hurried steps, care-worn faces, rapid exchanges of salutation, or hasty communication of anticipated ruin before the sun goes down. Here two or three are gathered on one side, whispering and watching that they are not overheard; there a solitary,

with his arms folded and his hat slouched, brooding over departed affluence. Mechanics thrown out of employment, are pacing up and down with the air of famished wolves. The violent shock has been communicated, like that of electricity, through the country to a distance of hundreds of miles. Canals, railroads, and all public works have been discontinued, and the Irish emigrant leans against his shanty, with his spade idle in his hand, and starves, as his thoughts wander back to his own Emerald Isle."

And again, of a former crisis, "The New Era," a New York periodical, says,

"At no period of our history has there been so great a degree of general distress in this city as there is at this day. Of its mechanics and other working men, at least 10,000 are without employment, and their wives and families, which, on a low calculation, amount to 10,000 persons more, are suffering want, many of them heart-rending want. Full 2,000 of that comparatively educated class, the commercial clerks, have been dismissed from their occupations, whose previous scanty salaries allowed them to make but little provision for such a contingency. Of sempstresses, bonnet-makers, and other industrious females, 3,000 are at this moment in pining destitution."

Such, then, is occasionally the state of America, with all its boasted institutions, possessing everything that the working classes are taught to look to for the raising of their condition, and to the want of which they attribute their present depressed and wretched state. Do not these facts show that not only the uneducated, but even the educated class of producers who are not capitalists, are unable to provide against contingencies? It is true that in America those that have no capital easily acquire it, join the class of capitalists, and thus raise themselves upon the shoulders of their fellows; but these advantages, if such they may be called, are fleeting and must entirely cease so soon as the scanty population becomes dense and overgrown; and ought not our working men to

learn from the case of America, as well as the condition of other countries, that those objects for which they are striving are not such as would ultimately benefit them? They will benefit the capitalist, but not the labourer; and should the majority succeed in effecting those changes for which they are toiling, the latter would find, to his disappointment, that his outward circumstances were nearly the same as at the present moment. Their leaders, the conductors of the periodical press,\* are the disciples of the present fashionable school of political economy, which concerns itself with the production of wealth more than with its equitable distribution; whose sole avowed object is to increase the wealth and industry of the land; the wealth that makes a few enormously rich manufacturers, and the industry that creates immense masses of half-starved operatives; whose political economy is, in fact, for the rich and not for the poor.

**COLONIZATION AND EMIGRATION.** That population presses upon the present means of subsistence is perhaps true; but whether it is in consequence of a natural law, or the effect of our artificial arrangements for the production, and, more particularly, for the distribution of

\* It would be ridiculous, were it not deplorable, to see article after article issued from the periodical press showing forth in true colours the state of our operative classes, the wretched and starving condition of thousands of them when out of employment, and the unremitting labour to which all are subjected when work is to be had; and then stating as the only and sufficient remedy, the repeal of the corn laws, or an extension of the suffrage, or an alteration in the currency, or to place the Tories in office instead of the Whigs, or vice versa. We think of the mountain in labour, and of the blind leading the blind.

wealth, which prevents the increase of capital to its greatest possible extent, and the proper application of that which is produced, will hereafter be considered; and the tendency of Emigration to improve the condition of the operatives will be better seen when the former question is decided. To thin the population of our densely crowded cities, and to transport our half-starved mechanics and agricultural labourers to new countries where their labour is the thing most wanted; to rescue the former from all the temptations to which a large city subjects them, and to transport both to new regions where their labour shall produce for them at least every necessary of life; to people other lands, giving them all the advantages in civilization which belong to the mother-country, are measures unexceptionable and most desirable, and may very much improve the condition of those who go out; but it is very doubtful whether the most systematic efforts for giving effect to emigration can ever benefit much those who are left at home. If a number equal to the whole annual increase of our population were sent yearly to our colonies, the effect upon the labour market would perhaps scarcely be felt, for the power of machinery increases much faster than the population, and might be increased indefinitely. This power is at present calculated to equal that of 600,000,000 of men; a power capable of accomplishing ten times the work that it actually does perform, if it were required.

**EDUCATION.** There is a large and influential class in the country who trust to education to remedy all our evils. "Knowledge is power," say they; "Give knowledge to the people, and they will improve their own

condition." And this is true ; but how, in their present degraded physical state, is this knowledge to be imparted ? Besides, this knowledge to be effectual must be accompanied by physical and moral training, these being the most important departments of education. Education has been previously defined to be " the improving and perfecting of every human being in every bodily and mental faculty." " It is," says Mackintosh, " a wise disposal of all the circumstances which influence character, and of the means of producing those habitual dispositions which ensure well doing." But a true picture of the condition of the working classes would show that the spread of education amongst them, in either of the above senses, is utterly impossible. The character of a person will always depend upon his original constitution and the circumstances by which he is surrounded, and all the differences among men in health and strength, in manners, morals, and religion, may be traced to these influences. We may establish schools, but it is impossible that the working classes, in their present condition, can avail themselves of them. The children are necessarily set to work too early to allow of anything like a training of their faculties, and the work is too laborious and incessant to admit of adult instruction ; and not only this, if both strength and leisure were permitted them for mental improvement ; if our Infant, National, and British Schools, and Mechanics' Institutions were filled, it would not be there that the poor would receive their education. It would be the circumstances by which they were surrounded at home that would form their minds and characters. Had they leisure to acquire a perfect knowledge of all the sets of laws, physical, organic, and moral, on which

happiness is dependent, it would be quite out of their power to obey them. A sound mind can only be based upon a sound body; for which latter we are to a certain extent dependent upon our parents, and the circumstances in which they were placed previously to our birth. These circumstances are decidedly unfavourable amongst the working classes, and it is to be feared that in many cases they cause a deterioration of both bodily and mental faculties greater than any after educational training can remedy. They are ill-fed, overworked, badly lodged and clothed; the exercise of their bodily and mental powers is partial and irregular, and they are subjected to numerous sources of disease consequent upon their particular employments; these are evils that act upon the constitution of their children before they are born, and must be removed before they can be educated. "It is a very important physical fact," remarks the Physician formerly quoted, "deeply connected with the improvement of nations and the progress of civilization, that the human frame and human brain obey certain physical laws, in consequence of which many qualities are inherited, and communities perfected and deteriorated in the course of successive generations to an indefinite extent,—deteriorated to almost inactivity bordering upon fatuity of mind; and on the other hand improved, how far it would be presumptuous to say; but certainly beyond any limit yet attained." And again, in speaking of St. Giles and similar haunts in London, and other crowded cities, he says, "In these cases, it is not defective education, but I feel assured from observation that the frame is modified, the organization affected by long-established ancestral errors, the results of which

upon the human frame are an incapacity to preserve its intellectual and moral beauty, any more than its physical beauty, which is so defaced that the figure and countenance reveal a whole life of wretchedness and foul thoughts, and often of crime."

It is evident, therefore, that unless the circumstances in which the working classes are now placed be changed—unless their physical condition be materially improved—to spread education amongst them to any available extent is impracticable. It is quite impossible that the nervous energy which each brain generates or supplies can be devoted to mental, when it has already been spent in physical effort. It is impossible, after a day's hard toil, that there can be much disposition to study. A stimulant for the exhausted faculties, found generally in physical excitement, seems to be the thing required and sought for by most. It is owing to this that our Mechanics' Institutions scarcely deserve the name, and that amongst the members are seldom numbered 20 per cent. of the working classes, and not perhaps more than 1 per cent. of all the working men in the several towns in which they are established.

Yet education of some kind—though not the kind that is desirable—not the kind that is safe—is advancing rapidly amongst the people. It is education of the intellect alone; there are few now who cannot read and write; but physical and moral education, so much more difficult to instil and to imbibe, is necessarily almost entirely wanting. In the growth of the individual mind the intellect advances before the moral powers; for it is necessary to know what is right before we can practise it, and this precedence of the intellect is perhaps a neces-

sary stage in the advance of the race; but there are circumstances that make this stage of our progress, in this country, and perhaps in all old countries, particularly dangerous. "The tendency," says Mr. Alison, "of the present state of society is everywhere towards great cities, huge properties, corrupted manners, dense masses of the poor, selfish habits in the rich, and universal thirst for pleasure."\* In such a state of things the "little knowledge" which the poet so truly describes as "a dangerous thing," and which is all that the majority of the working classes have leisure to acquire, is little better, and more dangerous to society, than no education at all. It is sufficient to show them the advantages which the possession of capital gives to its possessor over those who live by the wages of labour; to show them the evils attendant on the present law of property, without showing them that all civilization has been based upon that law, and that without security there could be no property at all. It is sufficient to give them ideas above their station and a desire for wealth without showing them that the possession of wealth, without the habits acquired in its accumulation, or still higher moral and intellectual aspirations, would be worse than their previous poverty. In fact, the knowledge that they can acquire, (of course there are many exceptions,) is of that superficial kind which tends only to give them exalted ideas of their own judgment, to make them intolerant, bigoted, dogmatical; the prey of every species of empiricism, and of every designing demagogue who has a free flow of language, and sense and skill sufficient to flatter their prevailing passions and prejudices. Yet is there no

\* Vol. 2, p. 282.

road open to us but onwards; we must make the education of the people as complete as circumstances will admit; and we trust that this country may be saved from the experience that a mass of ill-digested information is worse than ignorance. But we fear.

RELIGION. The dangers which arise from merely intellectual education, have been fully appreciated, if not exaggerated, by a large class in this country who are aware that "the schoolmaster is abroad," and that it is now useless to attempt to confine him at home; they therefore endeavour to obviate the mischief that arises from partial instruction, from the mere training of the intellect, by joining it with religious instruction. They justly think that a knowledge of rights should be accompanied by a knowledge of duties, and as they have no idea of morality separate from religion, they imagine that such instruction can only be imparted by religious establishments. If the science of morality were in a more perfect state and more cultivated, the distinction between morality and religion would probably be acknowledged; Religion being the perception of the relation in which we stand to our Creator; Morality having reference to the duties we owe to our fellow-creatures. But imperfect as the science of Morality is at the present day, Religion is so much more clogged with error and absurdity as to render the union of the two, which would naturally be so harmonious—so salutary, productive of confusion and even mischief. And yet the Christianity of our generation, mixed as it is with the barbarous dogmas of a young and uncivilized age, still contains the beautiful embodiment of the Moral Law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as

thyself," and so long as men insist upon having the knowledge of their social duties conveyed to them in so cumbrous and unsightly a vehicle, our religious teachers must continue to be almost the only teachers of morals, and they are right who insist so strenuously upon the union of Religious with Secular instruction. While, however, we thankfully take the good that is granted us, it must be matter of great regret that the zeal which is so abundantly manifested at the present day in the cause of religion, is not more a zeal according to knowledge. The evils that surround us, our hardships and privations, our toils and misfortunes, our bodily sufferings, our mental anguish, are not regarded as consequences resulting from causes over which we have any control, but as part, a necessary part, of the ordinances by which the world is governed; not as warnings that we have broken those laws upon which happiness is dependent here, but as trials sent to prepare us for a state of happiness hereafter. So long as this view prevails, there will be no seeking for the causes of misery in the circumstances that surround us, in the imperfections of our own institutions; and without a due appreciation of the cause, we cannot control the effect. The same causes that prevent the extension of general enlightenment amongst the people, prevent the extension of a pure religion. True religion, the love of the Invisible Source of all that is good and beautiful, springing from the love of the goodness and beauty that is visible; which spends not itself in idle admiration and adulation, but perpetually gains strength by efforts to make this earth still more good—still more beautiful—can scarcely co-exist with the ignorance in which the multitudes are imprisoned. Superstition may

grow and ripen, for ignorance is the soil in which it best flourishes : a slavish fear of Hell may enthrall, or a selfish hope of Heaven may excite ; but the love of God can only be based upon just and enlarged views of His character and works, and the love of our neighbour is incompatible with the selfishness engendered by that system of society which obliges us to seek our own individual interests six days out of every seven. The ministers of religion do well to represent the spirit of true Christianity as opposed to the prevalent principles of our nature—to declare that a change must be wrought in us before we can appreciate and practise Christianity. But though we may pray for the coming of the Kingdom of God, as well as for our daily bread, both are equally dependent upon our own effort, upon the use of natural means ; and we can no more plant true religion in a soil that has not been prepared for it, than we can gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles, or reap where we have not sown. The principles of man's nature are selfish and opposed to the spirit of religion, because the circumstances in which he is placed all tend to make them so ; the whole character of our social system must be changed, and man must have an interest in loving his neighbour as himself, before Christianity will be generally practicable. The erroneous notions concerning the freedom of the will ; the idea that man is able to act contrary to the laws of his being, and uncontrolled by surrounding circumstances, have helped to retard this moral reformation. It is much easier for a minister to rest satisfied with the conclusion that the members of his flock are all free agents, and that their condemnation must consequently be upon their own heads, than to examine into the causes of their irreligion or

unbelief, and to take the proper means to prevent its occurrence. But this would give much trouble to the pastor;—and moreover, in such a mode of procedure, “faith,” i. e. the belief that effects may be wrought without cause or means—would be left out; so it is easier to leave the flock to God’s free grace and their own free will. But when the causes of vice and irreligion are better understood, it will be seen who were the hirelings and who the true shepherds. The failure of the vast efforts that have been and are being made for the spread of religion—for a failure it must be pronounced when the effects produced are compared with the enormous machinery in operation—can be accounted for only on the supposition that these efforts have not been made in accordance with the laws of God, as revealed in the established connexion between cause and effect.

That which separates happiness here from happiness hereafter, as if they were inconsistent with each other, is a great and pernicious error. It is only by obedience to all the laws of God that happiness can be obtained here, and any other preparation for a future state of happiness besides such obedience, is inconceivable. And yet, does there arise a philanthropist who studies the laws of his Creator, and teaches mankind that happiness is to be sought by obedience to these laws, is he not decried by the priesthood as not of them, or of their creed—as a pernicious misleader, who offers happiness to men at the expense of their eternal salvation; temporal gifts for their everlasting interests? It is, unhappily, too much the policy of the priesthood to separate religion from temporal interests, to disconnect it altogether from worldly prosperity

and happiness, and in place of the good things which God has given so plenteously, and which He intends equally for all His children, to allow liberally to the poor "post obit bills on Heaven," as a compensation for what the wretched system of society and its upholders have taken from them here.

Zeal in the cause of the religion of the country is perhaps a characteristic of the age, and if it were founded more upon knowledge, and were purified from motives that are sometimes secular, often selfish, and not unfrequently malignant, it would be a favourable sign of the times, and might have a most beneficial and humanizing effect upon our manners and institutions. But while the so called *orthodox* religion is supported by one class, because "the Deity is in some inexplicable manner supposed to be of the government party," it is supported by another class, equally numerous, out of deference to public opinion. There is, undoubtedly, one portion of the religious world, whose zeal in the cause may be traced to a sincere anxiety for the eternal interests of themselves and their fellow creatures; and this class, although comparatively a small one, contains many of the excellent of the earth, who have sought a resting-place for the highest, and purest, and most ennobling of the feelings peculiar to man, and—finding none in the impenetrable selfishness of the world—have flown to the beautiful precepts of pure Christianity. But these have erred in forgetting, or in too much neglecting, the book of God's works, and in not using it as the interpreter and test of all other books that have been handed down to us for our instruction and guidance.

A far more numerous class than this is one with

which the forms and ceremonies of religion constitute the code of morality. The individuals composing this class are regular attendants at the parish church, or meeting-house, to which they have been accustomed from childhood ; they annually give their guinea at the charity sermon, for the education and clothing of pauper children ; and if called upon, subscribe handsomely to the Bible Society, or to the Missionary Society, or towards building a Christian Church for converted Jews at Jerusalem. But the poor of their own land, of their own neighbourhood, are unheeded—for the many thousands around them who are dying of want, body and soul, in a land of plenty, they have no sympathy, that is, no sympathy that forces them to act as well as to feel in their behalf. To inquire into their real condition and to strive to mend it, is not one of the duties enjoined by the priest or sanctioned by custom, and is therefore no concern of theirs. And thus, while the rich man, having been to church and performed his weekly religious exercises, with well satisfied conscience and complacent demeanor, is feasting himself and friends upon costly wines and delicacies collected from the four quarters of the globe—a few feet of brick and mortar only, perchance may separate him from a family starving for want of the common necessities of life.

But the principal cause of much of the zeal manifested for religion, is that the teaching of it constitutes a respectable profession, which is a favourite one on account of its requiring less natural talent, previous study or mental endowment than any other, (excepting perhaps the military,) and which, while it ensures a livelihood, and often a competence, leaves much leisure, during six days in the week, for other pursuits. So that

if mankind were once to find out that they can learn religion better from God, as revealed in His works, than from clergymen, either orthodox or dissenting, many thousands, even in this country, of most respectable gentlemen would be thrown out of employment and subjected to much distress and inconvenience.

To those who watch with an eye of enlightened interest the signs of the times, it must appear as a melancholy symptom, that so blessed a thing as Religion should thus be degraded by close contact with all that is mean and paltry and debasing in man; that its name should be used as the passport to place, emolument, and political power; that its fair form should be so cramped by ignorance or bedizened by superstition, so cumbered by priestly trappings, and stifled beneath the mask of hypocrisy, that if the lovely original continues to exist at all, it is scarcely recognizable; that so many noxious influences should be suffered to assume its title and usurp its place, and to bring discredit on its name by blighting instead of blessing the heart of man. And yet to those who have faith in the power of truth, there is always the cheering hope that even with respect to religion, it will prevail at last, and succeed in divesting it of all those dogmas and appurtenances which have hitherto rendered it comparatively useless and pernicious. For instance, it will be found that the interposition of a particular providence is incompatible with the exercise and use of reason; that God's only mode of helping us, is by giving us powers by which we are enabled to make use of those causes which He has appointed to produce the effect we desiderate. That original sin is only the necessary consequence of the unavoidable limitation of our intel-

lectual being. That punishment is always intended for the reformation of the offender, and that therefore, accountability, in the sense in which the term is commonly used by religionists, does not exist. That nothing is to be left to man's free will, because his character depends upon his original constitution and the circumstances in which he is placed. That his faith, therefore, can only depend upon evidence, and his morality, religion, and intelligence, upon the influences calculated to make him moral, religious, and intelligent.

It is not to the present religious world or its teachings that we can look for the amelioration of the condition of society, for it holds that the evils under which we suffer are not remediable, but are a necessary part of man's worldly estate; a doctrine which acts as an effectual drag upon the progress of improvement, by inducing men to suppose any great forward movement to be impossible, and exalted views of man's future condition here, utopian. Yet, however inefficient our various religious establishments are, compared to what they might be with their machinery and enormous resources—in the present wretched state of society, in which the degrading pursuit of individual gain, the competition for individual advantage, form the business of life, they are the only establishments that we have for the calling forth and exercising of man's best and highest feelings, and in which the precepts of him who said "Woe unto them that are rich," are read, if not heeded. Moral training for the people there would be none without them.

We find no fault, therefore, with the temples that everywhere cover the land; and we would lend no helping hand to pull them down; but as soon as may

be we would have the money-changers and the spirit of Mammon driven thence—we would have them converted into the temples of God, where His laws should be taught, and the people instructed to follow His will on earth, as it is in Heaven. The physical, the organic, and the moral Laws are the Laws of God, and the petition, “Deliver us from evil,” is useless so long as we disobey them in wilfulness or ignorance. Places of *assembly* for the people we must have, because “the people” must always be led, and where else are they to look for those appointed by God for leaders, by a greater endowment than the average of mental and moral qualities—where else can the right road be so well pointed out to them, or the feeling generated that is to carry them on that road rejoicing? But places for *public worship* there can properly be none; and in nothing did the great Teacher prove his wisdom and deep insight into the nature of the human heart, more than by the veto which he virtually put upon “standing up in the synagogues to pray,” and by the sanction which he gave exclusively to the prayer that is uttered to the Father in secret, when the door is closed against all human intrusion. And we find that though he *taught* in the synagogue, he *prayed* on the lonely mountain side, or in the desert place apart.\*

\* The words or example of Jesus of Nazareth must, however, have little weight with those who take his own simple and beautiful prayer—which he bequeathed to his disciples lest they too should fall into the practice of “much speaking” and “vain repetition”—and repeat it four, and frequently five times in the space of an hour and a half, every Sunday morning, and twice or thrice in the evening.

The practice of public worship has now perhaps reached its

And is it not in solitude, in the Temple that He Himself has created, that the heart is most drawn towards the Eternal, and where the worship of Sincerity and Truth can be best offered up? It is in His beautiful world, under His own canopy of Heaven, that love and

acme of abuse. Although there may be a few who frequent the consecrated edifice because they feel it to be right, and who succeed in summoning the spirit of devotion, even amidst the accessories of a pompous priest and a gazing, listless multitude, there cannot be a doubt that, with the exception of those who "go to church" from mere habit, the principal motive for the regular attendance of the majority, is "that they may be seen of men." The opulent man fears the tacit wonder and reproach of his neighbours if he neglect the "decencies of religion." The tradesman fears to lose his customers, or the patronage of the clergyman, if he pay no regard to established observances; the poor man likes to show how respectable an appearance he with his wife and children can make once a week; but it is probable that if a church were so contrived that all the members of the congregation were invisible to each other, and so that no eye could mark the entrance or exit of any one, the clergyman would not seldom find himself in Dean Swift's predicament—preaching to himself and "dearly beloved Roger."

But to go and "pray in the synagogue," "that they may be seen of men," is not only the unacknowledged practice of the many, but in a few instances fashion has sanctioned it into a most legitimate and expedient custom. The bride, when she takes her place in the pew by the side of her newly-made husband, does so for the express purpose of being "seen," for this "being seen at church" is the important prelude to a series of calls and visits; and if the appointments of the drawing-room in which she is to sit to receive her guests, are not yet in due order, or the becoming morning dress in which she is to perform this ceremony is not yet completed by the mantua-maker, she hesitates not to put off her appearance at church till another Sunday, justly thinking that her weekly homage will not, for once, be much missed in Heaven. In the sadly different case where a train of bereaved ones fill a pew with the

gratitude and admiration devote us to His service, and that we learn best how He may be served. It is then we best can trace the design of His providence in laws all tending to one object—the good of His creatures, and the conviction is forced upon us that if we would *serve*

lugubrious signs and apparel of mourning, it is still “to be seen of men” that they are there; for their bursting hearts tell them too plainly that were it not a duty that they owe to custom, this making of their sorrow public is not indeed the way to assuage grief.

All this would be very well—it would be very well for the rich and poor to meet together once a week in a place of public instruction; it would be well for fellow-citizens to have such opportunities of friendly though silent intercourse, of forming the bond of union which the being members of one church always creates; it would be well for the working man to have this inducement to emulate his more comfortable neighbours in the cleanliness and respectability of his attire; for the new-married couple, if so it please them, thus publicly to introduce themselves to their friends, and pledge themselves to society as its new member; and even for mourners to show openly to the world their sense of bereavement, if in so doing they find peace and satisfaction, and are not compelled to it against their natural feelings by the idea of its being a religious duty;—all this would be very well, if our churches were places where duties were taught and consolation administered, the mind instructed, and the heart made better—but it is far, far from well in what are called Houses of Prayer. It is not well that at such times when it is pretended, and believed, that man is ushered into the more immediate presence of the Great First Cause, for the purpose of holding actual communion with the tremendous Power of the Universe, external circumstances should be so arranged that it is scarcely possible for the mind to free itself from thoughts, that if not absolutely frivolous and trifling, are exclusively of the earth, earthy. This constant triumph of the animal nature over the high aspirations of religion can have but one tendency, viz., to deaden the heart against the influences of devotion, to produce hypocrisy and lip-service, and in some minds to generate Atheism

Him, it can only be by love and sympathy towards all creation, and in active efforts to promote the happiness of all made capable of enjoyment.

After enumerating these different remedies for existing social evils, and plans for improvement proposed by various parties who admit and deplore their existence, we must not omit to mention another numerous and powerful party, who, being in possession of all the comforts and advantages of civilization, desire no change. The present system which accumulates all the produce of labour at one end of the scale and all the labour at the other, works well for them, and they fear its subversion. The great inequalities of condition, consequent upon the present arrangements for the production and distribution of wealth, they profess to believe to be necessary and established by the Deity. Kings, Lords, and Commons—masters and workmen—rich and poor—they hold to be natural grades, and not to depend upon the will of society. Those who reason amongst this class draw their arguments from the page of history: such has man ever been and such he must ever be. The progressive character of man's nature is omitted in their estimate. They point

of the worst species; for the practical Atheism of the unreflecting church-goer is far more destructive to all that is good in man, than the philosophic non-belief in any personal Deity, which may spring up in the mind of a Hume or Spinoza. No, let the principle of devotion be suggested to every heart, as well by the discourses of good and wise men in temples made with hands, as by Nature's teachings under the high arched roof of Heaven; but let not its accents be periodically forced from lips as cold as the stones that echo back the heartless murmur, and the Most High be perpetually mocked that man may be occasionally edified.

to all the necessary evil that has attended all great changes and revolutions, and to the failure of so many of the schemes for the amelioration of the condition of mankind. As in all changes, however great may be the ultimate advantage, some must suffer, these sufferers are the only objects of their regard. The agonies of the few who fell in the breaking down of the old and rotten institutions of France in 1789, strike them with horror, but the sufferings of the millions slain in support of the present system are not thought worthy of notice. The blood of a few thousands of the privileged they esteem more worth than an ocean from plebeian veins shed on the field of battle.\* They delight to picture the anarchy, disorder, and disorganization that would arise from the predominance of an ignorant democracy—for a democracy otherwise than ignorant is to them an anomaly. They are disciples of the Rev. Mr. Malthus; they believe that there is a necessary tendency in population to increase faster than the means of subsistence, and that the wretched poverty and starvation that exist are absolutely required to prevent the people from increasing too fast. Believing that the world must always be divided into castes, and that "the poor," (signifying miserable, half-starved beings,) "we must always have with us," they are unfriendly to any education for the people, excepting that State religious education which teaches them to look to another world for comfort and not to this; which carefully instils into them the belief that the present division of society into those that rule and those that serve, is appointed of God, not of man, and that therefore the principal duty of the people is to "Honour and obey the King,

\* See Carlyle's French Revolution, vol. 3, p. 65.

and all that are put in authority under him." "To submit themselves to all their governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters." "To order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters." "Not to covet or desire other men's goods; but to learn and labour truly to get their own living, and to do their duty in that state of life into which it shall please God to call them." They remember that the Founder of Christianity sanctioned the payment of tribute to Cæsar, but they forget that after describing how "the Princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them," he added, "But it shall not be so among you, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister. And whosoever would be chief among you, let him be your servant." They are the active supporters of charities, for they hold that one great use of the poor is that the rich may have objects to exercise their Christian benevolence upon. These charities, however, are seldom such as help the poor to help themselves, but such as mark the dependence of the poor upon the rich, and care is taken that the badge of servitude shall not be omitted.

There are many of this party, as of all parties, who conscientiously oppose change from the fear of its leading to greater evils than those under which the nation at present suffers; but it is to be feared that the majority of them are wilfully ignorant of the real condition of the great body of the people, and that their opposition to change is dictated by the instinctive selfishness that fears to lose any of the distinguishing advantages which belong to their peculiar caste. It is not to this party, therefore, that we can look for any improvement in the condition of the working classes.

It is but justice, however, to say, that if the working

classes must always remain working classes; if the increase of their numbers, and the competition of machinery, must always keep them poor and condemned to labour incessant; if there is no more hope of their advancement than is to be found in the various schemes for their improvement that have been examined above, then the policy of the Conservative party is the right one—there is more to be feared than hoped from change. The people having no time to educate themselves, and therefore remaining ignorant, ought not to be entrusted with power, as it must under such circumstances be subversive of order. To educate them, were it possible, would be wrong without an addition to their physical comforts, for it would render their lot even more unbearable. It has been said, and with truth, that education hitherto has only tended to make the poor dissatisfied; and such might have been expected to be the effect of giving moral and intellectual wants without the means of gratifying them. An ass, while he is an ass, does his work contentedly; but could you change his nature by enlightening him, he would require a more just portion of the fruits of his labour than the road-side thistle. So, if the condition of the mass of the people does not admit of physical improvement, it is better, if it be possible, to keep them in a state of ignorance, utter, blind, gross, ignorance—for knowledge can only serve to show them a state of happiness and comfort in which they must never share. If this be *not* possible—which this party begins to suspect—then are they still politic in striving to give to increased knowledge the consolation of believing that what they do not receive here will be made up to them hereafter.

### CHAPTER III.

#### ON THE CAUSES OF THE POVERTY OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

THE working classes constitute the majority of the people in all countries, and their condition, with slight differences dependent upon local situation, government, laws, and institutions, is everywhere the same—they are everywhere poor, ignorant, and overworked. This of itself gives reason to suspect that the causes of this condition are not those which the greater number of philanthropists and politicians are striving to remove, and to which public opinion is directed through the press. The effects being similar in all countries, we may infer that the causes will be found to be similar also, and to lie deep in the very constitution of society itself.

However startling it may appear to those who view the present form and constitution of society as one that must always exist, yet we think we shall be able to show that the poverty of the working classes—the degradation of the great mass of mankind, is inseparable from it, and that so long as society is divided into capitalist and labourer, into master and workman, any efforts to improve materially the condition of the latter will be unavailing. When we make this assertion, it must not be supposed that we do not sufficiently appreciate the progress we have made, during the period of separation between Capital and Labour which commenced with

the institution of the present Law of Property;—a separation which appears to have been absolutely necessary to develop the resources of society in the non-age of man's highest faculties. We cannot speak lightly of that co-operation of man with man, of that form of society, of that state of civilization, however defective, which enables us to send a coach and four, or a steam carriage with our correspondence, from one end of the kingdom to the other for a penny, that penny being more than sufficient to defray all the expenses of its conveyance; of that advance in knowledge and arts that gives to individuals and to classes, advantages equal and similar to those they would enjoy if each were sole lord of all.

It is impossible to be too careful not to risk the loss of any of this progress; but ought this consideration to paralyze our efforts to hasten the time when its advantages shall extend, beyond mere individuals or classes, to the whole human family?

Society in its present form is divided into Capitalist and Labourer—into those who possess everything, and into those who possess, comparatively, nothing. When the poor man comes into the world he finds it already occupied; every part of it, except uncultivated regions inaccessible to him, is already appropriated. All the means by which labour is made available to production are private property, and all that is left to him is the strength of his body, the use of his limbs. His labour, therefore, is all that he has to exchange for the means of subsistence, for lodging, food, and clothing; what he shall receive for it, will depend upon the bargain he shall be able to make with those who possess the means of setting him to work. This bargain will be more or

less in his favour as his labour may be more or less wanted. But should the capitalist have no need of labour, should he already have as many things as he wants, or as many as he can profitably dispose of, he who has only labour to give in exchange for food, must starve, or depend upon charity for support, although he could produce three times as much as he can consume.

This, then, is the present state of things ; the world is in possession of the few, and the many are dependent upon their interest or caprice for the enjoyments, the comforts, the necessities of life. On the effects of such an arrangement the poverty of the working classes will everywhere be found to depend.

The institution of private property originated in the evident necessity there was for securing to every one the fruits of his labour, in the only way that could be devised in the infancy of society. No one would cultivate a field if another might reap what he had sown, and the fruits of the earth would scarcely be allowed to come to maturity, if no one were interested in preserving them to their full time.

It was ordained in the beginning that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, that labour should in all cases be necessary to production. Without the labour of cultivation the earth would support very few inhabitants. However abundant the raw materials for clothing and lodging, labour must fit them for the purposes required. There must also be capital, land, houses, implements, and machinery, to make this labour available to further production. There must also be an accumulation of capital, that is, more than enough to meet the wants of existing individuals ; for

the rising generation, the young unable to produce for their own support, must be provided for. That there may be this accumulation it is absolutely necessary that the fruits of a man's industry should be secured to him, and in the rise of society the only means of doing this is by a system of individual interests, by a law of private property. But however superior such a system to one of no laws and no rights, it is perfectly inadequate to fulfil the moral law of society, and will be found the occasion of most of the evil which at present afflicts it.

The moral law is founded upon the divine precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" but the institution of private property makes this impossible, by disjoining the interest of every individual from that of his fellow, and causing individual interests, instead of the interests of all, to be the leading pursuit. The selfish part of man's nature is thus maintained in predominance by being brought into constant activity; strife, confusion, and hatred are the consequence, and distinction is made to depend upon "property" rather than upon ennobling qualities.

The object of the institution of the present law of property was to secure to *every one the fruits of his labour*; but in its subsequent effects it has become the instrument by which the mass of mankind are deprived of a large portion of these fruits. We have already stated the proportion which the class of Capitalists and Landowners bears in Great Britain to that of the Labourers; we have also seen that whatever may be the number of the labouring class, who, in one sense, produce everything, they receive but one-third of the produce; that of every twelve hours' labour, one-sixth, or

two hours, is required for the expenses of Government, five hours for the landowner and capitalist, in the shape of rent and profits, and about one hour for the retailers and distributors. The remaining four hours, as we have seen, under the present chance arrangements of society, will scarcely provide the means of keeping life together. We shall let an eminent political economist explain the principle of wages for himself:—

“In the greater number of cases, especially in the more improved stages of society, the labourer is one person, the owner of the capital another. The labourer has neither raw material 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, the commodity itself belongs to the capitalist, he having, in reality, bought the share of the labourer and paid for it in advance.”\*

This at once shows very plainly the source of the power of the capitalist; for why does it suit the convenience of the labourer to receive his share in advance? Simply because having nothing but the fruits of his labour to live upon, he must starve if he does not, and

\* Mill's Elements of Political Economy.

like Esau, rather than starve he sells his birthright for a mess of pottage.

For this reason all combinations of workmen against the capitalists to oblige them to give a more just share of the joint produce, have failed, and always must fail; the workman being compelled to take what the capitalist chooses to give, or starve. Strikes and Trades' Unions, therefore, can never succeed in raising the condition of the working classes. But if such combinations do not determine what shall be the share of the labourer, that is, the wages he shall receive, what does determine it? The demand for labour, and the supply—that is, the work to be done, and the number of hands to do it.

“Let us begin by supposing,” says Mill, “that there is a certain number of capitalists, with a certain quantity of food, raw material, 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 50 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.”\*

Thus, then, COMPETITION† decides the share of the

\* Mill, p. 43.

† Competition also decides the share of the Capitalist; with improvements in machinery, increased markets, and general confidence, profits are very large; but when any of the numerous disturbing causes affecting trade arise, competition is generally strong enough to deprive manufacturers of all profit, and many

labourer, and thus, under the present system, it must ever be; the working man, even to live, must take the bread from his neighbour. The state to which we have found the class reduced, deteriorating in mind and body, dying by thousands, if not immediately from want, from its direct consequences, is the result. But, says the political economist,

“If we suppose, on the other hand, that the quantity of capital has increased while the number of labourers remains 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

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must fail. Upon the present system a time invariably arrives in which all the known channels for our produce are filled up with goods, and there is no remedy for the then prevailing distress but new markets, or the failure of a great number of our manufacturers, and consequent starvation of their workmen.

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."\*

The leading school of Political Economy decides that the former supposition is the fact, and this is the cause it assigns for the poverty of the working classes. The latter supposition, namely, that capital has been prevented from increasing so fast as it might increase under better arrangements, we think we shall be able to prove to be the true one, and this fact, joined to its unequal distribution, will account for the *general* misery of mankind.

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\* Mill, p. 43.

That population, in some countries, and at certain periods, has increased faster than capital, may be true ; but that this is, as the Economists suppose, its *necessary* tendency, is a supposition highly derogatory to the Presiding Power of the universe. "How slow soever," says Mill, "the increase of population, provided that of capital is still slower, wages will be reduced so low that a portion of the population will regularly die of want." We know that among the lower animals there is a tendency to increase faster than the means of support, and that as Reason is not given to them to increase the fruits of the earth, to sow and gather into barns, to invent machinery to lighten their toil, Nature has placed a check upon this tendency by causing large classes of them to feed upon one another ; and by placing numerous other tribes under the dominion of man, whose reason prevents their increase faster than he has use for them, and means for their support ; consequently they do not die of starvation. Is man then worse provided for, that he must die this worst of all possible deaths ? No, not by the laws of nature and of reason ; but if he is so in fact, it is the consequence of faulty institutions.

Under the present system, if increase in the number of operatives could be prevented altogether, improvements in machinery would be equivalent to an increase in numbers, and have the same effect in keeping them poor. A certain article of production, for instance, may be in steady and increasing demand, and competition amongst the capitalists may have slightly raised the wages of the artificers employed on it ; the invention of a machine by which a dozen such articles are made with the same cost of time and labour as the one before,

will throw many of them out of employment, because so large an increase of production outstrips, for a time at least, the demand. Wages fall, and the earnings of the man who makes a dozen where he previously made one, are scarcely equal to what they were before, while the others starve, or like the hand-loom weavers, work for from 5s. to 7s. per week. The advantage arising from the extra production in the additional eleven pairs or pieces, is divided between the public, in the reduction of price in the article, and the capitalist who owns the machine. Very little of the advantage of increased demand, which the cheapness produced by improvement in machinery occasions, reaches the operative, since competition always obliges him to take as little as he can live upon.

In the cotton manufactory, improvements have been introduced which have enabled one man to do the work of 200. Should we not imagine that the share of the operative in such a case would increase? But no, the same quantity of labour is still required of him, and for nearly the same poor pittance.

As society is now constituted, the effect of machinery is the very reverse of what it ought to be. That which should lessen the hours of toil and give time for moral and intellectual improvement, under present arrangements works against rather than for the mass of the people. It comes into direct competition with the working man, and renders nugatory all efforts to keep the supply of labour within the demand. Divided as society is, into the few who have capital and those who have none, if machinery can be invented that can do all the work the former require, those who have nothing but labour to offer must starve. Thus it really hap-

pens, that the world is deluged with goods by the aid of machinery—our warehouses are filled to overflowing—our merchants are traversing the whole earth for customers—while thousands and thousands are ragged and destitute at home. Such is one of the anomalies of the present system of Political Economy, and the necessary effect of individual property. Though the world is replenished with all that labour can produce, this brings no leisure to the working man; in proportion as machinery assists him to multiply the products of the earth, the fewer fall to his share. Of what avail, then, is it to him that the articles he needs are cheap, if the labour, which is his purchase money, is unmarketable?

The causes that tend to depress wages are constant, those that tend to raise them are always fluctuating. A constant and regular demand for labour for years, is required to raise wages much above the price which competition has fixed; but any one of the fluctuations affecting the demand, has an immediate effect in bringing them down, and causing the sudden and overwhelming distress which so frequently occurs. The only means of raising the rate of wages and the condition of the operative, under the present system, is competition among the capitalists for labour, and that there is so little of this competition is principally owing to the increasing power of machinery.\*

The case, then, is now before us, and the true cause of the poverty of the working classes made evident.

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\* "Ricardo, Say, and Mill, (in his 3d edition, p. 228,) have denied the possibility, on the large scale, of any such thing as a *glut* in the general market of production:—

"1st, Because demand and supply must be coequal and coex-

To recapitulate briefly:—in consequence of the arrangement by which Property belongs to individuals, instead of to the Community to be used in furtherance

tensive; for no man would produce what he does not want himself, unless to purchase with it what he wants from others; and this, his want, is equal to the means he brings with him to satisfy it. This is the case with every producer; therefore demand and supply are coextensive, for every man's demand must be limited by his supply.

"2ndly, The production of new and unexpected articles, always produces a want that did not before exist; and therefore increases demand, which uses up the supply produced; as in case of steam engines, new fashions, and new inventions of all kinds. Metaphysically and in words, supply and demand must be coextensive, if by demand you mean merely *the want* of commodities you do not possess, excluding *the ability to purchase*; which, however, is an essential part (as I think) of demand. Suppose I want a steam engine, and have nothing but printed calicoes to pay with, in a market overstocked with printed calicoes; is not this a glut, so far as it goes? Does not the introduction and improvement of machinery tend universally to over-production—production beyond what is wanted, or what can frugally be purchased? People do not buy for the sake of buying, but of using; and they will buy, therefore, no more than they actually want for comfortable use. Tell the manufacturers and operatives of Lancashire, of Huddersfield, of Norwich, of Birmingham, of Massachusetts, of Rhode Island—tell the wine-growers of France, that over-production is impossible,—will they condescend for a moment to hear your reasons for this paradox, that sets all matter of fact at defiance? If a dozen pair of stockings will serve my purpose, and a manufacturer presses me to take from him one hundred pair, is not this a glut? What may happen in fifty cases, as in Great Britain, and our North-eastern States, may happen in a hundred—in any assignable number. I agree, therefore, on this subject, with Malthus and Sismondi; according to the actual arrangements of commerce there may be over-production in one, in fifty, in a hundred articles—there may be a glut of commodities in the market.

of the best interests of all, the labourer is compelled to take his share of what is in reality joint capital, in the shape of wages ; which share, owing to the increase of

It is undeniable that there is a glut in the production of cotton and woollen goods at this moment in Great Britain.

"Let any man read the Report of the Committee of Manufactures, August, 1829, in the *Leeds Mercury*, signed John Stock, jun., Chairman, presented to Mr. Peel, and some other Noblemen, stating the starving condition of 13,000 operatives, within the immediate neighbourhood of Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, who could earn by their labour but twopence half-penny sterling per day, (five cents,) out of which they had to defray the wear and tear of their looms, and to maintain themselves and their families. Is it possible to ascribe this to anything but the want of demand for labour, owing to an over-supplied market by means of machinery ? At least 200,000 operatives are now in this situation in Great Britain ; nor can any one hesitate to pronounce that this state of things is owing exclusively to a glut in the market. I am very willing to concede that my argument depends mainly on the present state of things—on the prevalence of 'the restrictive system' which interferes with, and clogs every operation of production and interchange. Let us suppose a system of free trade and free ports, and I have no doubt but supply and demand would so adjust themselves to each other, that a glut would never take place."—Cooper's Political Economy, p. 215.

"A population that extends beyond the means of subsistence—where the labourers crowd each other by competition to obtain employment—where the wages earned are not sufficient to enable a man, his wife, and a couple of children, to obtain the necessaries of life in sufficient abundance to maintain health and strength—is a state of society where happiness diminishes as riches increase. Such is the case with a large portion of the European population at this moment, and such is at this moment (1829, 1830,) pre-eminently the case with Great Britain. I shall take up this subject again in considering the *distribution* of national wealth ; but I confess myself at a loss to suggest any adequate remedy. That the extensive use of machinery has contributed to over-production,

his own numbers, and of machinery, and the consequent competition, is always as small as he can live upon. The rate of wages in no case depends upon the

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and thrown hundreds of thousands of workpeople out of employment, I see clearly ; but to prohibit or to lay aside machinery, I consider as utterly impossible. If one nation would do so, others would not. The evil I fear must cure itself, by the deaths consequent on the diseases of extreme penury. It is one among the difficult cases involved in the question of the origin of evil, which human knowledge has not yet accounted for on any satisfactory theory."—*Ibid*, p. 293.

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, say the Political Economists ; but we think that if it were the natural tendency of capital to increase faster than population—and we believe that it is, and that we shall prove it to be so—yet in the present artificial state of our commercial system, there would be great difficulty in preserving a prosperous condition of the people. Is it the want of the *means* of setting the increased population to work, that is, of capital, in Great Britain, and in all old countries, that causes the general distress ; or of a *profitable* direction for such capital ? Is it want of capital in Manchester and in all our manufacturing towns, that prevents the employment of the people, or the want of markets ? There is, perhaps, no single branch of our manufactures in which production has been stopped for want of capital ; it has always been from want of demand. In Great Britain floods of wealth roll in all directions in which there is even the appearance of a profitable investment. Look at our national debt and 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 sums expended in railways—and then let us ask ourselves the question, whether it is the want of the means of setting the people to work that is the cause of their unprosperous condition ?

On the contrary, may not our present difficulties be ascribed with more truth to our being able to create wealth too easily and rapidly, so rapidly, in fact, that no one can be found to buy it

quantity of work done, or upon the amount of the produce, which would always be the case upon a system in which the labourer received his due share.

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fast enough? No; it is want of demand, not of capital, which is the cause. Demand enough there certainly is for almost every comfort on the part of two-thirds of the population,—but then they have nothing but their *labour* to give in exchange, which, as machinery increases and supersedes it, becomes of less and less value until it is insufficient for their support. But few of the working men are wanted, for machinery, aided by the natural powers of wind, water, heat, electricity, has been made to take their place. What, then, becomes of the theories of Political Economists with respect to the impossibility of gluts, and to the constant rise of wages with the increase of capital, &c.? Why that they may be true in the abstract, like the mathematical definition of a point, viz., that which has no parts and no magnitude, but that they are altogether inapplicable to present circumstances. If 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 counties; then, perhaps, their truths might be true *in practice*. They hold that demand and supply have an equal tendency to find their level with water, and they think it of no importance that in the operation whole towns are ruined, and whole countries half-starved.

In the consideration of the question of wages, we have not overlooked the fact, that the same cause, namely, competition, which reduces wages, lowers also the profits of the manufacturer, and reduces all produce to the lowest possible price; but this under the present system does not lessen, it perhaps only increases the difficulty, for the world becomes filled with produce of which no one is at liberty to make use. The rate of interest

Owing to the present defective arrangements for the production of wealth, the capitalist only employing his capital for further production as it suits his individual interest; and owing to the unequal division of the produce of labour by which a large portion is wasted, and another large portion withdrawn from being useful towards further production, capital does not increase so fast as it has a natural tendency to increase, and does not keep pace with population. This diminishes the means of employing the people, and again increases the competition for employment, upon which the rate of wages depends. It is impossible to prevent this competition in the present constitution of society, because it is impossible to prevent the increase in numbers of the labourers; and supposing it possible to prevent such increase, machinery might be in-

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(which determines the income of the capitalist,) depends upon the profits of trade, and is consequently low; the capitalist, therefore, has not the means of purchasing. Capital is plentiful, production is great, and the competition among manufacturers for the sale of such produce is great in proportion, profits are necessarily low, and the manufacturer cannot purchase. The profits of the manufacturer being low, he endeavours to live by grinding still lower the wages of the artizan, with whom to purchase is more than ever out of the question. And thus it is that universal abundance co-exists with individual want. So also, although production is great, it falls far short of what it might be, for the manufacturer only produces so long as he can do so at 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 stops, although two-thirds of the population are in need of such produce. It is such artificial checks, resulting from an imperfect system, that prevent capital from increasing so fast as it has a *natural* tendency to do.

creased to do all the work that the interests of the property-owners require. In young and agricultural countries, where machinery is less applicable to the work to be performed, labour may be sufficiently in demand to make the condition of the labourer comfortable; but in all old States it is a drug; an unmarketable commodity; nothing in fact is of so little value as a strong able-bodied man; and the result is the condition in which we have found the working classes—everywhere competing with each other for the sale of their labour, and reducing it in consequence to the lowest possible price that nature will allow them to take.

What is wanted, therefore, is apparent—a state of society in which property shall be so employed for the good of all, that the labourer shall not be obliged to take a less share of what he is instrumental in producing, than by right belongs to him; so that if a machine should be introduced which will enable him to execute a hundred times more work than before, he shall take his just proportion of the produce:—a state in which, the produce being equitably distributed, no one will have so disproportionate a share as will enable him to waste it, or to withdraw it from its use towards farther production; and, as it is in the power of every one to produce more than he can possibly consume, all artificial restraints upon production being removed, arrangements might be made by which all should be profitably employed, and production be always kept in advance of population.

The principal cause, then, of the evils that we have been considering, we conceive to be the present division of society into the class of those who possess every-

thing, and that of those who possess nothing—into capitalist and labourer, rendering the latter and by many times the most numerous class, altogether dependent upon the former—to which must be added the want of an efficient plan of exchange—and the remedy we conceive to be, the establishment of a system in which Property should be held in trust by society for the production of the largest sum of enjoyment to all.

As we believe that all other remedies for the evils that now afflict society will be but partial, or altogether unavailing, we propose in all the seriousness that such a conviction inspires, after having stated and considered the vast amount of such evils, to examine into the practicability of gradually introducing such a system. In this examination we shall never lose sight of the *sacred rights of property*, but we would also keep prominently in view the still more sacred *rights of industry*—convinced that although now divided and at variance, they are not incompatible, but admit of a strict union, and that in this union will be found the remedy for most of the disorders that now prey upon social existence.

## CHAPTER IV.

### SOCIAL REFORM.

IF happiness be the object of man's being—if the happiness of individual man be as the whole of which he forms part—if the greatest happiness of that whole be the fulfilment of the Moral Law—the social system which accords best with that law, must be that which secures the largest sum total of happiness to the whole. Property is the means of happiness ; like the life-giving stream it may diffuse itself by universal channels over the land, covering it with fertility and plenty ; or left to its unchecked course, it may leave unvisited, on the one hand, arid and desolate wastes, whilst on the other, it accumulates into noxious pools, spreading disease and corruption around. Without this general diffusion of the means of happiness—of property—the state of society cannot be perfect ; and as the only means by which it can be effected, property must be considered as held *in trust by society* for the benefit of all.

This, then, is the principle upon which society must be based to place it in accordance with the natural laws, and from which all subordinate arrangements must spring.

History has hitherto presented man to us as acting under the influence of the mere animal part of his nature, his higher feelings not constituting leading

principles of action, but set merely as a guard over the others, to keep them within those bounds which are absolutely necessary to enable him to live in society at all. His powers have been directed towards the production and accumulation of wealth, not as a means of gratification of the higher faculties, and of general happiness, but of individual aggrandizement and distinction. Thus the selfish principle has universally predominated, and the institutions of society have been framed in accordance, so that each man is obliged to consider the taking care of himself as his first duty, and to devote all his energies in competition with all around him to that object. So searching is this competition, that little time remains to him for anything besides; those parts of his nature that have higher objects than mere personal good, lie dormant and inactive, and man falls far short of his greatest happiness. Most of the evils that we have been considering are consequent upon this state of things, upon this violation of the natural laws; for man's social institutions, while they are built upon the selfish principle, are as much opposed to the moral law, as the rolling of water up hill to the physical law.

However distant we may suppose the period when man, arrived at manhood, shall be the fitting member of a state of society based upon the moral principles of his nature, to this all our wishes and exertions must point; and in proportion as we can approximate to it, will the evils we deplore disappear. We must look for encouragement and hope in our efforts to bring about this more perfect state of society, not from the picture which history everywhere presents of the race, but to the progressive nature of his being, which is the grand

and distinguishing attribute of man. To such a system have the hopes of mankind, during all ages, with more or less distinctness been directed. Sometimes the happy community was to dwell in a millenium of this earth, sometimes in a fellowship of the saints in heaven—the poet dreamed of it in the golden age—the philosopher in his Republic,—his Atlantis, his Utopia. Amidst all the draperies of fancy and fable which have clothed the vision, it still stands forth, a living form of truth,—a type of the future brotherhood of man.

The full realization of this idea may yet be but dimly seen through a perspective of ages, but the outline may even now be traced, and the eye accustomed to its proportions. The old maxims of selfish individualizing interest may be gradually displaced, the true relation of man to society be more distinctly recognized, and the duties which it involves more widely acknowledged.

In discussing, therefore, what we hold to be the true system of society, it is not under the idea of its present universal establishment, but with a view to show the direction which all effective remedies for the evils of society must take, and to urge even the partial and limited adoption of the principles by those who have everything to hope, and little to fear from change.

We have all been educated under the present system, and our associations and prejudices may therefore all be supposed to be in its favour. We are accustomed to all its abuses, to all the restraints it imposes upon us, as the bird to the cage in which it was born; but let us not on that account be deterred from giving due consideration to principles which claim to be founded in the laws of our moral being, although their adoption

may lead to a change in the form of society itself. Aware of the present condition of the mass of the people, let us not, at least, object to examine any plan that presents a reasonable prospect of improving it; and as a plan for giving comforts to those who are now comfortless, we shall at present chiefly consider the subject, not avoiding the reflections and comparisons suggested by it, although, as we have said, the immediate alteration of the whole face of society is neither practicable nor desirable.

The change required is one that shall render it unnecessary for the workman to sell his share of what his labour produces for less than it is worth; that shall give capital the most profitable direction towards further production, and cause machinery to work *for* the labourer, not *against* him.

These objects can only be effected by the re-union of capital and labour—by the labourer himself becoming a capitalist, and the owner of the machinery with which he produces. It is proposed, therefore, that the working men should be encouraged and assisted to unite together in associations or communities, upon the principle of Joint-Stock Companies, in such numbers as convenience may dictate, for the production and equal distribution of all the necessities and comforts of life.

The capital of these associations would consist of equal sums contributed by each member, the produce of his own savings, or furnished by capitalists, who, from motives of benevolence or interest, should lend their aid to the undertaking. This joint capital would be laid out in the purchase of land, the building of houses and manufactories, and the furnishing of agri-

cultural stock, machinery, and raw material. Or, all this might be done by a company of capitalists, and then let to the members of the association, at such a rental as should pay the interest and profit on the capital, allowing to them the right of future purchase. There is no doubt that, under proper regulations, such establishments would offer an eligible and secure investment for capital.\*

All trades and professions that have for their object the supply of the necessities and most essential comforts of life, would be comprised within the community, so that all of which the particular locality would admit, would be produced upon the spot. A staple manufactory would also be established in each, the produce of which would be sold to furnish the means of procuring such articles of foreign growth as are indispensable to comfort.

A Governor or Board of Directors would require to be chosen by the members themselves, whose office it would be to provide that each should be employed in that occupation for which nature or education had best fitted him. The joint produce, or, at least, the greater part of it, would be common property, and used by the Directors to furnish to all the largest amount of comfort and enjoyment to which it could be adequate, allowing luxuries to none until necessities were afforded to all. The co-operation required would be voluntary; the right to private property being given up to the community by the individual himself, only in

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\* The plan here proposed is not in the smallest degree original; it is simply adopted as an approach towards the realization of the foregoing principles. See Appendix.

consideration of receiving a greater advantage in return than he could gain by any other investment. It is no part of the proposed plan to interfere with either the rights or security of property as now established.

We shall first consider the economy of such an arrangement, and its capability of furnishing physical comforts; since an improved physical condition must precede all other improvements. We shall next consider how far it contains the means of happiness; that is to say, how far it would afford facilities for obedience to the physical, organic, and moral laws.

With respect to the economy of such a system, and its capability of making capital keep pace with population, we know that the members of a large family, whose funds would not allow of their keeping separate establishments, will find their incomes, when united, amply sufficient to maintain them in one; and it is accordingly inferred that by means of combination the artizan's pound a-week might be made to furnish him with comforts that would otherwise require many pounds to purchase, and that for the wretched hovel or cellar, or small and ill-built house, might be substituted large and commodious apartments. The household arrangements would be those of a large family, whose members would be equally furnished with comforts in proportion to the amount of the common fund. The great amount of labour now wasted in individual establishments would thus be placed at liberty. In the department of cookery, for instance, there is no doubt that labour and expense would be much economized if the food of a multitude of persons could be prepared at one fire, and by means of the same apparatus; and it is well known that the fires which are

necessary to warm one large house, might, by proper management, be made to warm those of a whole community. The same principle would hold good with most of the other items of domestic economy. But although kitchens, dining-rooms, drawing-rooms, reading-rooms, lecture-rooms, gardens, would be in common for all who chose to make use of them, upon the plan of clubs in London and elsewhere, solitude need not be denied to the lovers of solitude; on the contrary, to each might be secured private apartments, and, with the means of perfect seclusion, all the advantages that solitary individual arrangements could possibly furnish.

Another great saving would arise from the conversion of unproductive labourers into producers. We have seen how very large a portion of the products of labour, under the present system, go to the non-producer in the shape of profits to the retail traders, manufacturers, and land-occupiers: almost all of which would be saved under the proposed arrangements. The division into masters and workmen, manufacturers and operatives, would no longer exist; and as a single store of the requisite articles of consumption would perhaps be sufficient for a whole society, the profits of retailers would not only be saved, but the retailers themselves would be employed in production; and as the persons engaged in that department of industry constitute a fourth of the whole population, an immense mass of labour would thus be liberated;—liberated, too, from an employment as degrading under the present system as it would be unnecessary under the other.

One of the great advantages of the plan proposed

would be, that all the labour that could be set free, would be so much gain to the whole community ; since, as all in the capacity of joint proprietors would receive a just proportion of the produce, any improvement in machinery which would enable them to do ten or twenty times the work in a given time, would be a common benefit ; whereas, in the present system, labour saved is loss to the workmen, who are paid for their labour only, and have no share in the produce. Here the notable expedient of the late Lord Castlereagh, of setting the people to dig holes one day, and to fill them up the next, would be unnecessary ; for when the stores were full, they might cease to labour without being starved.

It is by this means only that the use of machinery can be made a blessing to mankind. The enormous power generated by steam machinery during the last forty years has rather tended to increase manual labour, and to impoverish the people, than to furnish leisure for the development of their moral and intellectual powers, which is its proper use. The rectification of this error alone would strike at the root of most of the evils that at present beset the working classes. The powers of machinery are as yet unknown and unappreciated, because they have been hitherto only applied for individual advantage, and not for the public good ; but let them once receive their proper direction, and it will be found that manufactured produce is limited only by the will of man, and by the capability of the earth to supply raw material : machinery being a servant that never tires, that consumes but little, and whose powers may be multiplied almost to infinity.

If the powers of production, then, aided by ma-

chinery, are immense, notwithstanding that the present system does not admit of their being half employed, what becomes of the fruits,—for we have seen that the working classes, two-thirds of the whole population, receive but one-third of the produce?

Political Economists have turned their attention principally to production, trusting to the selfish instincts of man, as they would to the infallible law of Gravitation, to regulate distribution; but it is only by a system such as we propose, founded in the union of interests, that demand and supply can be so proportioned to each other, as that none shall be in want, or the fear of want, and machinery be made to work for the good of all.

The tendency of capital in commercial countries is everywhere towards its accumulation in vast masses. The advantage which great capital gives its possessor over those who have but little, is so great, that it enables him ordinarily to distance all competition, and in the times of bad trade, which periodically ensue, to drive his smaller competitors from the market. Truly “unto him that hath is given, but unto him that hath not is taken away even that which he hath.” But however disproportioned the capitalists’ share of the wealth produced may seem to be, it cannot be said that the present system works well even for them. The majority of them who with small means have to compete with the monied men, may in prosperous times advance a few steps, but these they must painfully retrace when the tide ebbs, and the markets become again and again overstocked. What *then* is the picture which the capitalist presents? It is one with which we are too familiar. Overwhelmed with care—sinking

under the load of his responsibilities—his anxieties. If he stops his machinery—dismisses his operatives, his fixed capital lies wasting, dead and profitless; his best hands are dispersed; if he continues to work it, his capital is consumed in raw material and wages, to be converted into goods which only reduce still further the value of the stock on hand. His invention is racked to produce some novelty which may perhaps stimulate demand—if for a moment he succeeds, numbers rush in, in competition, until, like shipwrecked mariners, they all sink in that which would have saved a few. If it should not succeed, ruin stares him in the face—he must refuse work to those who depend upon it for existence, or lower the rate of payment to the utmost point. Distressed with their miseries, the requirements of his own family harass him still more; habituated to ease and indulgence, now striving painfully to retrench with all those feelings and associations which give the sharpest sting to poverty. Who that has seen this—and who in this manufacturing country has not seen it a hundred, a thousand times repeated—will say that this division of society is good even for the Capitalist himself?

In this degrading competition almost all trace of the moral nature of man is lost. The possessor of an enlarged mind and generous sympathies who cannot devote his whole soul to money-getting, has little chance of success; but he whose views are contracted within one narrow circle,—that of the commercial world, who gives his whole time and attention to the science of profit and loss, who has least sympathy with the mass of his fellow-beings, and who is not over

scrupulous as regards the means he makes use of, is, as a matter of course, the most likely to succeed.\*

To return to the question of what becomes of the produce of our immense power of machinery? The public enjoy some part of the advantage in the extra cheapness of all articles upon which it is employed; the rest benefits the capitalist, but principally the fortunate

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\* "The tendency of the system is to throw an accumulating burden of mere labour on the industrious classes. I am told that in some of the great machine manufactories in the west of Scotland, men labour for sixteen hours a day, stimulated by additions to their wages in proportion to the quantity of work which they produce. Masters who push trade on a great scale, exact the most energetic and long-continued exertion from all the artizans whom they employ. In such circumstances, man becomes at once a mere labouring animal. Excessive muscular exertion drains off the nervous energy from the brain; and when labour ceases sleep ensues, unless the artificial stimulus of intoxicating liquors be applied to rouse the dormant mental organs and confer a temporary enjoyment, which, in such instances, is very generally the case. To call a man, who passes his life in such a routine of occupation,—eating, sleeping, labouring, and drinking,—a Christian, an immortal being, preparing by his exertions here, for an eternity hereafter, to be passed in the society of pure, intelligent, and blessed spirits,—is a complete mockery. He is preparing for himself a premature grave, in which he shall be laid exhausted with toil, and benumbed in all the higher attributes of his nature, more like a jaded and maltreated horse, than a human being. Yet this system pervades every department of practical life in these islands. If a farm be advertised to be let, tenants compete with each other in bidding high rents, which, when carried to excess, can be paid only by their converting themselves and their servants into labouring animals, bestowing on the land the last effort of their strength and skill, and resting satisfied with the least possible enjoyment from it in return.

few who have the means of employing it in the largest quantity. To them it furnishes not only the necessities and comforts of life, but luxuries and superfluities from every corner of the globe; the inmost recesses of earth and ocean are ransacked for those means of external ornament and show to which they trust for distinction, in the absence of better claims. They maintain horses

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"By the competition of individual interests, directed to the acquisition of property and the attainment of distinction, the practical members of society are not only powerfully stimulated to exertion, but actually forced to submit to a most jading, laborious, and endless course of toil; in which neither time, opportunity, nor inclination, is left for the cultivation and enjoyment of the higher powers of the mind. The whole order and institutions of society are framed in harmony with this principle. The law prohibits men from using force and fraud in order to acquire property, but sets no limit to their employment of all other means. Our education and mode of transacting mercantile business, support the same system of selfishness. It is an approved maxim, that secrecy is the soul of trade, and each manufacturer and merchant pursues his separate speculation secretly, so that his rivals may know as little as possible of the kind and quantity of goods which he is manufacturing, of the sources whence he draws his materials, or the channels by which he disposes of his produce. The direct advantage of this system is, that it confers a superiority on the man of acute and extensive observation and profound sagacity. He contrives to penetrate many of the secrets which are attempted, though not very successfully, to be kept; and he directs his own trade and manufacture, not always according to the current in which his neighbours are floating, but rather according to the results which he foresees will take place from the course which they are following; and then the days of their adversity become those of his prosperity. The general effect of the system, however, is that each trader stretches his capital, his credit, his skill, and his industry, to produce the utmost possible quantity of goods, under the idea that the more he manufactures and sells, the more

and servants, who consume without re-producing the fruits of the earth, whilst they who labour for bread, are compelled to employ this labour upon absurd and useless articles for the gratification of vanity or capricious taste.

Thus are the fruits of machinery wasted in an unproductive foreign commerce of luxuries, and in setting the people to work upon useless, worse than useless

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profit he will reap. But as all his neighbours are animated by the same spirit, *they* manufacture as much as possible also; and none of them know certainly how much the other traders in their own line are producing, or how much of the commodity in which they deal, the public will really want, pay for, and consume, within any specific time. The consequence is, that a superfluity of goods is produced, the market is glutted, prices fall ruinously low, and all the manufacturers who have proceeded on credit, or who have limited capitals, become bankrupt, and the effects of their rash speculations fall on their creditors. They are, however, excluded from trade for a season,—the other manufacturers restrict their operations,—the operatives are thrown idle, or their wages are greatly reduced; the surplus commodities are at length consumed, demand revives, prices rise, and the same rush towards production again takes place; and thus in all trades the pendulum oscillates, generation after generation, first towards prosperity, then to the equal balance, then towards adversity,—back again to equality, and once more rises to prosperity.

“The ordinary observer perceives in this system what he considers to be the natural, the healthy, and the inevitable play of the constituent elements of human nature. He discovers many advantages attending it, and some evils; but these he regards as inseparable from all that belongs to mortal man. The competition of individual interests, for example, he assures us, keeps the human energies alive, and stimulates all to the highest exercise of the bodily and mental powers; and the result is, that abundance of every article that man needs is poured into the general treasury of civilised life, even to superfluity. We are all interested, he conti-

employments, while hundreds of thousands want the means of subsistence, and the first comforts of life at home. It must never be forgotten that "labour was the first price, the original purchase-money that was paid for all things. It was not, and is not, by gold or by silver, but by labour that all the wealth of the world was originally produced." No factitious or artificial want can be indulged without causing extra labour to

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nues, in cheap productions, and although we apparently suffer by an excessive reduction in the prices of our own commodities, the evil is transitory, and the ultimate effect is unmixed good, for all our neighbours are running the same career of over-production with ourselves. While we are reducing our shoes to a ruinously low price, the stocking maker is doing the same with his stockings, and the hat maker with his hats; and after we all shall have exchanged article for article, we shall still obtain as many pairs of stockings, and as many hats, for any given quantity of shoes, as ever; so that the real effect of competition is to render the nation richer, to enable it to maintain more inhabitants, or to provide for those it possesses more abundantly, without rendering any individuals poorer. The evils attending the rise and fall of fortune, or the heart-breaking scenes of bankruptcy, and the occasional degradation of one family and elevation of another, they regard as storms in the moral, corresponding to those in the physical world, which, although inconvenient to the individuals whom they overtake, are on the whole, beneficial, by stirring and purifying the atmosphere; and, regarding this life as a mere pilgrimage to a better, they view these incidental misfortunes as means of preparation for a higher sphere.

"This representation has so much of actual truth in it, and such an infinite plausibility, that it is almost adventurous in me to question its soundness; yet I am forced to do so, or to give up my best and brightest hope of human nature and its destinies. In making these remarks, of course I blame no individuals. It is the system which I condemn. Individuals are as much controlled by the social system in which they live, as a raft is by the current in which it floats."—Combe's Moral Philosophy, p. 216.

some member of the community ; we can make use of nothing that has not cost labour in its production ; and that this labour is necessary to the support of the workman, and is therefore thought a blessing, is the pernicious consequence of the present system of society.

A state of society such as we contemplate, of co-operation amongst rational beings for mutual interests, where all should be proprietors, and where all should share the labour required for everything produced, would soon change all this, and introduce a new standard of wants. At least one-third of the labour employed in Britain is wasted in supplying artificial and factitious desires ; but the vanity of the absurd distinctions which now characterise society, would soon be seen and felt, when it was found that to furnish them required the extra two or three hours' labour per day of each member of the society. Neither, for the same reason, would idle servants or useless horses be maintained. The standard of utility would supplant that of caprice and fashion ; and as useless articles of luxury and vanity would no longer be an indication of the extent of private property, or marks of superiority, being possessed by all if by any, they would no longer be desired, and distinction would be sought where alone it ought ever to be found, in useful and ennobling qualities. Food, lodging, and clothing, with everything that tended to produce sound health, would first be secured as the necessary foundations of all happiness, and until these were obtained for all, luxuries would be permitted to none. All artificial wants would give place to real ones, and those the most essential and the least costly would be first attended to ; and although foreign markets might still be desirable for the sale of

home manufactures and the supply of foreign produce, yet as everything indispensable to life and comfort would be furnished to all without aid from abroad, men would be virtually independent of such markets, if deprived by any unforeseen circumstances of them. But in the existing state of things, it would be as injurious to the interests of a town like Manchester to cut off its supply of cotton from abroad, or its markets for the sale of such cotton when manufactured, as to deprive it directly of its supply of corn, either by home scarcity or foreign enmity.

When all possible physical wants, comforts, and conveniences had been supplied, when all the high and ennobling pleasures derivable from our moral and intellectual nature had been provided for, then, and then only, the labour of society, if it were to spare, might be employed in the acquisition of comparatively useless luxuries and ornaments.

The means of gratifying the wants of that part of his nature, which peculiarly distinguishes man, as man, are furnished abundantly on all sides of him, and are to be acquired at little expense of labour either to himself or others. On every page the progress of science has written something deserving his attention, and the beauties and wonders which she opens to his view may well compensate for the childish and costly pursuits that now occupy him. A flower may come to be esteemed more highly than a diamond, and a more becoming ornament than pearls; since these latter productions of nature, however beautiful, cost more labour than society will be willing to bestow in exchange for them.

If we, therefore, calculate the saving of labour that

would be effected by the introduction of such a system of society, from all the abovementioned sources, it will be found to be of immense amount, and sufficient, properly employed, to furnish not only necessary comforts to the working classes, but ample time for intellectual and moral enjoyment. There would be the saving from all household arrangements being in common, instead of individual family establishments; of the profits of manufacturers, merchants, and retailers, and of the enormous expense to which it is now the fashion to go in retailing; of the carriage and expense of conveyance of goods, as almost everything would be produced and consumed on the spot; of the produce of the land which is now employed in growing grain, hops, &c., to make intoxicating liquors; of the maintenance of the unemployed and half-employed labourers who are without work in consequence of stagnation of trade, brought on by gluts in the market, derangements in the currency, and the various causes that so frequently disturb our artificial system; and lastly, and above all, from the release of the labour that is now uselessly and perniciously engaged in gratifying the artificial wants of the rich, and the employment of that labour for the good of the whole community.

So far, then, it must be admitted that such a state of society would be superior to the present, in its economical arrangements, for the saving of labour, and consequently of the cost of labour, which is equivalent to the production of wealth. With respect to the *direct* production of wealth, there can be no doubt that from the universal diffusion of the appropriate knowledge, and from the absence of all selfish impediments, together with the waste of power and

material arising from individual operations, facilities and advantages would be afforded far surpassing any which the present system of industry enjoys from the stimulus of competition. Unity of purpose in production would be found no less beneficial than unity in all other objects. In so far as the principle has been adopted, it has achieved the stupendous undertakings of civilization from the pyramid to the railroad; but when it shall be carried out to its full extent, and applied to the increase of the products of the earth—the means and the comforts of life, the results will probably leave our calculations far behind.

We have next to examine whether it would afford equal facilities for the practice of those principles which we assume to be essential to happiness, namely, obedience to the Physical, Organic, and Moral Laws.

A community such as we are contemplating must be regarded as one large family, each member being dependent upon the labour, and, therefore, the health and strength of all; the strongest possible inducement is thus held out for the making of all its arrangements in harmony with those laws upon which health and strength of body are dependent; and for the adoption of all plans by which labour may be shortened. The medical functionaries of such an establishment would have an interest in keeping every one in good health, not, as now, depending upon the want of health of the community for subsistence; they would be anxious to make known, and to teach every one to avoid all causes of ill health; and to this end every one would be made intimately acquainted with the structure and functions of his own body, and the relation of everything around him to his well-being. The best arrangements for the

preservation of health, which the knowledge yet acquired could suggest, would be adopted in all buildings, sitting and sleeping rooms, factories, workshops, &c. The greatest attention would be paid to warming, ventilation, and cleanliness; to clothing, diet, and all circumstances upon which physical welfare depends; for the illness of a member would be the loss of his share of labour to the community. Among parties co-operating for mutual interest, this care would be possible; in choosing their site for building, they would determine upon a healthy and convenient spot. How little care is now taken of the health and comfort of the poor in this respect! In passing through the country it must strike all who observe how little mutual accommodation, how little regard to others' interests is shown in every pile of building that meets the eye. The situation of each is dictated by individual caprice, with no regard to the laws of health; and we are irresistibly compelled to wonder at the Power which could make a piece of mechanism so delicate as that of man, capable of withstanding, in any degree, so many deleterious influences. In manufacturing cities, the dwellings of the poor are still worse—crowded together in courts and alleys, the sitting room and sleeping room frequently the same—small, dirty, unventilated, ill-constructed, and ill-drained. Can we wonder that health is not often found there?

Under the new system a complete change would be effected as regards these evils, since agriculture would be made in all cases the basis of the prosperity of the members. All would be employed, at least part of their time, upon the land in producing at home whatever the soil and climate would permit. The advantages

of country and town residence would thus be gained, and, without losing those that are derived from the division of labour, agricultural and manufacturing labour would be united. No man would be kept for twelve hours together to one dull, monotonous, soul-destroying employment, but labour would be so blended as to ensure the largest return of health and happiness.\*

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\* "As the division of land is thus the great step in the progress of improvement, so its distribution among the lower orders, in civilized society, is essential to maintain that elevation of mind which the separation of employments has a tendency to depress. It is too frequently the melancholy effect of the division of labour, which takes place in the progress of opulence, to degrade the individual character among the poor; to reduce men to mere machines, and prevent the development of those powers and faculties which, in earlier times, are called forth by the difficulties and dangers with which men are then compelled to struggle. It is hence that the wise and the good have been so often led to deplore the degrading effect of national civilization: that the vast fabric of society has been regarded as concealing only the weakness and debasement of the great body by whom it has been erected; and that the eye of the philanthropist turns from the view of national grandeur and private degradation, to scenes where a nobler spirit is nursed, amid the freedom of the desert or the solitude of the forest."

"Manufacturing employment, however, is not in itself fatal to habits of frugality; on the contrary, it tends to encourage them where it is combined with separate dwellings and rural residence. There is not in the world a more industrious and frugal set of men than the watchmakers of the Jura, the straw manufacturers of the Val d'Arno, the chintz workmen of Soleure, or the clothiers of Cumberland and the West of Yorkshire. The savings of these laborious men are all realized for the benefit of their families, and produce those beautiful little properties which gratify the traveller in those delightful regions. On the other hand, there is not to be found among civilized nations, a more dissolute, improvident, or reckless race, than the silkweavers of Lyons or Spitalfields, the cotton manufacturers of Rouen or Manchester, or the muslin ope-

We find a total disregard of the organic laws among the poor, both from ignorance, and from an utter inability, in those who have more knowledge, to help themselves; and who, now, has any interest in altering the state of things? All are disunited, isolated, individualized, competing with each other; not as members of one family, working—pulling—together. The slave-

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ratives of Glasgow and Paisley. How great soever their earnings may be, they are for the most part wasted in the lowest licentiousness; the recurrence of seasons of distress has no effect in inducing habits of economy; the revival of prosperity only increases the oceans of spirits which are swallowed; the return of depression sends their furniture to the pawnbrokers, their families to the workhouse. It is the extension of machinery, the accumulation of men together, which produce these fatal effects. The man who could discover a mode of combining manufacturing skill with isolated labour and country residence, would do a greater service to humanity, than the whole race of philosophers."—*Alison*, vol. 2, pp. 8 and 155.

The Free Trade principle, "that we should never produce in one country what can be produced at less cost of labour in another," should be received as admitting of many exceptions, because where labour would probably be to spare, such occupations would be chosen as were most conducive to health and happiness rather than always those that the circumstances of the country rendered most productive. At present production is considered only, without reference to health, and the produce of one hour's labour in our manufactories is exchanged for the produce of one hour's labour upon land abroad; such land being twice as productive as our own, one hour's labour on manufactures here produces by the exchange double the quantity of corn that could be produced by the same labour upon our own soil. But may not the question be fairly asked, whether two hours' labour upon land be not more to the interest of the labourer, if he had his due share of the produce, and all other influences being taken into consideration, than one in a factory? That system must be bad which takes no account of the health of body or mind in the *saving of labour*.

owner has an interest in the health and physical well-being of his slaves, the capitalist has the same in that of his horses and dogs, but if his workmen should die by thousands, it makes no difference to him, since others are immediately supplied from the overstocked labour-market. The poor have none to care for them in this Christian country, and notwithstanding the number of its religious associations and ostentatious charities, they may be said as a body to be left almost entirely to their own undirected resources. It cannot be thus under a system in which all are made to feel immediately and directly the suffering of any individual member; for though man may be without teachers who content themselves with saying, "be ye clothed and fed," and give tracts on temperance and frugality, yet he will not be without those who have made the laws of God on earth their study, and the wisdom of the wise will be at the service of those that are foolish, and the people will not be taught that the most direct road to heaven is the total disregard of the law of universal brotherhood, and of every other law upon which God has made happiness dependent upon earth. Everything that tends to improve the race, to increase its health, and strength, and beauty, to perfect the bodily and mental faculties, will be the subject of inquiry and deep interest, and a department of knowledge thrown open which has of all others been the most neglected.

The laws of the hereditary descent of the qualities of body and mind have, up to the present time, been deemed worthy of application only to the brute creation, to horses, dogs, and cattle; yet their application and vast importance to the human race is undeniable.

If we would regulate the influences upon which the possession of "a sound mind in a sound body" depends, we must begin before birth. That health is invaluable, all acknowledge—for in health alone is comprehended the "possibility of every exertion we wish to make—every virtue to which we aspire—every happiness we would possess;" and yet no care is taken by parents to fulfil those conditions which are essential to a perfectly healthy constitution, and the seeds of disease, mental and bodily, are born with most of us. The license of a clergyman, or of a magistrate, is deemed an all-sufficient warrant for handing down to posterity every disease of body, and weakness of mind. Let us hope the time is not far distant when the public voice will be uplifted, and the popular sanction withheld, from conduct so grossly selfish and immoral. The character of man, and the happiness dependent upon it, result from the original constitution derived from his parents, and the circumstances in which he is placed, but no after-circumstances can overcome the effects of an originally defective constitution. An American writer says, "The disregard and ignorance of the laws of human organization manifested in the transmission of disease to posterity, deserve the severest censure. While parents will spare neither labour and toil of body, nor care and anxiety of mind, to accumulate and bequeath princely fortunes to their children, they little think, perchance, of the germs of disease entailed upon them. \* \* \* May the day be not far distant when a sound and vigorous constitution shall be esteemed the richest legacy that ancestors can bequeath to their posterity."\* In the transmission of

\* American Phrenological Journal, No. 3.

consumption and madness, the law is acknowledged, but little regarded; passion and interested worldly motives are sufficient to throw into the shade all moral considerations of the consequences to others. Not only in these more striking instances do we behold the truth exemplified, but in large classes everywhere around us, whose physical condition, every physiologist will acknowledge, is far below what it might have been if this law had been obeyed. "Wherever we turn our eyes on the crowd of life," says a writer of large experience, "we see human beings falling a sacrifice from their early years, all through their career up to old age, to causes of premature death which seem to be unavoidable; and a truly natural decay is a rare occurrence."

Mind, too, dependent upon organization, owes its health, and vigour, and capacity, or its weakness and inefficiency, to parents, and the laws regulating the transmission of mental qualities are deserving of the most careful attention as intimately connected with our highest happiness. Let but the same care be given to man which is now bestowed upon the brute creation, and a constitution approaching more and more to perfection, might be imparted to each successive generation. In a state in which it would be for the interest, comfort, and happiness of all that each member should possess an originally sound and vigorous constitution, no pains would be thought too great to ensure it. The voice of public opinion would be loud against all unions that had an opposite tendency. Marriages would be dictated by different and higher motives than those which now cause the union of the majority of mankind. Worldly circumstances, which, from the highest to the

lowest, are too frequently the motives to such connexions, rather than suitable mental and bodily qualifications, could have no influence in a state of society where all would be equal, and no motives but mutual affection could have place.

**THE MORAL LAW.** The law of universal brotherhood, the essence of unperverted Christianity, is impracticable under the present system—if system that can be called which is a mere chaos of conflicting interests; born of chance and of selfish instinct, over the surface of which the spirit of reason, directing and arranging each part for the production of the greatest happiness, has never moved. That society should be founded upon laws by which *all* might live together in the most happy manner possible, has yet to be acknowledged. The present constitution of society, on the other hand, has been left to form itself; part has been added to part, as time and circumstances, the increase of mankind, and the formation of section after section, have called for it—each portion fashioned after the individual interests of class, without any reference to the good of the whole. It has been said, and truly, that “our laws and institutions are not the product of wisdom and virtue, but of modern corruption grafted upon ancient barbarism.”\* Thus it is we find “all mankind heaped and huddled together, with nothing but a little carpentry or masonry between them; crammed in like salt fish in their barrel;—or weltering (shall I say?) like an Egyptian pitcher of tamed vipers, each striving to get its head above the rest.”† The immutable and resistless laws of nature have, however, been at work, and through the

\* Westminster Review, No. 61.

† Sartor Resartus.

all-powerful influences of pleasure and pain, have been pushing man forward in the march of improvement, and, like the forces which, in the course of many ages, laid stratum upon stratum and prepared the way for sensitive existence upon the earth, have gradually been preparing the earth for the existence of man, not merely as a selfish animal, but in all the capacities of his physical, moral, and intellectual being.

If we trace back the progress of the development of man's resources, we find the foundation of the present social institutions laid at a time when, to prevent him from preying upon his fellow like wild beasts upon each other, rights of property were established and maintained by the strong arm of force alone. The greatest want, and therefore the greatest blessing, was security of life and limb; and the institution that could best afford it, was the most desirable. Here then was the foundation of an aristocracy. The leaders chosen to head the different associations of men for their common protection, maintained a kind of security, and "the strong man" was in proportion respected. Kings were at first only the chosen leaders of armies; valour and military skill were the virtues most in request; protection became a *profession*, and a soldier, as the representative of that profession, the most honoured.\*

But the power thus necessarily entrusted to an indi-

\* "All high titles come hitherto from fighting. Your Herzog (Duke, Dux,) is leader of armies; your Earl (Jarl,) is strong man; Marshal, cavalry horse-shoer. A Millenium, or reign of Peace and Wisdom, having been prophesied, and becoming daily more and more indubitable, may it not be apprehended that such Fighting titles will cease to be palatable, and new and higher need to be devised?"—Sartor, p. 256.

vidual, was soon abused, assumed as a right derived from God only, and not from the people, and ultimately became irresponsible. A profession of arms having been established with leaders whose interests were at variance with those of the people, constant wars were necessary to find occupation for such a profession, to promote the individual aggrandizement of the leaders, and maintain the influence they had usurped; and their real motives were concealed under the high-sounding names of Glory, Patriotism, and National Honour.

The power thus yielded by the people to ensure personal security when no better means could be devised, has never yet been recovered. Magna Chartas, Cromwellian Revolutions, Parliamentary Reforms, mark the progress which has been made towards it, and the barriers to liberty that have been removed. The problem to be solved is, how to make perfect liberty compatible with security to life and limb, and the fruits of industry.

In the first stage of society physical prowess was alone regarded; but no sooner were the wild barbarous hordes that founded the present nations of Europe settled down into some quiet, than the influence of mind began to be felt, and then arose the power of the priesthood—a power sufficient, in some measure, to control the licence of the feudal lords, and to weaken the arm of violence and blood, which was constantly uplifted in their mutual aggressions, or attacks upon the liberty of neighbouring States.

Oral teaching was then all-important, for when there were few books, and fewer still who could read, it was almost the only means of imparting instruction. The sole possessors and interpreters of the book which was

supposed to contain the Revelation of God's Word, claimed and received universal dominion over the multitudes who knew no other source of light and truth ; but now that we are furnished with a more ample revelation of His laws unfolded by the experience of ages, and the written means of communicating it to the hearts of all,—shall oral instruction still be the only method of making known the law of the Lord,—and the more extended knowledge of His will, as revealed in His works, still continue to be scaled ?

As other wants of society took shape and form, the class through whom such wants found the means of gratification arose in importance. With personal security and comparative security to property, trade and commerce began to flourish ; and however much the pursuits connected with them were at first despised, as the dependence of society upon them for foreign productions, and even the comforts of life, became recognised, they were first tolerated, and then protected, until an aristocracy of wealth has gradually arisen, which treads close upon the heels of the aristocracy of birth.

When trade and commerce flourished, and the right of the strongest was no longer admitted, the laws of property became necessarily more complicated ; hence a class was called forth for the expounding of those laws, and their administrators rose in proportional importance. On the complexity of the laws depended the necessity for Lawyers,—make the laws plain, their occupation is gone. Consequently the simplest question, in their hands, assumes an intricacy which the strongest uninitiated intellect cannot unravel ; and the plainest, most intelligible language of common sense

and justice, soon becomes that of an unknown tongue to the people. With truth did Voltaire designate the body of lawyers as "the conservators of ancient barbarous usages."

Thus it appears the right of each class of society to the distinction it claims was based upon utility; but the world is changed, and society pays homage to the shadows of things that were. As each of these leading divisions became necessary to the good of society, its pre-eminence has been acknowledged; and although the wants that gave rise to it may be now reduced in importance, it still maintains its rank in the social scale. With security and peace, the power of man over the earth and its produce has increased, until money, the representative of this produce, has become almost omnipotent, "and whoso has sixpence is sovereign, (to the length of sixpence,) over all men; commands cooks to feed him, philosophers to teach him, kings to mount guard over him,—to the length of sixpence." Money, therefore, is the universal want, and respect in proportion is paid to those who have it—with it man is everything, and without it he is nothing.

One class only has not hitherto been duly acknowledged—the working class; but the signs of the times indicate the approach of a period when it *must* and *will* be recognized. "There is, however, something greater in the age than its greatest men; it is the appearance of a new power in the world, the appearance of a multitude of men on that stage, where as yet the few have acted their parts alone."\* Money, the representative of all the produce which flows from the labour of the multitude, has been the means of defrauding them of

\* Dr. Channing's "Present Age."

the rights resulting from their real weight and importance; by the help of money the truth has been concealed that everything which gives support, accommodation, and luxury to life, comes through the medium of the working classes, and the tribute due to them in return has been paid to the god of these latter days—Mammon. They will discover this, Mammon will be undeified and dethroned, the working classes in working for others will also work for themselves, and their claims will be then acknowledged. Yes, “he who first shortened the labour of copyists by device of moveable types, was disbanding hired armies, and cashiering most kings and senates, and erecting a whole new democratic world: he had invented the art of printing.”\* By its means the people will ultimately become wise enough to take their own concerns into their own keeping, to govern and protect themselves; they will then withdraw the power which they formerly delegated, from those who have shown themselves unworthy of the trust—unjust stewards, who have kept the wheat and dispensed only the chaff. They will no longer consent to labour eight hours out of twelve to furnish the means by which they themselves are kept in ignorance and slavery. They who have hitherto ruled, may plead their claims to power and dignities through ancestral services, or musty parchments, but they will be no longer admitted; *present* not *past* utility will be the only acknowledged title to distinction. Your wealth, will the working classes say, however acquired, keep, until you yourselves see fit to surrender it to the common stock; but what belongs to us, the produce of our

\* Carlyle.

toil, that for the future we will keep. To make this possible they must take production from under the control of an interested class,—it must be encouraged to the utmost limits, and distributed on better principles.

The present system of competition is founded upon the predominance of the selfish and animal principles of our nature; each is left to take care of himself, and if he cannot do that the world has no place for him. There is no co-operation for the good of all; each class, each family, each individual, has interests at variance with those of his neighbours. The lawyer has an interest in the promotion of civil strife; the medical practitioner in the increase of disease; the clergyman, the soldier, the placeman, desire the death of their superiors, that they may obtain preferment,—the young that of the old, that they may inherit their riches, their honours. Capitalist competes with capitalist, workman with workman, retailer with retailer; and in this contest, not for happiness but for support, and for the means of rising each above his neighbour, every sound moral feeling is vitiated, every dissocial impulse called into habitual activity. And then the efforts, the struggles, the madness, the despair, of those who do not succeed, but who sink in the worldly strife!

The right of the strongest, in body, to deprive his neighbour of his share of the common bounties of Providence is no longer acknowledged, but the right of the strongest in mind is still maintained; the weak, for no fault but that he is weak, is trampled into the earth, and deprived of his share of the common stock in the general scramble. In the present competition for wealth, not only can the rich oppress the poor, but the

strong-minded can *legally* take the portion of his weaker brother. Men, it is true, do not, like the beasts of the desert, devour one another ; but they do that which is worse—they devour each other's substance, and leave famine and misery to finish the work.

In a state of society like this, the law of universal brotherhood is inoperative, the moral law is impracticable, and man might as well make all his physical arrangements at variance with the law of gravitation, as expect to find happiness with all his institutions so opposed to the moral law. But society based upon the principle proposed, reconciles all conflicting forces and unites the interests of all. The members would be as one family, each bringing what he possessed to the common stock for the general good ; each employing the talents with which Nature had endowed him, not for his own personal advancement, but for the good of all. Are any strong in mind or body ?—they owe it to God and not to themselves ; for so far as merit is concerned, the doctrine of necessity shows us all to be equal ; they will therefore share their strength with the weak. God has said, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself ;” and if He has given to one advantages more than to his fellows, it was that he might be the instrument of communicating them, and he will look for a higher reward than that which society now offers to him—individual advancement—in the reflection of the happiness which his extra endowments enable him to confer upon others. All, then, would be employed according to the talents, physical, moral, or intellectual, with which nature and education had furnished them, and all would share alike the fruits of such labour ; the weak would be assisted by the strong—

the sick by the healthy—the old by the young. The idle could not continue idle where all others were industrious, nor the vicious continue vicious in an atmosphere of morality. Offences against property must cease when all were joint proprietors, and “envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness,” would disappear with this strife of competition for individual advancement and enrichment.

With society moulded into such a form, would Education, as we have defined it, alone be practicable; for here only could there be “a wise disposal of all the circumstances that influence character, and of the means of producing those habitual dispositions which ensure well-doing;” for such a community only would have the means of doing this. Every bodily and mental faculty would receive proper direction and exercise, and all that knowledge and attention could do, would be done to bring such faculties to perfection. The young would early be taught the principles upon which the good of the community depends, and all instruction would be made to bear upon this, the most essential point; above all, they would be taught that they were children of the community, that they were all of one family, and that the duty of love is to all, not merely to those who are parents, or brothers and sisters, by blood, and consequently that all their bodily and mental endowments were due to the service of all. Virtuous dispositions, habits, and feelings, would be the first developed, and consequently the intellectual and moral faculties would almost naturally take their rightful ascendance over the lower feelings, and the happiness of the individual would result from well-directed efforts for the general good.

That this should be the case now is impossible, unless the laws of nature should be reversed and the same causes produce different effects. The strength and activity of a feeling is always in proportion to the exercise it receives. The selfish feelings are now most exercised, because each individual is obliged to take care of himself; therefore they are necessarily predominant. The law of love may be preached, and the innate depravity of human nature may be pointed to as the cause of the inefficiency of such preaching; but until the present system of individual interests is altered, however much it may be on the lips, the law of love will never be in the heart. The institutions of man and not his nature are chargeable with the failure of such misdirected efforts to improve it. Mr. Combe observes truly, that "if a constant struggle for supremacy in wealth and station be unavoidable among men, it is clearly impossible for us to obey such precepts, which must therefore be as little adapted to our nature and condition, as the command to love and protect poultry, but never to eat them, would be to that of the fox."\*

Such then is the Social Reform needed, such the only means that will bring about the amelioration of the condition of the people. This alone strikes at the root of all the evils that now beset us—poverty, ignorance, crime, the toiling anxiety of the millions. If we examine the registers of crime we shall find that the causes of most of the offences committed against property are poverty and ignorance. The offences that are not punishable by the criminal code—ill-will, suspicion, jealousy, mistrust, unfairness, covetousness,

\* Moral Philosophy.

are no less the produce of competition for individual advantages.

There are some who will trace in this plan the essence of pure and practical Christianity, divested of priestcraft, and of that which has converted it into a trade—there are few who would think the introduction of such a system of society undesirable, when compared in its results with the present—but there are many who imagine it impracticable and Utopian. We shall, therefore, proceed to consider some of their strongest objections.

Perhaps the objection that has most weight with those who have given any attention to the subject is founded upon that axiom of the political economists before alluded to, that “capital has a less tendency to increase than population; 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, that it would ultimately be impoverished, and, that therefore 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 progression, while subsistence can only be made to increase in arithmetical progression; but this has been met, as we think, satisfactorily, by Mr. Alison, in his late

work on Population. It is here shown that "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 have *"for getting at these powers, and rendering them available for general happiness."*\* That this is the true question, is pretty evident; for though it must be admitted that the produce of the land cannot be increased past a certain limit, yet in no country has that limit ever been attained; and although many thousands in this country may be said to want the means of sustenance, and die yearly from want, or its effects, yet it may be shown that its soil could be made to support three or four times its present population. The Earl of Lauderdale calculated that a farm containing 504 statute acres would, under proper management, produce sufficient food for the maintenance of 1977 people; and, consequently, that 9,000,000 of people would require only 2,412,746 acres for their support. In that case England would support 180,000,000 of souls. The land annually under cultivation for wheat in England and Wales is but 3,800,000 acres, † and yet this, in years of ordinary plenty, supplies the whole population of Great Britain. In six bushels of wheat there are 280lbs. of fine flour, without including the coarser sort, bran, and waste; this is equal to 373 lbs. per quarter. Every 14 lbs. of flour make

\* Alison, vol. 2, p. 473; vol. 1, p. 77.      † See McCulloch.

18 lbs. of bread. The average produce of wheat, as given by M'Culloch, is  $3\frac{1}{4}$  quarters per acre, which would give 1556 lbs. of bread per acre. This would allow 1 lb. per day to  $4\frac{1}{4}$  persons throughout the year. If a third of the land in Great Britain were under cultivation annually for wheat, although this is perhaps more than is possible, it would allow 1 lb. of bread daily to three times the present population. But some land will produce six quarters per acre; and by an improved system of cultivation, most land might be made equally productive, and this again would nearly double the population that could be supported. The evidence before the House of Commons Committee on Agriculture, in 1836, proved that the chief reason for the produce of the English farmer being below what it ought to be, was his stupid perseverance in the use of old and clumsy implements, and adherence to a bad system of cultivation which the intelligent farmer of Scotland had discarded. The want of land to work upon, and of material to work with, is a difficulty so remote that none need be deterred by it, from adopting measures to secure the happiness of mankind in the long interim.\*

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\* "So boundless are the resources of nature in yielding subsistence to the labour of man, compared to the power of multiplication in the human species, that it will immediately appear that at this moment the British population is capable of doubling the whole subsistence raised in the British empire, not in five-and-twenty years, but perhaps in five, certainly in ten years. And the same rate might go on successively, if no other moral obstacles existed to the rapid multiplication of mankind, until the land in these islands was cultivated to its utmost. The powers of man over the soil do not diminish as agriculture improves and society advances; on the contrary, they are greatly increased; and the results are

With respect to the powers of production, we quote the following passage from Mr. Owen's Memorial to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818:—

“At the commencement of the last quarter of a century, a much larger proportion of the population of Great Britain was engaged in agriculture than in manufactures, and it is probable the inhabitants of the British Isles experienced a greater degree of substantial prosperity than they had attained before, or than they have

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staggering, doubtless, just as the distances of the fixed stars, or any of the calculations of astronomy are, but they are not less fixed on authentic data, nor less productive of conviction to an intelligent mind.

“If, in order to test the comparative powers of population and production, it is allowable to put the physically possible, but highly improbable and morally impossible event of an old State like the British empire, doubling in numbers every five-and-twenty years, it is of course necessary to suppose, on the other side, the equally physically possible, but morally improbable event of the whole resources of the country being applied, during the same period, to the production of subsistence. Now, if that were done, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt, that the island could, in the space of five or ten years, be made to maintain double its present number of inhabitants. It is stated by Mr. Cowling, whose accuracy on this subject is well known, and his statement is adopted by the learned and able Mr. Porter, that there is in England and Wales 27,700,000 cultivated acres; in Ireland, 12,125,000, and in Scotland about 5,265,000, in all 45,090,000; and of these, he calculates that there are at present in cultivation by the spade and the plough, 19,237,000 acres, and 27,000,000 in pasturage. That is just about two acres to every human being in the United Kingdom; the number of inhabitants in Great Britain and Ireland in 1827, being about 23,000,000, and the same proportion probably obtains at the present time, when their numbers are nearly 30,000,000. Now, a full supply of subsistence for every person in wheat is one quarter a year; so that at this rate there is only *one* quarter raised over the whole empire, for every *two* acres of arable and meadow land. But an acre of arable land yields, on an average of all England,

enjoyed since. The cause is obvious: the new manufacturing system had then attained that point which gave the highest value to manual labour, compared with the prices of the necessaries and comforts of life, which it was calculated to afford, and it had not yet produced the demoralizing effects which soon afterwards began to emanate from this system.

"At the period mentioned, the manual and the scientific power of Great Britain were sufficient to create a degree of prosperity which placed all her population in a state of comfort at least equal, if not

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2 quarters and 5 bushels, or somewhat more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  quarters; so that every two acres is capable, at the present average, of maintaining five human beings, or five times the present inhabitants of the empire. Can there be the smallest doubt, that in a few years, this quarter per half acre might be turned into two quarters per acre, less than the existing average of England? Nay, is there not ground to believe that, by greater exertion, every acre might be made to produce 3 quarters, still less than the average of many of its counties? The first of these changes would at once yield food for four times, the last for six times, the present inhabitants of the British Isles, independent altogether of the waste lands, &c.; of which, Mr. Cowling states, there are 6,000,000 acres capable of being turned into arable and pasture lands, at present wholly uncultivated, which, at the same rate, would maintain nearly 20,000,000 more. So that if these data are correct, it will follow that about 120,000,000 of human beings, in the first view, and 180,000,000 in the second, supposing our present population to be in round numbers 30,000,000, might be maintained with ease and comfort from the territory of the United Kingdom alone; and supposing them all to be maintained on wheaten bread, drawn from the arable, and butcher-meat, raised on the pasture, lands, without any mixture of potatoes, or inferior food, which is greatly more productive."—*Alison*, vol. 1, p. 48.

"It seems, therefore, in every point of view, to be abundantly clear, 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

superior, to that of the inhabitants of any other part of the world. The value of her national funds was higher in 1792 than at any other period, and pauperism among the working class was but little known.

"The productive powers which created this high degree of prosperity consisted of temperate manual labour and mechanical and other scientific powers, which had been very gradually and slowly accumulating through the previous periods of her history.

"The manual labour was chiefly performed by men, unaided by

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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. If these principles be well-founded, it must be at once apparent that all apprehensions of the increase of population beyond the means of subsistence which the soil affords, are entirely chimerical in any particular country, until its cultivation is evidently approaching the extreme limit of perfection; and equally visionary in reference to the whole world, until the globe itself is all cultivated to its utmost."—*Ibid*, p. 63.

"The habitable terrestrial globe contains 37,673,000 square geographical miles, of which it is probable that upwards of 20,000,000 are available for the subsistence of the human race. This is making a very large deduction for the arid deserts of the torrid, or the frozen mountains of the arctic zone. Now, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland there are 91,000 square geographical miles, and on them food is now raised for nearly 30,000,000 of human beings. If, therefore, the whole world were peopled in the same proportion as the British Islands, there would be about 220 times as many inhabitants as there now are in the United Kingdom, or the globe would contain 6,600,000,000, being at least eight times its present population. When the vast superiority of the productive powers of the southern regions of the globe are taken into consideration, as well as the great increase which it has been shown the British Islands themselves can be brought to yield; when it is recollected that, in almost all the southern climates, two crops are obtained in the year from soil where irrigation can be attained; that the potato will maintain

the premature exertions of children, and its whole amount may be estimated, in 1792, at that of one fourth of the population, which was then about fifteen millions.

"The scientific power at the same period, was probably about three times the amount of its whole manual labour, in which case the manual labour would be equal to the work of 3,750,000 men; and the scientific three times the amount, or 11,250,000 of men, which makes the aggregate power equal to the labour of 15,000,000 of men, the population was also 15,000,000. Thus the population and aggregate powers of production appear to be equal, or as one to

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three times as many human beings on an equal extent of ground as wheat, and the banana, according to Humboldt, 25 times as many, it is not exceeding the bounds of reasonable argument to hold that (this number of 6,600,000,000 might with ease be raised to 20,000,000,000, being above 20 times the whole probable population of the globe at this period.

"It is observed by Mr. Malthus, that, from all the accounts we have of China and Japan, it may be doubted whether they could be made to double their subsistence in any period of time. Let us test the accuracy of this statement by the more correct statistical information which the researches of modern times have brought to light. In China, according to Humboldt, the superficial area amounts to 463,000 square marine leagues, and the population, according to him, is 175,000,000. If it were peopled in the same proportion as the British Islands, which contain 2,250 to the square league, it would contain 980,000,000, or nearly five times its present inhabitants, according to one estimate, and three times by another; and if it were cultivated as Great Britain might be, as already shown, on the principle of every third acre being devoted to the staple food of man, and the remaining two for his luxuries, it would maintain 2,300,000,000 of inhabitants, or above 12 times its present population.

"The peninsula of India, according to Humboldt, contains 109,200 square marine leagues, and 134,000,000 of inhabitants. If these were peopled in the same proportion as the British Islands, which contain 2,250 to the square league, they would contain about 200,000,000 of inhabitants, or nearly double their present number; and if they were cultivated in the same way as the British Islands

one. The introduction, however, of the improved steam engine, and spinning machinery, with the endless variety of mechanical inventions to which they gave rise, and which have been applied to almost all the useful purposes and ornamental arts of life, have created a change in the productive powers of Great Britain of the most extraordinary amount.

"Manual labour has been increased by calling into action the almost unceasing daily labour of women and children into manufactures, and in consequence, its whole amount may be now estimated at about that of one third of the population, which in 1817

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might be on the principles above laid down, it would maintain at least 1,000,000,000 of souls."—*Alison*, vol. 1, p. 66.

"But it is putting the case much too favourably for Mr. Malthus and his partisans in the doctrine of the pressure of population upon subsistence, to select merely for an illustration of the general law of nature, those countries, such as China, Japan, or the British Isles, in which population appears in the densest form that has yet been recorded in the history of the world. To restore the balance, it is but fair to take a few instances on the other side, and examine the capabilities of human increase which exist in the rich, but desert, or but imperfectly explored regions of the globe. If we do this, and sit down in the lodge of the wayfaring man in the wilderness, what a stupendous prospect is exhibited on all sides of the almost boundless capabilities for increase which are afforded to the human race! The basin of the Mississippi alone contains, according to Chevalier, 1,015,000 square geographical miles, or more than 11 times the whole surface of the British Isles, and nearly seven times that of the whole kingdom of France. The whole of that splendid surface is not only rich and fertile, but watered with noble rivers, and almost entirely destitute of hills or sterile spots. If it were peopled in the same proportion as the British Islands, this portion of America alone, lying between the Alleghany and the Rocky mountains, would contain above 350,000,000 of inhabitants. South and North America contain nearly 12,000,000 square miles, of which 6,000,000 may be considered as susceptible of cultivation, and of productive powers, as Humboldt has told us, far greater than even the most favoured regions of Europe. If these 6,000,000 of square miles were culti-

was calculated to be about 18 millions, or in 25 years to have increased 3 millions.

"But since the introduction of Arkwright's and Watts' improved mechanism, there has been a real addition to the power of creating wealth equal to that of 200 millions of active, stout, well-trained labourers, or to more than *ten times* the present population of the British Isles, or than *thirty times* the manual labour which they now supply for the production of wealth.

"The following changes have then occurred from 1792 to 1817 :

"The population increased from 15,000,000 to ... 18,000,000

"The manual labour from one-fourth of 15,000,000  
to one-third of 18,000,000, or to ... .. 6,000,000

"The new-created scientific power may be estimated  
at the least equal to the labour of... .. 200,000,000

"The scientific power estimated in 1792 at three  
times the manual labour, was equal to . . . . . 11,250,000

"Which gives for the aggregate productive power in  
1817 ... .. 217,250,000

"Or in proportion to the population in 1817, as twelve and a fraction to one.

"It follows that Great Britain has thus acquired a new aid from scientific skill in twenty-five years, which enables her to increase her riches annually twelve times beyond what she possessed the power of creating prior to that period, and which she may either waste in war, dissipate by an unprofitable foreign commerce, or apply directly to improve and ameliorate her own population.

"This enormous addition to the productive powers of Great Bri-

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vated, so as to produce even the same amount of subsistence to 1,500,000,000. It is no wonder that both Humboldt and General Miller, when traversing these boundless tracts of fertile land, where labour for three days in the week would make any family comfortable, and the produce of wheat, under even the most wretched culture, was never less than seventy, sometimes a hundred fold, should have been impressed with a sense of the boundless immensity of the gifts of Nature, and of the unhappy effects of those arbitrary institutions, and that squalid poverty, which in so many places retains multitudes in indigence and suffering, in a world groaning under the riches of nature."—Alison, vol. 1, p. 74.

tain, is, however, trifling compared to that which she may now acquire. She has still capital and industry, unemployed or misapplied, sufficient to create, annually, an addition to her present productive powers far exceeding the amount of her actual manual labour.

"Already, with a population under twenty millions, and a manual power not exceeding six millions, with the aid of her new power undirected except by blind private interest, she supplies her own demand, and overstocks with her manufactures all the markets in the world into which her commerce is admitted: she is now using every exertion to open new markets, even in the most distant regions, because she feels she could soon supply the wants of another world equally populous with the earth.

"Instead, however, of thus contending with other nations to supply their wants, and thereby, under the present arrangements of society, diminish the value of their manual labour, and depress their working classes, she might most advantageously for herself and them, extend the knowledge which she has acquired of creating wealth, or new productive power, to the rest of Europe, to Asia, Africa, and America."

This productive power is now proportionally increased, the lowest estimate being that of 400,000,000.

With powers so stupendous at our command, and more than half a world yet uncultivated, the objection of the Malthusians that population has a greater tendency to increase than capital, which has closed the avenue to systematic efforts for improving the condition of the poor, would seem to have little force.

But grant, however, for a moment, that a time were arrived when all the land should be occupied, and subsistence becoming scarce,—would an educated and enlightened population, such as the new system would produce, who had tasted the sweets of plenty, and all the refined advantages which such plenty could bestow, allow of increase to its numbers beyond the point at which such a state could be maintained—until many

must starve, and all be reduced to poverty? No; the first lesson instilled into them would be, that all the feelings, the selfish ones in particular, must be placed under the guidance of reason, and be exercised only in accordance with the greatest happiness of all. It is an absurdity to suppose that all other advantages would be sacrificed to that of increase without restriction. Among men alone, and men of cultivated moral and reasoning powers, is the increase of population not to be limited to the means of support? If we were to permit the brute creation under our charge to multiply past our means of keeping them, so that they should perish for want, would not the immorality of it be sufficiently glaring?

Under a system of community of interests a check to population, if it should ever become desirable, would be readily imposed. The Shaker communities, under the influence of superstition alone, and not of reason, adopt the children of others, and have none of their own. But as society is now constituted, the supposition of the possibility of imposing moral and prudential checks to population is an absurdity; and those who tell the working classes that they have only to limit their numbers to raise wages and improve their condition, can do it only in mockery.

Labour and the means of subsistence have been apportioned to each other by an All-wise Providence, and if it does not procure food for all, it is not from want of productive power in the soil, but from the imperfection of man's institutions, which preclude him from the fruits of such productiveness. It is well ascertained that each healthy adult individual can produce considerably more than he can consume, if his labour be pro-

fitably directed. "Taking the best data that can be had, it appears that the labour of 19 families is required to produce annually 1160 quarters of all kinds of grain, being at the rate of 61 quarters by each family."\* According to this estimate the labour of one family would support about 15, and these 15 families, therefore, might be spared for manufactures. The productive powers of machinery in manufactures are scarcely calculable; in the cotton manufactory, already, one man by this power performs the work of two or three hundred, and the whole mechanical power of the country is estimated at that of 400, according to some of 600, millions of men,—a power, properly applied, sufficient to give as much leisure to the whole of the people as is consistent with health and their best interests; and also to pay off the incumbrances of the land, the principal and interest of its borrowed capital. Is there then reason to fear that capital cannot be made to keep pace with population, under proper regulations for the production of wealth?

The next important objection to be considered is, that community of property would destroy, or at least weaken, the motives to exertion, and consequently impede the progress of improvement. It is supposed that without individual reward there would be no individual effort; that unless each could appropriate to himself the fruits of his labour, he would not labour.

It is very certain that men would not labour unless they could enjoy the fruits of their labour, if they were not compelled, as at present, by dire necessity and the fear of starvation; but a community of interests does not suppose an annihilation of interests; far from this:

\* Porter, vol. 1, p. 59.

it proposes that each shall receive the full reward of his labour, and if he shall find that by allowing it to form part of the common stock, all the advantages to be derived from that produce will be multiplied fifty fold, he will be most willing that it should do so. The real reward of labour is not individual property, but the comforts, conveniences, and enjoyments which that property will furnish. If men will labour incessantly for the few necessities that labour will now procure, would there not be an extra motive to exertion when they found that they were working to enrich, not a master, but themselves ; that every effort added something to their capital, and produced an adequate reward ? It is only supposing them to be sufficiently enlightened to know their own interest where it so broadly lies before them,—and this knowledge of the true bearing of the social principle must be given, before the working classes will be qualified to act together in such a co-operation of interests. Societies on these principles have been established, and such societies have failed, because it has not been sufficiently borne in mind that a perfect system of co-operation is impracticable, among people who have derived most of their habits and feelings from the present state of society, and whose faculties have been so little developed as those of the generality of the working classes of the present day. Ignorant and selfish persons have been assembled together expecting to find a paradise, without any exertion on their own part, without any knowledge of the principles of social union ; all aiming at securing the largest share of the fruits with the smallest share of the work. Such associations failed of course in their object, and such would fail again.

Until men shall have been better educated, and surrounded by such circumstances as shall be calculated to bring into predominant activity the moral and intellectual part of their nature, a modification only of the true principle of society can be introduced.

But we have not fairly met the objection. It is found that in those countries where, from advantages of climate or other causes, the necessities of life are easily attainable, lodging and clothing of the slightest kind being sufficient, and simple vegetable food being produced without much labour, that the people advance but very slowly in civilization, and rise but little above the mere animal state. It is true that "necessity is the mother of invention," and we have seen that much of what has been supposed to be evil, was not evil but good, inasmuch as it has been required to stimulate man to those exertions on which his well-being depended. Labour was intended as a common blessing, and it is the selfishness of man alone that has turned it into a curse; it is essential to the development of the physical powers, and to the happiness dependent upon a sound body. The labour of the mind is also equally essential to the health of the mind. If the Creator had supplied directly all man's physical wants, there would not have been sufficient motive for the bodily exercise he requires—if he had been made all-knowing in his sphere, that is, if all the truth necessary to his situation upon earth had been revealed to him, he would have had no motive for mental exertion; a sound mind in a sound body could not then have existed.

The force of the objection under notice with those who judge of man by what he has been, rather than

by what he is capable of becoming, lies in the foregoing reflections; they only show, however, that the different stages of man's progress were necessary towards his present position in civilization, to develop all his resources in the infancy of his higher faculties. In this progress moral and intellectual wants have been generated, and the means of gratifying such wants are now attainable by exertion. In the early stages of society, whether exhibited in the past or present history of the world, when the physical wants of man were gratified, there was nothing left to set him in motion, to ensure healthy activity of mind and body. Now, however, a considerable portion of the race is approaching a condition in which they may be safely placed free from the impulse of these physical wants,—when, these being easily supplied, and as a matter of course, the highest energies of the mind and body will be excited by higher wants—Knowledge—Truth. The practical as well as theoretic cultivation of the Sciences and Arts—their application to all the purposes that can benefit mankind—the pursuits of refined taste—the search after those truths which the book of nature unfolds in ever new succession to our wondering gaze—the tracing of God in His works, and the pursuit of the highest happiness in aiding Him in the production of the largest sum of enjoyment,—these will be the motives—powerful motives—to bodily and mental activity.

But until these moral and intellectual tastes have been developed it is not desirable that the physical acquirements of man should be too easily supplied; additional leisure would be wasted in animal pursuits and pleasures. It is to be feared that if the majority of

the working class were suddenly relieved from half their labour,—if their wages were at once to be doubled, that it would be greatly to their own injury and to that of society; for they have as yet no tastes upon which such time and money could be harmlessly expended. Ill-educated as they now are, the strong bond of physical necessity seems in a measure to be required, to keep all in their places and to maintain the order and peace of society. The present social state tends to keep them always in this depressed mental and moral condition, since it allows no time for the cultivation of any higher parts of their nature; therefore a change becomes imperative, which shall not only allow time for the exercise of all their faculties, but shall create a public opinion in their own class which shall compel them to make the proper use of it. A modification of the community principle would give time for the exercise of all their faculties, and only remove the physical necessity to labour, so far as higher motives to exertion and more refined tastes should render it desirable.

The present motives to exertion are, on the part of the majority, physical want; on that of the minority, for the most part, individual advancement and personal distinction (including a man's family always in the sphere of self); it must be granted, therefore, that the change proposed would weaken and ultimately destroy such motives to exertion; but as it would replace them with higher motives, equally strong, it would not impede, but accelerate the progress of improvement. Such motives, however, would probably not induce to the production of all the luxuries which to the higher

orders may seem indispensable ; for there is an influence in luxurious indulgences which, separately considered, may be innocent, that is opposed to the highest virtue, and therefore to the highest happiness. Who that has experienced the happiness derivable from the exercise of the moral and intellectual powers, does not feel that luxury tends to enervate both mind and body, that indulgence is opposed to the activity requisite to the attainment of the greatest good, and that the habit of self-denial in little things is necessary to keep the mind in the most healthy state? "A scrip with fruits and herbs supplied, and water from the spring," may be rather too poetical a limitation of our physical wants, but it may possibly be found that the standard of physical indulgence is now placed too high to coincide with that of the greatest happiness. While society struggles on divided by conflicting interests, it is impossible that the long-sought medium between Epicurean luxury and Stoical privation should be found, for that very luxury is the distinction of the higher ranks, to which they mainly trust—and if they could be persuaded to resign it, the present direction of labour is such, that starvation to a large portion of the lower ranks must follow. Everything in the present system of society tends to keep the selfish and lower faculties predominant.

But it may be asked, would there be sufficient inducement to perform all the disagreeable offices and duties which society now requires to be fulfilled, since in a state in which all were equal, no one could expect another to do that which he was unwilling to do himself? At present there is no office, however laborious

and disagreeable, which, if a mere living is to be gained by it, numberless applicants are not anxious to undertake. The present system seems as much opposed to a vacuum in the labour-market as nature was thought to be to one in the physical world. The necessity that so large a portion of the population is under to find employment, even to live, fills up every channel for labour with the divisibility of a fluid, and force of a hydraulic press, developing every latent power, energy, and resource of man's nature. He labours in the dark mine, and in the sulphurous breath of the fiery furnace,—he works with the fine thread of silk, emulating the spider in the nicety of her touch,—he searches the deep, and exposes himself to every variety of temperature in the frigid and torrid zones,—he braves all the dangers of tempests by sea, and of perils by land,—in fact, bond slaves, or slaves of necessity, society has always required for its “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” and can their place be supplied in a society where all are free? It will be supplied by machinery, which will be made to perform most menial offices. When the object is to save labour, not to create it, much that is now done by hand will be executed by machinery. There are very few useful occupations degrading in themselves, or in which some superior minds have not been at some time or other engaged, or in which any person could reasonably object to be employed for a short period of the day or of life; but if any such there were, and necessary to the well-being of the community, its master minds would be turned towards inventions and expedients for shortening such labour, or for making the steam-engine take the place of man.

In favour of the present system, Mr. McCulloch says—

“We incline to think that the great inequality of fortune that has always prevailed in this country has powerfully contributed to excite a spirit of invention and industry among the less opulent classes. It is not always because a man is absolutely poor that he is perseveringly industrious and economical: he may have already amassed considerable wealth, but he continues with unabated energy to avail himself of every means by which he may hope to add to his fortune, that he may place himself on a level with the great landed proprietors and those who give the tone to society in all that regards expense. No successful manufacturer or merchant ever considers that he has enough till he be able to live in something like the same style as the most opulent persons. Those immediately below the highest become, as it were, a standard to which the class next to them endeavour to elevate themselves; the impulse extending in this way, to the very lowest classes, individuals belonging to which are always raising themselves by industry, address, and good fortune, to the highest places in society. Had there been less inequality of fortune amongst us, there would have been less emulation, and industry would not have been so successfully prosecuted. It is true that the desire to emulate the great and affluent, by embarking in a lavish course of expenditure, is often prematurely indulged in, and carried to a culpable excess; but the evils thence arising make but a trifling deduction from the beneficial influence of that powerful stimulus which it gives to the inventive faculties, and to that desire to improve our condition and to mount in the scale of society, which is the source of all that is great and elevated. Hence we should disapprove of any system which, like that of the law of equal inheritance established in France, had any tendency artificially to equalize fortunes. To the absence of any such law, and the prevalence of customs of a totally different character, we are inclined to attribute a considerable portion of our superior wealth and industry.”

“We are also disposed to believe, how paradoxical soever such a notion may appear, that the taxation to which we have been subjected has, hitherto at least, been favourable to the progress of industry. It is not enough that a man has the means of rising in the world within his command; he must be placed in such a situ-

ation that unless he avail himself of them and put forth all his energies, he will be cast down to a lower station. Now this is what our taxation has effected: to the desire of rising in the world, implanted in the breast of every man, it superadded the fear of being thrown down to a lower place in society; and the two principles combined, produced results that could not have been produced by either separately. Had taxation been carried beyond due bounds, it would not have had this effect. But though considerable, its increase was not such as to make the contributors despair of being able to meet the sacrifices it imposed, by increased skill and economy; and the efforts they made in this view were far more than sufficient for their object, and consequently occasioned a large addition to the public industry and wealth that would not otherwise have existed." —M'Culloch, vol. 1, p. 615.

Such is the reasoning of that school of Economists who see their greatest good precisely in that to which we attribute most of the evil we have been considering. But the end proposed by their system is *production*, without reference to either the good of the producers, or to that distribution of the produce which shall create the greatest sum of enjoyment. These are questions foreign to Political Economy. The "superior wealth" of such a state is the superior wealth of a few, realized at the expense of the superior industry, which means the *over work* of the many. "Efforts to place ourselves on a level with the great landed proprietors, and those who give the tone to society in all that regards expense," "the desire to improve our condition and mount in the scale of society," by the acquisition of wealth, is pronounced to be the source of all that is great and elevated. Experience tells us that it is more often the source of all that is mean and contemptible. It introduces a false standard of excellence, and makes that an object of ambition which does not necessarily

imply one single good or ennobling qualification. When we consider also that the acquisition of a great fortune can only be made at the expense of hundreds of our fellow-beings, such efforts to place ourselves by the side of our "great landed proprietors," appear to have anything but a great and elevated tendency, and a far different test of worth will be required in a society where the object will be to add to each other's happiness, not to vie with one another in acquiring and then in squandering the earnings of the productive classes. It is however the fact, that the present ruling motive to exertion is to rise in the scale of society; an elevation, as we have said, dependent upon wealth, and not upon any one great or valuable quality of heart or mind; on the contrary, the most mean and selfish, they who have but one thought, and that thought money-getting, are they who most frequently secure for themselves an honourable place in the world's opinion. From the contracted minds and warped feelings of such men it is that society takes its tone as to what is excellent, the best feelings of our nature are driven into the shade, and selfishness universally prevails.\*

But can a sufficiently strong motive for exertion be found, when this of personal distinction from individual

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\* "In Britain, 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 feelings 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 motives of his actions; would furnish intellect sufficient to give them effect, and morality adequate to restrain

property is annihilated? When all are equal with respect to property, what then shall raise one man above another—how shall he distinguish himself—for dull would be the world without emulation, without ambition? Mental and moral excellence will open the path to eminence, the only eminence to which rational beings can aspire. The desire of distinction, one of the strongest feelings of our nature, will no longer be associated with pride of caste, of family, of wealth, of establishment, of equipage, or of personal decoration, but it will take the direction of the higher sentiments, of the moral and intellectual faculties; each will endeavour to excel in what is intrinsically good, in everything that can add to the happiness of all; and he who is most forward in the march of improvement will reap the meed of honour. A change like this in the objects of ambition will of itself effect a moral revolution, and here will be found the most powerful motives, the strongest stimulus to exertion. It is impossible sufficiently to appreciate the effects of such a change; if our present position in civilization is the result of a limited education upon the minds of a few, what would be the effect produced if all should receive the best possible education, and all

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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."—Combe's *Moral Philosophy*, p. 205.

talent be turned towards the advancement of the general welfare.\*

It has been thought that individual advantage is the only thing that would call out all the power of invention; but is it the fact that the advantages of improvements in machinery have often been reaped by the ingenious inventor, or that the prospect of such advantages first set him to work? We know that in the majority of cases the reverse of this has been true, and that not the inventor, but some rich capitalist, has generally been the gainer by improvements in machinery. The cotton manufacture, the most rapid in its progress of any, may furnish us with an example. The improvements in the cotton machinery were made principally by Hargreaves, Arkwright, Compton, and Whitney. M'Culloch mentions the reward of the two last; he says, "Mr. Compton did not take out any patent for his invention, which indeed he only perfected by slow degrees. In 1812 he was advised to apply to Parliament for a reward. His claim being entertained, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed

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\* "More discoveries (says Dr. M'Culloch, speaking of Mechanics' Institutions,) will be made, according to the degree in which more individuals are placed in a situation to make them. And it is neither impossible nor at all improbable, that the lustre that now attaches to the name of Arkwright and Watt, may be dimmed though it can never be wholly effaced, by the more numerous and perhaps more important discoveries, that will at no distant period be made by those who would have passed from the cradle to the tomb, in the same obscure and beaten track that had been trodden by their unambitious ancestors, had not the education now so generally diffused, served to elicit and ripen the seeds of genius, implanted in them for the general advantage of mankind."—Dr. Cooper's Political Economy, p. 299.

to investigate the matter, before which evidence was brought to prove that upwards of four millions of spindles were employed on Mr. Compton's principle; that two-thirds of the steam-engines for spinning cotton turned mules; and that the value of the buildings, machinery, &c., employed on the same principle, amounted to from three to four millions. It is painful to have to add, that, notwithstanding this conclusive evidence to the great utility and importance of his invention, the House of Commons voted Mr. Compton the paltry sum of £5,000, a pittance hardly adequate to pay the expenses of the application!"\* And again, "Like too many inventors, Mr. Whitney enriched others without materially enriching himself. \* \* \* In 1812, after the vast importance of the invention had been recognised in all parts of the Union and of the world, Mr. Whitney petitioned Congress for a renewal of his patent, or for some indemnity for the losses he had sustained by its invasion. But notwithstanding a Committee of Congress made a strong report in his favour, the thing fell to the ground, and Mr. Whitney died, without having gained anything by an invention by which his countrymen have already realized a clear profit of 200 millions sterling."†

In this manner does the world generally reward its benefactors; those to whom it has been indebted the most, have been favoured the least,—persecuted to the death, or left in poverty to die by themselves, the world has shown itself unworthy of them; until perhaps some century afterwards, their services have been acknowledged "by those that give the tone to society," and a monument raised to their honour. But if the

\* Vol. 1, p. 645.

† Ibid, p. 650.

world were ready to reward with wealth the genius and invention of those who enrich it by their discoveries, it is doubtful whether such a stimulus would produce anything really excellent. In the state of society we contemplate, all this must necessarily be different; there each would receive his reward—the only reward the great and good ever covet,—in the consciousness of the happiness he would be the means of bestowing on all around, and in the respect and distinction that must always follow when every one is valued in proportion to the happiness he communicates.

The reason why the discoverers of new truths, they who by their writings and inventions have shown themselves in advance of their kind, so seldom meet with a due appreciation until such appreciation comes too late to be of service to them, and that their reward is confined to their own breasts, in philanthropic feeling and consciousness of successful talent, is, that individual interests are everywhere mixed up with prevailing errors, and are concerned in maintaining them. There is no error however great, no abuse however monstrous, but the interests of some are involved in it, and in the selfish clamour of these against all improvement we find the cause of the so frequent ill-requital of talent. But where all interests are one, where all know that suffering proceeds principally from error, truth will be loved for its own sake, and the elicitation of a new truth will be an indisputable claim to distinction. When the advantage of no party is connected with error, when it is not how a question affects the interests of the Church, or of the Law, or of the Medical Profession, or of the Government, or of the Aristocracy, or of any of the other separate and frequently conflicting interests

into which society is now divided, but how it affects the interests of all—then truth will be fairly discussed, and in such circumstances probably found—giving rise to an enlightened public opinion.

There are few questions bearing directly upon the welfare of man, that may not be subjected to the test of experiment,—a truth which, although acknowledged in physical, has still to be recognised in moral science. Morality is, however, a no less inductive science than Chemistry or Medicine, and when taken from the guardianship of a class who have reduced its most important precepts to their own low standard, it will assume all the importance of a regular science, the inductions of which may, as in all other cases, be subjected to the test of experience. Morality we have defined to be the science which teaches men to live together in the most happy manner possible; but mankind are still undecided, except on a few obvious points, as to its leading axioms. They agree that they should do no murder, that they should not steal, nor bear false witness, nor break through a few other positive precepts; but upon most of the questions bearing upon the happiness of man, their opinions differ, being borrowed generally from those of the class or caste in which they have been educated, and partaking of all the various degrees of latitude from the Quaker's to the Soldier's, from those of the Radical to those of the ultra Tory. When freed from the trammels of interested motives, these questions would all soon be decided by experience, as questions of family economy are now decided; whereas, in our present condition, morality must still be subjected to the influence of priestcraft.

By a public opinion formed upon the true principles of morality, the community must necessarily be governed; for no one, where all were as friends and brothers, well known to each other, could resist such moral sanction. Now, however, the vicious can hide themselves deep in the dregs of society, in the haunts of crowded cities, where the public opinion that acts upon them is that of their associates, congenial spirits from whom their own vices are reflected; from such sinks of infamy arise deleterious influences, corrupting the moral atmosphere even as fevers are generated by physical impurities. There is not a want, however selfish or depraved, or a vice which contaminates society, of which individual interest and necessity does not drive some one into furnishing the means of gratification.

It has also been objected to communities of united interests that they would tend to engender too great an uniformity of character, thus doing away with the variety on which happiness so much depends. It is to be hoped that universal love and uniformity in all good feelings, would be the result of such associations, but the difference in intellectual faculties would be as the vast variety of directions to which they would be turned. Character depends upon organization as well as upon surrounding circumstances, and the organization of an individual would depend upon the predominant faculties (predominant in activity,) of the parents; and the faculties that should predominate in activity in the parents would depend upon their leading pursuits. All the differences in character, therefore, that could be desirable would exist, for each mind would take a peculiar bent from its own peculiar combination of

intellectual powers and the different pursuits to which this would lead.

Again, it is objected, that if such associations were to become numerous, if the 26 millions of inhabitants of the United Kingdom were divided into 13,000 of these families on a large scale, competition would still spring up between the separate establishments. This is true, but it would not be attended with the same evil effects, either physical or moral, as between individuals. The competition we deplore is that which makes the interest of one man opposed to the interest of every other; neither is it so much the competition among capitalists, as the competition among the workmen for labour, which has the effect of keeping them at the starving point. It could never be the interest of enlightened communities to run down the value of each other's goods in the same market; they would find a means, therefore, through a Board of Trade, or otherwise, of preventing it. Competition in knowledge, in literary eminence, in the advancement of the arts and sciences, and in everything that tends to raise and refine mankind, would be healthy and desirable competition. Competition in the production of wealth, where all would be equal proprietors, might not be injurious. All the good effects of competition or emulation, to which political economists attach so much importance, would be retained, unmixed with the evil which, in the present state, so greatly predominates.

Many other objections are raised, as there are also to everything that is new amongst those with whom precedent is law, but they do not appear to be deserving of notice. They are most of them objections, not against the principles of co-operation, but against the

plans that have been proposed for the practical carrying out of such principles, and which objections may be well-founded or not without affecting our argument, since experience only can perfect the requisite machinery. If the principles of co-operation are sound, and it can be proved that a community of interests is alone in accordance with the moral law, while the conflicting, individualized, interests of society at present are opposed to it, we may feel perfectly satisfied that though the attempt to carry such principles into practice may have failed, and should again fail, even to the hundredth time, the cause of such failure must be looked for in some imperfection in the practical arrangements made for the purpose.

We do not the less appreciate the power of the steam-engine, because at one time it could be made to work only a common pump; neither is it less certain that machinery is fitted to be the servant of man to help him to do his work, because it now competes with the operative, and obliges him to work harder than before its invention.

Objections to the practical carrying out of the plan, if such there are, and well-founded, experience will soon remedy; and for the many others still unnoticed, they are principally the offspring of pure selfishness, and are not likely to have weight with those who truly sympathise with the evils that press so heavily upon the industrious classes, and who are sincerely and earnestly seeking for a remedy. It is heart-sickening to hear the puling objections of this sort that are brought forward against a system, that has for its object no less than the lifting from the shoulders of the country the immense mass of evil which bends her to the earth, and

the raising of the condition of each individual to a level, so far as regards happiness, with all that man has yet attained. One demurs to the idea of giving up one little individual advantage, another to that; one has been accustomed to this luxury, another could not do without that;—why, then, in Heaven's name, keep them—no one seeks to deprive you of them; but stand not in the way of those who, rather than see their fellow-creatures starved to death by thousands every year,—consigned body and soul to destruction,—would prefer the giving up of some one or two exclusive enjoyments—sacrifices which, although they might be called for at the present moment, must in the end be compensated a hundred fold.

Such is a brief sketch of the principles upon which a thorough Social Reformer would base his measures for the amelioration of the condition of the people; they appear to be founded deep in the immutable laws of man's constitution and of truth; and if that be the case, nothing can ultimately prevent their being carried into practice. The necessity for some change is evident on all sides. At the present moment, (Jan. 1840,) tens of thousands of the working classes are out of employment, declaring in some places face to face with the constituted authorities, that the law of necessity, the law of nature, is stronger than the law of man; and that rather than starve in the midst of plenty, they will help themselves from the abundance that everywhere surrounds them. It is felt that the cry of the labouring orders for employment must not be slighted; and how is it answered? Petitions are sent to the Head of the State to patronize this foolery and that foolery, that the artizans may get bread,—bread dependent upon

a slight factitious demand from the capitalist, which abstracts but a drop from the ocean of their need—not upon the means which exist of setting every one to work, and upon the capability of each to produce three or four times as much as he can consume. And if a voice is raised to say how all may be fed at the expense of their own labour, and not upon charity, it is disregarded and drowned amidst the bigotry, intolerance, and ignorance of the so-called Religious world.

“A feeling very generally exists that the condition and disposition of the working classes is a rather ominous matter at present; that something ought to be said, something ought to be done, in regard to it. And surely, at an epoch of history when the ‘National Petition carts itself in waggons along the streets, and is presented bound with iron hoops, four men bearing it,’ to a Reformed House of Commons; and Chartism numbered by the million and half, taking nothing by its iron-hooped petition, breaks out into brickbats, cheap pikes, and even into spottings of conflagration, such very general feeling cannot be considered unnatural! To us individually this matter appears, and has for many years appeared, to be the most ominous of all practical matters whatever; a matter in regard to which if something be not done, something will do itself one day, and in a fashion that will please nobody. The time is nearly come for acting in it, how much more for consultation about acting in it, for speech and articulate inquiry about it.”

“Delirious Chartism will not have raged entirely to no purpose, as indeed no earthly thing does so, if it have forced all thinking men of the community to think of this vital matter, too apt to be overlooked otherwise. Is the condition of the English working people wrong; so wrong that rational working men, will not, and even should not rest quiet under it? A most grave case, complex beyond all others in the world; a case wherein Rotany Bay, constabulary rural police, and such like, will avail but little.”

“We have heard it asked, why Parliament throws no light on this question of the Working Classes, and the condition or disposition they are in? Truly, to a remote observer of Parliamentary procedure it seems surprising, especially in late reformed times, to see

what space this question occupies in the Debates of the Nation. Can any other business whatsoever be so pressing on legislators? A Reformed Parliament, one would think, should inquire into popular discontents *before* they get the length of pikes and torches! For what end at all are men, Honourable Members and Reform Members, sent to St. Stephen's, with clamour and effort; kept talking, struggling, motioning and counter motioning? The condition of the great body of people in a country is the condition of the country itself: this you would say is a truism in all times; a truism rather pressing to get recognized as a truth now, and be acted upon in these times. Yet read Hansard's Debates, or the morning papers, if you have nothing to do. The old grand question, whether A is to be in office or B, with the innumerable subsidiary questions growing out of that; courting paragraphs and suffrages for a blessed solution of that: Canada question, Irish Appropriation question, West India question, Queen's Bedchamber question; Game Laws, Usury Laws; African Blacks, Hill Coolies, Smithfield Cattle, and Dog-carts,—all manner of questions and subjects, except simply this, the Alpha and Omega of all! Surely Honourable Members ought to speak of the Condition-of-England question too—Radical Members above all; friends of the people; chosen with effort by the people, to interpret and articulate the dumb deep want of the people! To a remote observer they seem oblivious of their duty. Are they not then, by trade, mission, and express appointment of themselves and others, to speak for the good of the British nation? Whatsoever great British interest can the least speak for itself, for that beyond all they are called to speak. They are either speakers for that great dumb toiling class which cannot speak, or they are nothing that one can well specify.

"Alas, the remote observer knows not the nature of Parliaments: how Parliaments, extant there for the British nation's sake, find that they are extant withal for their own sake; how Parliaments travel so naturally in their deep-rutted routine, common-place worn into ruts axle-deep, from which only strength, insight and courageous generous exertion can lift any Parliament or vehicle; how in Parliaments, Reformed or Unreformed, there may chance to be a strong man, an original, clever-sighted, great-hearted, patient, and valiant man, or to be none such;—how, on the whole, Parliaments, lumbering along in their deep ruts of common-place, find, as so

many of us otherwise do, that the ruts *are* axle-deep, and the travelling very toilsome of itself, and for the day the evil thereof sufficient! what Parliaments ought to have done in this business, what they will, can or cannot yet do, and where the limits of their faculty and culpability may lie, in regard to it, were a long investigation, into which we need not enter at this moment. What they have done is unhappily plain enough;—hitherto on this most national of questions, the Collective Wisdom of the nation has availed us as good as nothing whatever.”\*

It is upon this condition-of-England question that we are treating; and what may be said to be the particular state of this question at the present moment? One of peculiar difficulty and distress; a distress, the periodical return of which is a necessary adjunct of the present system. If the landowning interest may be considered prosperous, the manufacturing population, now greatly exceeding the agricultural, has for some time been bordering upon starvation and ruin. As we have previously seen, this class of labourers depend largely upon foreign markets for the sale of their produce, and any derangement abroad causes almost instantaneous distress at home. Thus the peculiar circumstances of the United States of America, in 1836, caused our exports to that part of the world to fall from about thirteen millions to three. Of course there was less demand for the labour of our manufacturing population, and a strong competition for what work remained to be done, was immediately commenced among operatives, manufacturers, and merchants, all willing to give their services almost for nothing, rather than stand still. The loss of all profit to all parties concerned was the consequence, without a corresponding advantage to any one.

\* Carlyle's Chartism, p. 6.

Again, a bad harvest in 1838 obliged us to send our gold abroad for food; the Bank of England was compelled to raise its discounts from 4 to 6 per cent. in order to bring it back again; and since it has become the system of trade to make very large returns at very small profits, and much business is done upon credit, this raising of discounts absorbed all profit, if it did not create a loss upon the mercantile operations in course of transaction. Under such circumstances it followed, of course, that our merchants would restrict their trade, and the manufacturers be obliged to limit their production, by putting their establishments throughout the country upon half-work; when, as we have seen, the operatives were barely earning a subsistence before. Although goods may not be in demand, yet manufacturers cannot stop their machinery, and shut up their manufacturing establishments, without great loss, therefore production to a certain extent must go on, and the competition for custom is sufficient to deprive all parties engaged, either in the manufacture or sale of such produce, of any return for their labour; and it is probable that, in most instances, for the last two years, the trade of the country has been done at a loss. This is not an hypothetical case, but a fact well known to all mercantile men, and who are now seeking a remedy in the revision of our Tariff, and in measures that shall increase the cheapness of production, and enable us to command additional markets abroad. This may be effectual as a remedy for a time; but unless that time be taken advantage of to introduce more radical changes—changes affecting the system altogether—thirty years hence will find us in a worse condition than we are in at present. A much less period will

suffice to increase our productive powers so that the actual markets of the world shall be filled with our goods, and yet it will probably find the numbers of our operatives increased in greater proportion still, and starving, as now, for want of new markets for their labour.

If then the tendency of the present system is as here represented—if it is liable to periodical accessions of great distress to the operatives, and killing anxiety to the manufacturer and salesman, whether wholesale or retail, is there any plan that a really practical man, neither an enthusiast nor a visionary, can listen to for altering for the better such a state of things? Is the change in the constitution of society, which we have been advocating, to be considered as anything but the dream of a philanthropist,—is it, or any part of it, really practicable? We have seen that it is in accordance with the constitution of man and with the principles of morality—is there any thing then in the state and circumstances of the world at the present time which forbids such a change? Experience has shown us that all great revolutions, to be permanent and efficacious, must be the produce of time; they cannot be brought about suddenly; for as the body changes its parts gradually, in the process of waste and reproduction, so also the mind requires to undergo a similarly gradual process in any great alteration of feeling and opinion. It is impossible to go into the world and see the ignorance and physical destitution of the mass, the gross selfishness of the middle and upper classes, without receiving the conviction that a *complete* social change, such as we have sketched, is, in the present state of feeling, *quite impossible*. The minds of the existing

generation are formed upon an entirely different model to that which will be required for society upon the new principle. Whether we go into town or country, we must be struck with the fact that there is scarcely a single person with whom we meet, who would be a fit member. Individual advancement to wealth and aggrandizement is reckoned among the first of virtues, and the man who can accumulate the largest amount of the blessings intended by God for all, is most respected by mankind.

What then is to be done, if, as we have shown, all other measures are inefficacious for the raising permanently of the condition of the people, and this the true one, we admit to be at present impracticable? To its full extent it is so undoubtedly,—but one step is made, and a most important one, when we know what is required; much may then be done in preparing the world for its gradual introduction, “for the truths that have to fight their way in the present generation, become axioms universally adopted half a century hence.”\* We find everywhere the marks of progression,—Conservative principles, and Reforming principles, although apparently opposed, are all working for good. The barriers that have separated nation from nation are being gradually removed, increased freedom of intercourse and of trade is destroying national enmities and national jealousies, and substituting charity and toleration for differing customs, manners, and opinions, and binding together the nations of the earth into one large family. The enlightened in all countries now perceive “that human improvement and national prosperity, are not promoted in any particular

\* Dr. Cooper.

nation, by depressing every other, but by aiding, encouraging, and promoting the welfare of every nation around us. That we are all in our turn customers to each other, and that neither man nor nation can become wealthy by impoverishing his customers. The richer other nations are, the more they are enabled to purchase, the cheaper they can afford to sell, the more improved they become in all the arts of living, in all intellectual acquirement, in everything desirable for other nations to imitate or improve upon. That if other nations become powerful by our assistance, we also of necessity become wealthy and powerful by our intercourse with them; and that peace and good neighbourhood are the means of mutual happiness among nations as among individuals.\* Religious and philanthropic feelings, although misdirected, are yet becoming strengthened in the exercise they receive even in this misdirection and abuse; and the world is gradually and surely preparing for a better, more generally prosperous, and happy state of society. The co-operative principle is gradually raising its head in the shape of Benefit and Friendly Societies, Clubs, and various other forms, above the turmoil of individual conflicting interests, and much may be done by those who appreciate its importance to accelerate its progress.†

In the meantime we ought to give our aid to all

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\* Cooper's Political Economy, p. 209.

† "Clubs form a main feature of the social system of the richer classes of the metropolis. Formerly they were merely the resort of gamblers, politicians, or *bon vivans*—now they have assumed a more intellectual character; every calling has its peculiar club—from the soldier's to the scholar's. The effect which this multipli-

useful schemes for increasing the religious, moral, and secular instruction of the people ; to everything that tends, even temporarily, to improve their physical condition : to urge on the removal of the taxes upon all necessary articles consumed or used by the poor, and the placing of the public burdens upon those who are much better able to bear them, in the shape of property taxes : to disseminate industriously among the people a knowledge of their own constitution, and of the political and moral laws upon which the new system of co-operation must be founded : and to teach them that they must depend upon themselves, and not upon those who have represented them as doomed of God to their

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city of clubs has produced is salutary in the extreme ; it has begun already to counteract the solitary disposition of the natives ; it opens a ready intercourse with our foreign guests, who are usually admitted as honorary members ; prejudices are rubbed off, and by an easy and unexpensive process, the most domestic or the most professional learn the views of the citizen of the world. At these resorts the affairs of the public make the common and natural topic of conversation, and nothing furthers the growth of public principle like the discussion of public matters. It is said that clubs render men less domestic : No, they only render them less unsocial ; they form a cheap and intellectual relaxation, and (since in *most* of the recent clubs the custom turns to neither gambling nor inebriety,) they unbend the mind even while improving it. But these are the least advantages of clubs ; they contain the germ of a mighty improvement in the condition of the humbler classes. I foresee that those classes will, sooner or later, adopt institutions so peculiarly favourable to the poor. By this species of co-operation, the man of £200 a-year, can, at present, command the nobler luxuries of a man of £5000 ; airy and capacious apartments, the decent comforts of the table, lights, fires, books, and intellectual society. The same principle on a humbler scale would procure the same advantages for the shopkeeper or the artizan, and the man of £50 a-year might obtain the same comforts as the man of £500. If

present moral and physical degradation, and have therefore left them in it, thinking any question of greater moment than this, of—What is their condition, and what *ought* it to be?

There are various ways in which the people may be taught to combine for their own advantage, and the co-operative principle be partially carried out. Some account of its past workings and present progress will be found in the Appendix. That which appears to be in the first place desirable, is the establishment of a model society,—a sort of *normal school* for the guidance of others, for though the working classes may not be sufficiently enlightened to carry out the

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the experiment were made by the middle and lower classes in a provincial town, it could not fail of success, and among its advantages would be the check to early and imprudent marriages, and the growth of that sense of moral dignity which is ever produced by a perception of the higher comforts of life.

“Probably, from the success of this experiment, yet newer and more comprehensive results would arise. A gentleman of the name of Morgan, in a letter to the Bishop of London, proposes the scheme of clubs, not for individuals only, but families—a plan which might include education for children and attendance in sickness. Managed by a committee, such clubs would remove the possibility of improvidence and unskilful management in individuals. For professional and literary men, for artists, and the poorer gentry, such a scheme would present the greatest advantages. But the time for its adoption is not come: two great moral checks still exist in our social habits—the aristocratic pride not of *being as well off* as our neighbours, but of *seeming better off*, and that commercial jealousy of appropriation which makes us so proverbially like to have *a home of our own*. If ever these feelings decrease among us, I have little doubt that, from the institution of clubs will be dated a vast social revolution. But France, rather than England, is the proper arena for the first experiment of Mr. Morgan’s system.”—England and the English, by Bulwer, p. 152, vol. 1.

principle of united interests fully, yet a sufficient number of them may be selected from their body to make a successful experiment. The efforts, therefore, of all who wish to improve the present state of things, and who have any faith in the principle itself, should be directed to giving a practical proof of its truth; for when once this practicability is demonstrated, the progress of co-operation may be much more rapid than even the most sanguine would suppose. When the locomotive made its first successful trip between Manchester and Liverpool, and proved the practicability and utility of railroads, all difficulties to their farther extension were overcome, capital flowed in that direction, and the country, within a few years, has been intersected with railways from one end to the other.

In making this experiment great care must be taken to invite such among the operatives to associate in it, as shall be able to give undoubted evidence of their industry, sobriety, and general good conduct, and who are well acquainted with the principles of co-operation; and until they have been well practised in these principles, and have given proof that they are fit to govern themselves, they must not be left to their own resources and guidance, but the government of the society must partake of the nature of a despotism. We are much more the creatures of habit than we are aware of until we attempt to break its chains; and the difficulties of those who have first to practicalize a new form of society must be very great; they will require all the aid of the moral and intelligent, and the experience of the most enlightened, with the use of capital for a time. It would, perhaps, not be desirable to carry out, in the first instance, the principle of community of property

to its full extent, but to allow a certain proportion of the joint earnings to each for individual purposes. This need not interfere with co-operation in expenditure in all cases where it would effect a saving, and would allow time for the feeling of personal liberty to accommodate itself to the true principle of its action.

An establishment of this sort would assume at first the character of a joint-stock company for the production of wealth; and when it should be demonstrated that it would afford good security, and pay 5 or 6 per cent. for the interest of money, capital would not be wanting to form such companies as fast as the people could be prepared to join them. The first, placed upon a firm basis, would be a stock from which to graft others; members would be trained and children educated there to carry out the system in new societies. Almost everything has yet to be done, as we have just remarked, to practicalize the scheme, and much will have to be paid for experience; but when once a *form* has been established, when once custom can be brought to bear upon the habits of the members, the greatest difficulty will be overcome. Use and education have made the present form of society so familiar, that we are even unconscious of the restraints to which it subjects us; we are familiarized to our bonds until we fancy ourselves at perfect liberty, and have not even a wish to be released. But every restraint imposed by a new social state would be galling because not customary, and we should appear to lose liberty when even we were gaining it. The greater part of the actions of even the most intelligent are automatic, and the number of these increase with the diminution of intelligence, so that the most necessary thing for those classes who

have at present the least cultivation of intellect, is an established and authorized form of proceeding. When this has once been worked out, the training of members would proceed rapidly; even the least intelligent, the idle, or the morally refractory, drafted in among the moral, the industrious, the intelligent, would soon feel the surrounding influence, and would be insensibly subdued, like the wild elephant between his tamed associates.

Although, therefore, any sudden change to a better state of society is impracticable, and even undesirable, yet a gradual change to a state in which all may enjoy the advantages now confined to a few, is not a mere visionary speculation, but may be accomplished if real philanthropists will turn their efforts in this direction. By their aid, personal and pecuniary, the working classes may in time work out their own temporal salvation, even without Legislative aid; and it is even perhaps to be desired that they should not receive any support of this kind, except that which is given on the principle of "*laissez faire*." We admit to the full amount all the difficulties with which the working men must contend, but they only who can overcome such difficulties without the assistance of Government, will be fit members for the first communities of united interests, since a higher than common average of industry, morality, and intelligence, will be essential to their success, and the very difficulties to be surmounted will help to form such characters. We admit that Parliament, could time be spared from its other important labours, and should it ever feel disposed to assist in earnest the people, may do much towards preparing for such a change, in the spread of Education, so far

as education is possible in the present condition of the poor; and in promoting the carrying out of the co-operative principle in various ways by which the physical comforts of the working orders might be much increased, and better opportunity be afforded for their instruction.\*

\* The "Drainage of Buildings Bill," founded on the Report of the House of Commons "on the Health of the Poorer Classes in Large Towns," and introduced in an admirable speech by the Marquis of Normanby, February 12, 1841, is one of the few practical measures of this kind. We quote from the excellent speech of Lord Ellenborough on that occasion:—"He believed the moral and religious improvement of the poor to be totally inconsistent with their physical degradation. To build churches, to build school-houses, and to employ clergymen and schoolmasters, was in his opinion utterly idle, while the physical wants and destitution of the poor continued as debasing as they now were. We began too far from the real source of the evil, unless we placed the poor man in such a position that he might have some self-respect—that he might have something like a home. The object of their legislation should be—what perhaps this Bill would do ultimately—to secure a home for the poor man. He (and he now spoke only of the manufacturer,) was driven from his wretched place of abode, and almost compelled to spend his evenings in the gin-shop; his wife followed his example. What should be done, if they wished to improve the general condition of this man, was, to enable his wife to prepare for him a home where his children might welcome him on his return from the day's labour, and where he might hope for some degree of comfort, and enjoy some share of domestic happiness. Without this all attempts to improve the moral and religious condition of the poor were absurd. They must not shut their eyes to the fact that a great practical revolution had taken place in the state of society during the last half century. The proportion between the manufacturing and agricultural population had been altogether reversed, and with this change was altogether changed the structure of society. The landed proprietor was acquainted with the poor man who lived in his immediate neighbourhood; he visited his cottage,

The plan which we here advocate for the amelioration of the condition of the people, or Social Reform, does not depend, therefore, on the Legislature to carry it into effect; it would interfere with no vested rights, injure no existing interests, and require no co-operation but that which would be perfectly voluntary; and its aim would be to let the new system of society gradually, in the course of generations or ages, work out the old. As such communities extended, and furnished themselves with comforts, labourers would be gradually withdrawn from the labour market, and this would have the effect of raising the wages of those that remained,

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attended to his comforts, and took an interest in all his concerns. Farmers took an interest in the well-being of their labourers and servants, and the poor cottagers were full of kindly feelings towards those who were in a similar condition to themselves. There was one bond of connexion between the agricultural population, which made them regard each other as members of one family. But it was otherwise with the manufacturing districts. There they saw beside great wealth the greatest possible misery, with no sort of connexion between the classes so distinguished. Nothing was done, except in a few rare instances, by those who derived benefits from the exertions of the labouring manufacturer, for his moral improvement. This was a fearful state of society, and what they had to guard against was its continuance, and he was quite sure it behoved Parliament to employ every remedy in its power to improve the condition of that class of the community to which he had just referred. It was by good fortune, and through the blessing of Providence, that we had hitherto avoided a pestilence and the plague. The Noble Marquis might have been deterred in the framing of his measure by an apprehension of interfering with what were called vested rights. He (Lord Ellenborough,) did not think that reason sufficient. No man should be at liberty so to abuse his property as to affect the health and endanger the lives of the community; and though he admitted that avarice had its rights, humanity had its rights also, and those ought at least to be equally respected. They

and therefore of improving their condition at the same time, and indirectly by the same means, as that of the others. In the course of a generation or two the members would not only become in a much higher degree moral and intelligent, but polished and refined; they would possess advantages which the present state of society cannot afford even to the most wealthy, and they would then be joined by those who could have no interest in joining them at their first establishment, and who, from education and habit, prefer the individual freedom and comfort which the few can even now enjoy. The aristocracy of such societies would be

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had of late increased in population and wealth, but these alone were not the certain fruits of national prosperity and strength. That which was more important was, that wealth should be so distributed as to elevate the moral condition of the people, and secure the union of all classes of the community. We might look with pride to the result of the last census—to the extension of our commerce and the increase in imports and exports; but if we had a demoralised population, increasing every day, and increasing in wretchedness, there was a rottenness at the heart of the structure of society, which must soon extend to the Constitution itself. The change effected in the structure of society by the proportion between the manufacturing and agricultural population being reversed, was in itself a great revolution. In the course, he might say, of a few years, this greatest of innovations had been effected, and it practically changed the whole working of the Constitution and Government of this country. He called the serious attention of her Majesty's Government to this subject, for he was sure that some measure should be at once adopted to raise the physical condition and situation of the manufacturing poor. If that were not done, he agreed entirely with the Right Reverend Prelate that, however excellent their laws, however virtuous their designs, however good their principles might be, they would never produce that moral and religious improvement in the character of the people which they desired."

nature's aristocracy of high talent and good feeling, and the difference of conditions simply that which is dependent upon the difference of age. The young, up to a certain age, would be employed in serving the rest; another period of years would emancipate them from other offices and kinds of labour, and so on, until after a fixed term of years bodily labour in the service of the community would be dispensed with altogether, and the members who had attained to such an age only would be eligible for its governors. No one would require of another to do what he would during one or other of these periods have been unwilling to do himself; and, as we have said before, machinery would soon be made to perform the more irksome and disagreeable kinds of labour.

Possessing everything within themselves essential to comfort and happiness, such societies would be almost independent of the world without them—which might continue if it pleased the game of Kings and Parliaments—of Garters and long-sounding titles, and submit to the reign of fashion as heretofore, but no longer at the expense of the working men, who would now be labouring for themselves in supplying those wants that are really essential. The moral strength of such co-operative associations would everywhere be sufficient to protect them from being plundered either by force or by law, and ultimately to change the face of society as it now exists, turning shadows into realities, and making man, what his Creator intended he should be when he endowed him—not a mere animal—but with Physical, Moral, and Intellectual Attributes.

## CONCLUSION.

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IN the view of human nature we have here taken, of its end and aim, there is everything that is consolatory to the philanthropist, and that has a tendency to expand our hearts in love and confidence towards our Creator. Evil has its origin in ignorance, and the object of pain is to determine our choice to that which is good—from that which would injure, to that which would benefit ourselves and others. Truth then we seek, truth we desire, as the great antagonist of all evil, by which only we can learn the consequences of our actions and acquire power over our own happiness. Falsehood only we fear, and that which, acting upon ignorance and superstition, shall tend to perpetuate its dominion.

Hence the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, or the Law of Consequences, becomes of the highest importance,—teaching as it does, that for every consequence, or effect, there is an antecedent cause, which is always equal, under like circumstances, to produce the same effect, and can produce no other,—thus making us, as we attain the knowledge of such causes, masters over our own condition for good or ill.

The various superstitions fostered in the minds of the ignorant, in all ages and countries, have taken their rise in the misunderstanding of this law. Spiritual agents of every imaginable kind, Gods of the Woods and Streams, of Earth and Air, Genii, Fairies,

Angels, Devils, Immaterial Souls, have all been brought forward to account for effects whose causes lay remote from ordinary sight ; while each of these agents has been gifted with a *free-will*, or power of acting, or not, under similar circumstances, so that the uniformity of the laws of nature has been lost sight of, or has been unknown. All uncivilized nations, and even such as have attained considerable knowledge, refer all natural effects inexplicable to themselves, to the power of spirits or demons. No rational means are therefore taken to secure the blessings, or avert the ills, which come and go at the caprice of these mysterious powers ; but charms, and offerings, sacrifices, and prayers, are used to appease their wrath, or propitiate their favour.

Good and evil have been represented as depending upon the influence of the Stars, of Fate, of Original Sin—upon the conflicting power of Satan with that of the Spirit of God—rather than as the natural and necessary consequences of our own conduct. It has been overlooked that our Creator in giving us Reason, or a capability of foreseeing consequences, has given us power over both good and evil, and that such a gift would have been rendered comparatively useless, if not fatal, if He had permitted the established course of nature—upon which the exercise of reason is dependent—to be interfered with by influences obeying no fixed law, or none, at least, upon which man could calculate.

Since the year 1700 no one has been burnt for witchcraft in our enlightened country ; but the Devil, according to the most favoured creed, is still supposed to be powerful among us. The true character of evil is disguised, and in our popular religious instruction

natural effects are attributed to anything but their real and efficient causes. Our moral and religious teachings are still largely mixed with the superstitions of the dark ages, instead of having for their object to make known the "Law of the Lord"—the Physical, the Organic, the Moral Law—with the natural pains and pleasures connected with it. May we not hope, however, that the time approaches when God shall be known in His works, and a Spirit of Evil no longer be supposed to divide the sovereignty of the earth with Him; when Chance, already dismissed from the physical, shall be banished from the moral world; when especial influences, no longer expected in the one, will not be looked for in the other? May not that be defined as *superstition*, which trusts to any other influence to effect a desired object, than the *natural cause* appointed to produce it? Will it not ere long be received as an axiom, that no other power is ever exercised, but that which we may command again under like circumstances—for does not this contain the very essence of all power and faith?

An immense power is in the hands of the preachers of religion, and the progress of truth must introduce a change in the character of their instructions. The connexion of cause and effect in the world of mind, as of matter, will be insisted upon; the law of consequences, that each must "reap as he sows," will be demonstrated; instead of prayer to God that He will "deliver us from evil," the cause of the evil will be sought and removed; men will be introduced personally to their Maker in the beautiful world that he has created, and in the laws established for their well-being, and it will be clearly shown to them that suffering and

evil inevitably follow the breach of any, the least of these laws; that no selfish action involving the interests of fellow-beings, not even a selfish or impure thought, but must necessarily bring with it punishment to the individual in *this* state of being, either in positive suffering, or diminished power of enjoyment; and that as we have ceased to expect the cure of bodily maladies from charms or sorceries, we must cease to expect deliverance from moral evils, by forms of prayer, or religious observances.

To effect all this, the book of Natural Revelation must be carefully interpreted, the order of God's Providence observed, the nature of man's bodily and mental constitution be taught to him, with its relation to everything around. He must be shown the natural boundaries of his mind, that the *order of nature* is all that he can know, and he will thus learn what are mysteries to him, and what in all probability will ever remain so. The true character of evil must be made known to him, the nature of his responsibility and moral obligation; and the truth that virtue does not consist in useless sacrifice, but in the pursuing of that line of conduct which, upon the whole, must necessarily lead to the highest happiness of himself and others, not *hereafter* but *here*. That is a pernicious doctrine which maintains that evil can only be remedied in a future state, and that happiness here is not the inviolable result of systematic obedience to our Creator's laws. We hold that the contrary can be shown, and that if it can, it ought. The promise to the multitude, of happiness in another world, has been the never-failing plea upon which our religious guides and instructors, and the fortunate *few*, have excused them-

selves from sharing their many comforts and luxuries with their less privileged fellow-creatures, or what would be better, from taking active measures for enabling them to gain such comforts and luxuries for themselves.

When such shall be the character of popular instruction, we shall advance rapidly to a better state of things, for which our mental progress and advancement in physical science have been gradually preparing us. When the Law of Consequences shall be studied and observed, the broad streams of misdirected philanthropy will take their proper course to the ever-stirring ocean of human progression, and the human family will be drawn closer together in the bonds of warm and generous sympathy. Governments will discover that it is their duty to co-operate with this law, to allow of its free unfettered play, so that all may receive the fruits of their industry, and the rewards that nature attaches to virtuous conduct. Criminal codes will be reformed when rulers shall be convinced that a man's character is the *necessary* result of his original constitution, acted upon by the circumstances in which he is placed, and they will endeavour to make mankind virtuous by the improvement, through education, of their natural tendencies, and by removing, as much as in them lies, the causes of vice.

All that has been here advanced, tends, we conceive, to show the progressive nature of man, and consequently of his institutions; and although history has demonstrated that there can be no uninterrupted individual advance of either men or nations, by the recorded persecutions of the great and good, and the decay of all the civilized nations of antiquity; yet

history also shows that the race has steadily progressed, notwithstanding that such progression has not been continued in a regular series among any one people or country.

What may be the particular fate reserved for the British Empire, whether she has already mounted to the pinnacle of her greatness, from which she is henceforward destined to decline and yield the palm of improvement to younger States, like the great empires which have preceded her;—or whether she is to present an example of a better state of society to the millions she has fostered, and who speak her tongue in distant lands, lies hidden in the future. In tracing the history of civilization, what have appeared to short-sighted human wisdom, to be evils of the greatest magnitude, have proved to be the means of uniting the disjointed interests and of individualizing the great body of society, of drawing first the people of a nation and then nations themselves into one common union for the common good. We may therefore hope that the evils which now afflict the country will have the effect of bringing about the remodelling of its social condition, and the union of its separate opposing interests; of inducing us to share one common lot and bear each other's burdens, and of turning the enormous powers of production which the advance in science has conferred upon us, to the advantage of the community at large.

But if the course we have been pursuing for the last fifty years is to be the one we are still to pursue—and this seems to be the direction which public opinion takes—if labour and capital are still to be disunited; if our manufacturing skill and increased powers of production are to continue to be employed in making

a few rich, and in vastly increasing the numbers of the poor; if production is to go on without reference to the producer; and if manufacturing and agricultural employments are still to be separated, we see much cause for apprehension. To make Great Britain the "workshop of the world" may sound well in theory, but if in the process we are to fill the country with towns such as Manchester and Glasgow; if an extended foreign trade is to be as a hot-bed for the production of populations like theirs, depending for the very staff of life upon distant nations, it cannot be consistent with the welfare or safety of the country. In fact, it appears very doubtful whether it would be possible to continue in the same course of policy for another fifty years; and whether the present system shall gently expire in the ordinary course of Nature's proceedings, to be as tranquilly succeeded by a better, or whether a time of anarchy and turmoil, revolution and suffering, shall precede the renovation, will depend, in all probability, upon whether we are seriously and in earnest disposed to study the signs of the times, and to apply ourselves to the amelioration of the condition of the people, while yet there is time.

Let us begin, then, by assisting the working classes to assist themselves; let us make a beginning, show the way to a better state of things, and all the rest will follow. Let us have faith, the only saving faith, in the immutable tendency of the laws of God to produce the good of His creatures; let us press forward in the race of improvement, in perfect confidence that evil is permitted only for our benefit, to make us sensible of our errors, and to compel us to take the path to happiness. The necessity, the physical want which has

distressed the mass of mankind may have been necessary to overcome their indisposition to exertion ; and if so, its object has not failed, for it has brought with it improvement in knowledge and in machinery, which, if applied in accordance with the greatest happiness principle, will amply supply the physical requirements of mankind, and allow of time and means for that intellectual and moral training which will create motives to exertion of a more ennobling character than those which now impel him, bringing the best parts of his nature into activity, and immeasurably increasing the happiness of which he is at present susceptible.

Let us then have faith—a faith giving energy and direction to all our efforts, for God has given an omnipotent power to Truth and Knowledge to the overcoming of all evil, and the necessary and inevitable establishment upon Earth of a state equal to that which the warmest anticipations have formed of Heaven,—a state in which physical necessity and pain shall no longer be required to drive man to exertions necessary to bodily and mental health : in which the *powers* of *nature*, employed by the inventive faculties of man through machinery, shall do all undesirable work, and mankind, no longer crowded together in large towns, shall be distributed in families of one or two thousand members, over the different lands, where each individual shall receive all the advantages that civilization now only gives to a favoured few. A state of society in which, by the obedience of man to the laws of his organization, “ every bodily and mental faculty shall be perfected ”—epidemics and diseases which still ravage society vanishing like those which have already fled before the progress of knowledge, and, by “ a

wise disposal of all the circumstances that influence character," vice and mental infirmity disappearing with the causes that produced them;—in which the moral law shall take the place of universal selfishness,—distinction shall not consist in outward trappings of pomp and power, but in the possession of good and exalted qualities,—and men shall live together as one family, united by the common bond of brotherhood, hating nothing but vice, or that which leads to misery—honouring nothing but virtue, or that which tends to the highest, purest, happiness.



## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

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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.\*

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

*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 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 Lacedæmonian. 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 lawgiver; 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 latter were consigned to the descendants of the captured Helots, who held a sort of middle rank between the slaves and citizens. 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

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

he divided them; the nobility, 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.

**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 magistrates, 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 untilld.†

**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 undi-

\* Rollin's Ancient Hist.

† Gibbon's Rome, vol. 1, p. 295.

vided 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 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 pro-

posed, 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.”\*

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

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 Bengal, 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 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, and 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,

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\* “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

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 instruments 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 subserviency, 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

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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.

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

according to their respective exigencies. The members of the *calpullee*, or associations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was an indivisible, permanent property, destined for the 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."\*

It is said on good authority that the Charaibs, or Caribbees, of the Continent of 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 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,

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

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 subjection, or 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

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

property. Each man's labour was allotted him in proportion to his strength, or to his skill in the profession which he exercised. The product was brought faithfully into the public magazines, 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 scarcity, or for those whom accidents, age, or infirmities had disqualified for labour.

They provided early for the marriage of their young people. Here, as interest could be no motive to the union, there were few difficulties attending it. The parties were supplied with all necessaries for their establishment from the public stores; and they had 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 Cali-

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

foria. The celebrated colony of pirates called 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.

**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.

"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  $242\frac{1}{2}$  measures of rice, of which he must pay  $60\frac{1}{2}$  measures, or about  $\frac{1}{4}$  to the Rajah or King."

\* 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."

“From the reports of Place, Munro, 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 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 superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenues within his village: the *Curnan*, 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 water-courses 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 villages 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 *Cow-keeper*, 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 Pottail 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,

\* Vol. I, p. 266.

a Greek, who was landed upon it after sundry adventures. He describes the inhabitants as being unlike us in their bodies and their 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. 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 manufactures, 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.\*

**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 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, Amc-nophis, was the Pharoah 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

\* Booth's Diodorus Siculus, B. 2, chap. 4. † Taylor's Herodotus, p. 147.

similar principle. He endeavoured to secure a 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 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 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

Monastic  
Institutions.

feeling. We must, however, 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. 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 advantages

\* War. B. 2, chap. 7.

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

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."\*

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.

**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

\* *Encyclop. Econ. Politique*, Art. *Communauté*.

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 Boccold, 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. Robertson, from whom this account is 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 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

\* History of Charles 5th.

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 superintendence 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 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 50 miles from Salisbury, in New England, is borrowed from a French writer:—"Their capital is Bethania, situated on a small river.

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\* Rees' Cyclop.

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

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 mechanical arts. The uniformity and singularity of their vestments, and the long beards of the men, which descend to their middle, 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,

\* Lantier.

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 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 Beever, 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 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

† Rees' Cyclop.

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 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

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

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 a 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,

18 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 superintendant 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

Colony at      is the colony at Zoar. This consists also of a society  
Zoar.      of Germans from Wirtemberg, who, in 1817, emigrated  
to the number of 300 on account of religious and political excitement, under their leader, M. Baumler. 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

\* Society in America, vol. 2.

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 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 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 necessities, 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 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

\* Penny Magazine for Oct. 28, 1837.

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 Coquille 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; 3d, 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 associations of this nature, and more prosperous still, are found in this same country.†

In the article *Moraves*, written by M. Faiguet, 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. Faiguet 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.

\* New Moral World for June 12, 1841.

† French Encyclop. Econ. Politique.

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 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 boards 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 bodies' 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 necessities 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 hyc 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 yocke of thraldome. Therefore they forsake dygnyte of knyghthoode, and suffre none to ryse and to be greater among them under the tytyle of knyghthode, but they ben subject to judges that they chese of themselfe from yere to yere, which rule the comynthe 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 Theeland, (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 Theeland 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 Theelboors; 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 Getae; 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

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

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 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 Theeland were gradually framed to answer the same end."‡

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. Rousseau 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

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

† "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 closes de hayes ou de fosses, lesquelles sont défendues 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.

his exclamation, "he detested the institutions of property and the advantages which it gives to the idle, whom he calls *thieves*, he proposed no 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 re-action 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 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:—

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\* 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."

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 seeds 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 mankind 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 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

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\* "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.

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 pro-

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

duced 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," 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 "Reorganization 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 the 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 generations 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, 23rd Nov. 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, "*Doctrine 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 artisan 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 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.\*

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 to be transmitted? Three principles have been appealed to in order to determine this question, divine right, natural

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

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

\* "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 his 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.

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.

has never ceased to regulate its nature, 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 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 legislator 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 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.

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\* 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.

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*, 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 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 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 founda-

tion 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

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\* "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."

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 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 HIERARCHICALLY, 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, 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 with 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 superintendence 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 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.

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

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 playground 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 schoolroom 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 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

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\* 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 of the 19th Century."

mutual happiness. The schoolroom 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 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 Some years before he quitted New Lanark—in April,  
Harmony. 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

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

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 artisans. 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 superintendant of each department of trade, or business, chosen by the workmen themselves. When, at the end of three months, Mr. Owen departed for England, con-

fusion 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 Frétegeot; 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 monument of co-operative superiority; but in this he was mistaken."‡

The consequences of this mistake are recorded by his brother,

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\* Sphere of Joint-Stock Companies, by Abram Combe. † Memoir of Mr. Combe, Co-op. Mag. Dec. 1827. ‡ Gray's Social System, p. 353.

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 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 Manufac-

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\* 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.

turers." 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 Freemasons' 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.\*

\* "Hampden," vol. 2.

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 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 good tidings through the land. Co-operative Societies  
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 this 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 vobis*, 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 expe-

riment was made, and with better success, by Mr. Vandaleur on his  
Ralahine. estate of Ralahine in the county of Clare. His tenantry  
were of the lowest order of Irish, poor, discontented, dis-  
orderly, 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 prin-  
ciple, 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 schoolrooms 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 pro-  
vided, 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 mem-  
bers 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 pro-

duce 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 inter-

mission 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 storekeeper 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

\* See Ralahine, by John Finch.

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.

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 superintendant 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 store-houses, 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 60 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 sixty.†

A subsequent account of the progress of this institution was published in the 'Phalange' of June 9, 1841, from which it appears that it is in an encouraging state. M. Le Comte de Gasparin is

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\* 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.

its President, and it has been endowed by the Count d'Ourches with the sum of 140,000*l*. 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** Mr. Owen was busily engaged in the years 1832-3  
**Exchange.** 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 percentage 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 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. Notwith-

\* See New Moral World, July 31, 1811.

standing 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,” contain Mr. Owen's leading tenets, and 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 control 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, 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 reacting 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.

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\* 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.

"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 power 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 necessities 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 positions seem to be irrefutable; his only error

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\* 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.

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 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 sixty-five 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 ann. 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 2d 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 necessities 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 the 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
3708				£108,900

Estimate of the cost of Land, Buildings, &c.	
3000 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, Gymnasias, 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 Chim- nies, Observatories, &c. ...	20,000
Contingencies ...	20,000
	<u>£700,000</u>
£700,000, at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ 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 sixty-five 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 10 or 12,000 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 desiring 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 inquire 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 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 su-

\* Rev. J. E. Smith.

perfluous 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 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.

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

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

He published, in 1808, a development of his views in a work entitled “*La Théorie des Quatres Mouvements*,” which contains the essential points of his system, his later works being chiefly expla-

nations and illustrations of the first. The philosophic commercial clerk, for such he was, ventured not to affix his full name to his production. Under the simple title of "Charles," 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 wanted the means to realize the idea of his mind. He cared little about gaining converts to the theory, but he sighed for the benefits of experience. He hoped that the magnificence of the results—the beauty of the solutions—their mathematical rigour—the pomp of his plans—their grandeur and utility, would determine in his favour the co-operation of some great capitalist or distinguished personage. Thus did Fourier patiently wait, making little noise, but, strong in faith, looking forward with confidence to the dawn of a new era. But he waited in vain." "Charles" had few readers, nor until 1814, 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 sixty, 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 annum, 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 tomb-stone 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 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

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

† Rev. J. E. Smith.

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 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 workman 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

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\* "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 eightpence, will only cost fivepence 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.

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 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*

\* “Social Destiny.”

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 impulses which he receives from nature. Attraction is the one and universal law of all movements, social as well as material.\*

*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 develop-

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

ment of one or more faculties ; the rank of the character in the scale is determined by the 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 régime."

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 passionnée*, 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 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

\* 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.

† Victor Considérant.

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 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, admission 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 *Arcopagus*. 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 planta-

tions. 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 *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

\* Rev J. E. Smith.

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.

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 differences in doctrine, the

\* Extract from Madame Gatti de Gamond's Work on Fourier, N. M. World.

† Mr. Doherty.

Fourierites, who may be called the Socialists of France, are in friendly relation with those of England. Mr. Doherty, 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 practical 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 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*fr.*

In September last (1841,) about a hundred workmen left Paris for Brazil, as the advance-guard of a body of 2000 colonists, who intend to establish a Phalanstèrian Society at St. Catherine, about 50 leagues from Rio Janeiro, where they have purchased land, by the assistance it is said of a Mr. Young, a large capitalist, of Amsterdam. The same gentleman has recently purchased the old

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\* 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 effect. 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 Mennais 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.

Abbey of Cîteaux, in the Côte d'Or, for the sum of 1,300,000*fr.*, 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*fr.* 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 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

Cheesemakers  
of the Jura.

production." As an actual example of the 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 aerometer. 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

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

make the most finished clock-work, rivalling Genève, 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 *France.* 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 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

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\* 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 *N. M. World*; and from the "Social Destiny" of M. Considérant.

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 long 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 economical 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

\* See New Moral World, May 29, 1841.

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." \*

**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 men-

\* Reports of Count Capo d'Istria on the establishment of M. de Fellenberg.

bers, 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 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

\* London and Westminster Review, Dec. 1838.

† Appeal on behalf of the Oberlin Institute, 1840.

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 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.\*

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“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      The classes of Plato's citizens are three—the magis-  
Republic.      trates or sages—the warriors or guardians of the State

\* Edinburgh Review, July, 1841.

—the mercenaries or multitude. The last class are 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 to 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

\* Abbe Barthelemi.

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 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

\* See Malthus on Population, vol. 1, book xiii.

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, that 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, that 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 theirs? "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 More, to give  
**Atlantis.**    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

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\* The principle of common property, which was continued in the Christian Church chiefly in its monastic institutions, was 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 Ploughman,"—"Forthi cristene men scholde been in commun riche, no covetise to hymselfe."

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 philosophers 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.”

Gaudenzio di Lucca. “The Gaudenzio 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

\* Rev. J. E. Smith.

† Moreri.

‡ Hampden.

Adventures of Signor Gaudenzio 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 "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 necessities 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, 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.

\* Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy, p. 351.

† 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 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

\* Rev. J. E. Smith.

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.\*

Paine. 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 the age of sixty, £6 per annum, and after that period £10 ; and this not as a matter of grace but right, 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."†

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\* See Malthus on Population, vol. 2.

† "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

"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 equable principles; 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."\*

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 government, and the other bodies in the State intended to be supported, there would be

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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' Cyclopedia.

\* 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;—Chatelain, 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.

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 *shack* (or Lammas) 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-bauks* that separate the lands belong to the community, and the occupier of two adjoining fields has no right to plough up the *meer-bauk* 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 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

\* Monthly Repos., Feb. 1821.

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."\*

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

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\* Rome, vol. 7, p. 288.

This passage leads us to notice the distinction which a French writer, formerly quoted, (*Encyclopédie, Juriaprud.*) 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 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 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."

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 of the 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.

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\* 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." †

In all measures and 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." ‡

\* Wordsworth.

† Southey.

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 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 most beautiful form that imagination can conceive, with benevolence for its moving prin-

\* Vol. 2, p. 276.

ciple 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 main-spring 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 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 con-

\* Malthus, vol. 2, p. 216.

viction, 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."

## ERRATA.

Vol. 1, page 31, line 24, for "interitis" read "enteritis."

page 69, insert after the list of Intellectual Faculties,

"Genus IV.—REFLECTING FACULTIES, which compare, judge, and discriminate.

"COMPARISON—Gives the power of discovering analogies, resemblances, and differences.

"CAUSALITY—Traces the dependencies of phenomena, and the relation of cause and effect."

Page 140, line 2, for "describe," read "ascribe."

221, line 13, for "inconceivably," read "inconveniently."

The fragmentary remarks in chap. 4, part 1, were intended to be inserted at the end of part 1.

Vol. 2, page 357, line 8, for "cool, read "coul."

page 372, line 29, for "is," read "are."