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## TRACTS ON POOR LAWS AND PAUPER MANAGEMENT. - Jeremy Bentham, The Works of Jeremy Bentham, vol. 8 (Chrestomathia, Essays on Logic and Grammar, Tracts on Poor Laws, Tracts on Spanish Affairs) [1843]

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Author: Jeremy Bentham

Editor: John Bowring

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TRACTS ON POOR LAWS AND PAUPER MANAGEMENT.

n 1796, Jeremy Bentham, the great legal reformer and utilitarian philosopher, published a grandiose scheme for 'Pauper Management'. This early example of privatisation proposed the formation of a National Charity company that would construct a chain of 250 enormous workhouses, financed by a large number of small investors. Each workhouse would hold around two thousand inmates who would be put to profitable work and fed on a spartan diet.

The plan, in brief, was for all of England's paupers to be housed in purpose-built facilities, specified by Bentham in elaborate detail, and run on a strongly coercive basis, with all paupers held to work until they had paid off their accounts.

In many cases, that day would never have come, as children born in the pauper house would be held there until they had children in their turn, all of whom would be educated so as to eliminate desire – not by the normal mechanism of satiating it, but by the more cunning approach of ensuring the children were so totally ignorant of the outside world they would be happy in their prison. This was what Bentham was pleased to call his "Utopia," and it was one from which he would personally have profited, since he proposed to serve as the owner, manager, and jailer of the entire system

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## BY JEREMY BENTHAM.

#### NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME COLLECTED.

## NOTE BY THE EDITOR ON THE TRACTS ON POOR LAWS.

THE following tracts which have all been previously printed, (though the last in order, is now for the first time *published*,) bear internal evidence that they are only a portion of what the author has written on the subject of the poor laws; he left behind him indeed a considerable number of unpublished MSS. on the subject, which on some future occasion may see the light. From the Annals of agriculture, it does not appear how far the queries there promulgated, from the answers to which the author intended to fill up the outline of his great work on pauper management, were responded to. In vol. xxix. of the Annals, (p. 556,) the Editor makes an earnest appeal to his readers on the subject, and expresses a hope that "the country gentlemen, and resident clergy, who can with so much ease satisfy many, if not all of his [Bentham's] inquiries, will take the small trouble of sending him the particulars he requests for the parish at least in which they reside;" but it is probable that few of the persons able to supply the requisite information comprehended his enlightened views, and he seems not to have met with sufficient encouragement to induce him even to complete his outline.

It has been the practice of the Editor, on the occasion of the state of the law as it existed when the author wrote being animadverted on in the text, to mention in a note any changes that may have since taken place by statutory or other authority. In the present instance, however, the vastness of the alterations which have been made in the administration of the poor law, and especially in relation to the features chiefly noticed in these tracts, rendered it impossible to accomplish this object without introducing more extensive notes, than readers, who have so many other means of being acquainted with the subject, would have felt of service. The chief administration is, in the plan proposed by Bentham, in hands quite distinct from those in which it has been placed by the poor law amendment act: but the two systems agree in the principle of centralization. In the minutiæ of the plan so far as they are indicated in the ensuing outline, the reader will find many arrangements identical with those, of which the practical experiments, on which the new poor law is based, have led to the adoption; while many of the practical abuses attacked by the author, such as the system of settlement, the facilities for obtaining relief without submitting to labour, &c., have been duly acknowledged and rectified. But perhaps the most remarkable illustrations of the author's practical segacity, are to be found in his anticipations of the civilizing benefits of such alterations as he suggests; benefits which may have then appeared as the wildest Utopianism, but

which have of late been on so large a scale, practically and speedily realized. A comparison of the effects which the author expects to arise from his plans of juvenile training and apprenticeship, may be viewed as a text, of which the report on the training of pauper children presented in the year 1841 to the secretary of state by the poor law commissioners, may be considered as forming a series of practical illustrations.

## SITUATION AND RELIEF OF THE POOR.

BY JEREMY BENTHAM, Esq.

# ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANNALS OF AGRICULTURE.

## QUEEN'S SQUARE PLACE, WESTMINSTER, 8th September, 1797.

DEAR SIR,— This waits upon you with a proof of a blank Pauper Population Table: being a Table framed for the purpose of collecting an account of the Pauper Population in as many parishes, &c., as I may be able to obtain it from. Knowing so well your zeal for all zeal-worthy objects, and mindful of your often experienced kindness, I cannot on this occasion harbour a doubt of your assistance. . . . you will find a MS. paper, exhibiting the importance of the information I am thus labouring to collect: you will print it in your Annals, or suppress it, as you think best. . . . I also send, in MS., a *Table of Cases calling for Relief*—a general Map of *Pauper-Land*, with all the *Roads* to it. . . .

## Ever your's,

#### JEREMY BENTHAM.

ARTHUR YOUNG, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

# OBSERVATIONS ON THE PAUPER POPULATION TABLE HEREUNTO ANNEXED.

Showing the novelty, as well as use and importance, of the information that would be afforded by a set of Tables, one or two from every Parish or other Pauper District, filled up upon the plan of the blank Table here exhibited.

THE stock of information here in question constitutes what will be found to be an indispensable groundwork to every well-digested plan of provision that can be framed in relation to the Poor. For some of the classes a peculiar *mode* of *provision* is requisite, different as between class and

class; as in the case of *infants*, *lunatics*, *idiots*, the *deaf and dumb*, and the *blind*. The rate of *neat* expense per head, as between class and class, is also susceptible of a very extensive scale of variation: the *quantum value* of *return*, actual or possible, in the way of *labour*, by the produce of such labour, is again susceptible of a scale prodigiously more extensive.

1st, To consider the variation where *infirmity*, whether of *mind* or *body*, is the constituent character of the class. In the case of *lunatics*, for example, the average rate of expense per head is probably double, at least, to what it is in the case of a person of sound mind, and of the same age, able or not able to work:\* profit by labour of course nothing:—yet in a set of *appropriate* establishments, set apart for the reception of persons of this class, not only might the expense per head be reduced to the ordinary level, but in many instances a quantity of profit might (it is supposed) be extracted from their labour, to the advantage of the individual himself, in the way of medical relief, or even cure, no less than of the public in the way of economy: an observation which, as far as *economy* is concerned, applies in a greater or less extent to the *other* classes above exemplified; viz. *idiots*, the *deaf* and *dumb*, and the*blind*; to which may be added the various sorts of *cripples*.

Take two parishes, *Bigham* and *Littleton*—numbers of every class the same in the one as in the other. Not to have recourse to any such extraordinary supposition, as that at *Littleton*, they shall be, all of them, below (what, if the expression be allowable, may be termed) the *workable* age, and therefore yielding *no* earnings at all—at *Bigham*, all of them at the age of *highest* earnings; let us suppose that at*Littleton* those *below* the workable age and those *above* it being put together, the capacity of affording profitable labour is, upon the whole stock together, the same as if the whole was at the *lowest* workable age: while at *Bigham*, that capacity is upon the same footing as if the whole stock were at the age of*half* earnings; viz. the age at which, instead of earning from 8s. to 10s. as before, a boy *might* be made to earn from 4s. to 5s.

The value of a child, in this point of view, will depend not only upon the *present* value, positive or negative, but upon the quantity of *negative* value *past*, and the quantity of *positive* value yet *to come*. Suppose fourteen years the age at which boys go off in both places, and let the total pecuniary value of the stock of hands (take it either in regard to *actual* earnings, or in regard to the *capacity* for yielding earnings) be equal in both places. Yet, for a period of six or eight years, the difference may be prodigious. At *Bigham* the positive part of the value may be derived—the earnings obtained—from a set of boys, who, wanting but a few weeks or days of fourteen years of age, are on the point of going off, (the rest being composed of boys below, or little above, the commencement of the *workable* age.) This elder part of the stock being gone, the value may sink to little or nothing; and so remain, even for years: while, in *Littleton*, the same value shall be

afforded by a stock of boys of no more than seven or eight years old; whose value will, for six or seven years to come, be every year on the increase.

For my own part, I must confess, I am unable to conceive how any plan of general economy in this line can rationally be attempted, without something like an estimate of the *mouths* to be fed, as well as of the *hands* to work with.

Under a certain age, none of the individuals thus denominated being capable of any special attachment to person or to place, nor any other individual being likely to possess any very special attachment with regard to *them*, this absence of natural connexion might afford room for transferring them, without hardship, and in any numbers, to any proper situation or situations, if the state of the laws were such as to admit of such an arrangement, and the interest of the public, in point of economy or any other head of advantage, with reference either to the public or to the children themselves, were to demand it. During the age of *sheer expense*, for example, transference to a situation where the *expense of maintenance* is at the *lowest:* at the age of ability, or commencing ability, with regard to labour, transference to situations where the demand for labour is at the *highest*.

*The* DEMAND *for* RELIEF *is constituted by* INDIGENCE:—*which may be the Result of* 

I.

PERSONAL OR INTERNAL CAUSES;-viz.

I.

Perpetual;-viz.

## I.

INFIRMITY of MIND; viz.

in the case of

I. INSANE HANDS (a).

## I. IDIOTS.

1. Absolute Idiots-

2. Persons foolish or weak in mind (*b*)—II. LUNATICS.

3. — flighty—

4. - wantonly mischievous-

5. — maliciously mischievous—

6. — raving—

7. — melancholy.

## OBSERVATIONS.

(a) [HANDS.] N. B. The word Hands is chosen, as bearing reference to Employment, serving thereby to point the attention to the consideration of the Employments, to which the persons thus characterized may respectively be competent or incompetent.

(b) [FOOLISH,&c.] viz. to such a degree as to be unfit to be trusted with the management of their own affairs.

(c) [CLASS III.] Italics are employed principally for the purpose of pointing the attention to the efficient cause of indigence, in addition to the intimation of it conveyed in many instances by the name of the Class.

(d) [CLASSES XI. to XX.] All these Classes might be comprised under some still more general appellation, such as that of Employment-lacking Hands.

(e) [CLASS XI.] The character of the Pauper, and thence the nature of the employment he is fit for, depending so much upon the question, whether, in his instance, the efficient cause of indigence was or was not accompanied with blame—the care taken to point the attention of the Reader without intermission to this important circumstance—will, it is hoped, not be looked upon as ill-bestowed. One practical inference is—that every plan of provision which regards the indigent, in the lump, either as virtuous or as vicious—either as objects of pure compassion, or as objects of pure coercion or pure neglect—must be fatally erroneous.

## II. INFIRMITY of BODY; viz.

in the case of

II. IMPERFECT HANDS;

viz.

1. Deaf and Dumb-

2. Deaf (totally)----

3. Blind—

CRIPPLES.

4. Bereft of the substance or the use of one hand-

5. — both hands—

6. — one arm—

7. — both arms—

8. — one foot—

9. — both feet—

10. — one leg—

11. — both legs—

III. FEEBLE HANDS;

ex. gr.

12. Helpless through general and incurable disease—
13.Asthma—
14. Cancer—
15. Any other slow disease, mortal or not mortal, exclusive or not of the faculty of performing slight work, according to the degree—
16. Habitual Drunkenness—
17. Old Age.
IV. SICK AND WELL HANDS;

ex. gr.

18.Labouring under habitual Epilepsy, &c.V. TENDER HANDS.

ex. gr.

19. Ruptured persons, &c.

II.

Long-continuing; but of limited duration, and gradually evanescent;—viz.

## III.

NON-AGE; viz.

in the case of

VI. UNRIPE HANDS;

#### viz.

I.CHILDREN of PARENTS failing-through unwillingness or inability-incurable or curablepermanent or transient (c)-to provide for themselves-or for more than themselves-or for more than a part of the number of such Children; to wit, by reason of,-1.Infirmity of Mind (if perpetual, see Col. I.) 2.Infirmity of Body (if perpetual, see Col. II.) 3.Inability to perform Work (if casual, see Col. IV.) 4. Unwillingness with regard to Work (see Col. V.) 5.Loss of Work (see Col. VI.) 6.Inability to obtain Work (see Col. VII.) 7.Loss of property (see Col. VIII.) 8. Absence from home-by reason of-1. Search after, or performance of, Work-9. - 2. Flight-for debt or delinquency - or from domestic burthens-10. - 3. Banishment or transportation-11. - 4. Confinement on mesne process-12. - 5. Confinement, in execution of a judgement, civil or penal-6. Service (public) in the capacity of 13. - 1. Soldier-14. — 2. Militia-man— 15. — 3. Seaman— 16. — 4. Marine— 17. Orphans-fatherless and motherless-18. - fatherless-19. - motherless-

- 20. Foundlings-
- 21. Bastards-

## III.

Casual, and of uncertain duration;-viz.

## IV.

INABILITY with regard to WORK;

as in the case of

VII. SICK HANDS;

## through

I.Infirmity of Mind (temporary)—(See Col. I.)
 Disease—
 Casualties (not incurable)—(See Col. II.)
 Child-bearing.
 VIII. CHILD-BURTHEN'D HANDS; through

5.Child-nursing.

## v.

## UNWILLINGNESS with regard to WORK;

as in the case of

Unavowed-Employment Hands—(See XVI.)
 Lazy Hands—(See XVII.)

## II.

EXTERNAL CAUSES;

Which are all temporary, and of uncertain duration; viz.

## VI.

LOSS of WORK;

#### (Original Property being also wanting,)

as in the case of

## XI. OUT-OF-PLACE-HANDS (d) (e); ex. gr.

1. Labourers, on completion of the job-

- 2. on disagreement with the Employer, through the Labourer's fault—
- 3. through the Employer's fault—

4. Journeymen-Manufacturers-Handicraftsmen and-Artists-Shop-keepers and-Warehouse-

keepers, on the shutting-up of the Manufactory, Shop, or Warehouse, by reason of death, failure, or leaving off business-

5. Journeymen—Manufacturers—Handicraftsmen and—Artists—Shop-keepers and—Warehouse-keepers, on disagreement with the Master, through the Servant's fault—

6. — through the Master's fault—

7. Seamen, on completion of the Voyage—destruction, capture, or breaking-up of the Ship—or on disagreement with the Commander, through the Seaman's fault—

8. — through the Master's fault—

9. Domestic Servants, on the death, or going abroad, of the Master-the breaking-up or reduction

of his establishment-or on disagreement with him, through his fault-

10. - through the Servant's fault-

11. Domestic Servants, discharged without Characters, through the Servant's fault-

12. — through the Master's fault.

X. CASUAL-STAGNATION HANDS, ex. gr.

13. Husbandmen, on the conversion of Arable into Pasture-

14. Canal-Diggers, on completion of the Canal.

15. Miners, on the failure or working out of the Mine-

16. Quarrymen, on the working out of the Quarry, or failure of the demand-

17. Manufacturers, in the event of a general stagnation of the Manufacture-

18. Handicrafts and Artists, exercising occupations dependent on Fashion—*on failure of the Fashion*.

XI. PERIODICAL-STAGNATION HANDS; ex. gr.

19. Watermen, in winter time-

20. Gardeners, in time of long-continued frost-

21. Bricklayers, in time of long-continued frost or rain.

XII. DISBANDED HANDS; ex. gr.

22. Soldiers, discharged upon a peace-

23. Militia-men, disbanded upon the expiration of their term-

24. Marines, discharged upon a peace-

25. Seamen (King's,) discharged upon a peace.

XIII. SUPERSEDED HANDS; ex. gr.

26. Manufacturing Hands, rendered superfluous by the introduction of machinery.

## VII.

INABILITY to obtain WORK;

(Property being also wanting) through

I. Badness of Character;

as in the case of

XIV. STIGMATIZED HANDS (f);

ex. gr.

Pardoned, or at large after expiration of their sentence.

1. Thieves, including Pickpockets-

2. Highway Robbers, including Footpads-

3. Housebreakers-

4. Incendiaries-

5. Coiners-

6. Cheats, including Gaming-Cheats, or Sharpers, Swindlers, and other Obtainers by false

Pretences-

7. Smugglers-

8. Forgers-

9. Perjurers-

10. Soldiers, Militia-men, Marines and Seamen, drummed out, or otherwise discharged with infamy.

XVII. LAZY HANDS.

16. Beggars (*Habitual.*) XVIII. UNCHASTE HANDS. 17. Prostitutes-

### 18. Mothers of Bastards-

19. Loose Women-

20. Brothel-keepers (female)----

21. Procuresses.

II. Want of Character and Acquaintance.

#### XIX. STRANGE HANDS; ex. gr.

22. Travellers (English) whose money is exhausted-

23.New-comers, whose money and work are exhausted—Foreigners (in regard to English law,) viz.

24. — 1. Scotch—

25. — 2. Irish—

26. — 3. British Colonists—

27. — 4. United Americans—

28. Foreigners, in point of language as well as government-

29. Emigrant Foreigners, driven from home in multitudes at a time-

30. Shipwrecked persons of the several descriptions as above (22 to 26), *cast destitute on any part of the English coast.* 

## OUTLINE OF THE NON-ADULT VALUE TABLE.

Contrived for the purpose of exhibiting (whenever the requisite data can be obtained) the pecuniary value, negative or positive, of the service of a pauper, or other individual (i. e. expenses and returns by labour on account of such individual) at and up to different years of age, from birth to twenty-one years complete.

#### I.

## DATES AND AGES.

*Column* 1. Day, month, and years of our Lord—twenty-one in number—taking a determinate period for the sake of illustration: viz. from 1st January, 1800, to 31st December, 1820, both inclusive. N.B. For some purposes it may be found of use to divide the whole term into *half-yearly* instead of yearly periods—Say, then, half-yearly.

*Column* 2. Correspondent column of half-years of age: viz. from birth to half a year old; from half a year to a year; and so on.

## II.

# EXPENSES TO BE PROVIDED FOR, WHICH, AS FAR AS THEY GO, GIVE THE VALUE NEGATIVE.

Column 3. Expense of diet

Column 4. Ditto, clothing-materials.

Column 5. Ditto, ditto, making.

Column 6. Ditto, ditto, washing and mending.

Column 7. Individual's share in the common and indivisible expenses of the establishment.

*Column* 8. Totals of expense (to be provided for before hand) during and *for* the several half-years commencing on the several days.

*Column* 9. Totals of expense from birth *up* to last days of the several ages; *i. e.* up to the *ends* of the several half-years commencing on the several days.

## III.

# RETURNS TO BE EXPECTED, WHICH, AS FAR AS THEY GO, MAKE THE VALUE POSITIVE.

Column 10. Earnings for the several half-years commencing on the several days.

Column 11. Earnings from birth up to the ends of the several half-years, commencing on the several days.

What say you to this idea of forming a valuation of that part of the national live stock which has no feathers to it, and walks upon two legs? Is it new or old?—If old, can you tell me where it is to be found? I do not mean in the head of what West Indian, but in the tables of what mathematician or statisticalist? For strange it would be if the term *value* had less propriety when applied to the labour of the freeman than to that of the slave. Is an *average* child at his birth—supposing him certain of not living beyond the age of one-and-twenty years complete—worth *more* or *less* than no*thing* to those (himself of the number) who, during that period of legal, as well as natural, subjection, have the benefit of his capacity for labour at command? If more than nothing, at what age does he become so? Whether worth more or less than nothing, can he, by any, and what

means, be made worth more? If worth more than nothing, how comes it that in an *old*-planted country, such as *England*, (whatever may be the case in a *new*planted one, such as *America*,) a child is, in every class without exception, regarded as a burden (I mean always in the pecuniary sense) to its parents?

# OUTLINE OF A WORK ENTITLED PAUPER MANAGEMENT IMPROVED.

### BOOK I.

POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS.

General Scheme of Provision.

The whole body of the burdensome poor to be maintained and employed, in a system of *Industry-houses*, upon a *large* scale, distributed over the face of the country as *equally* as may be, with each a portion of *land*<sup>me</sup> (*waste* in preference) at least sufficient for the maintenance of its own population.

## Coercive Powers.

Powers for *apprehending* all persons, able-bodied or otherwise, having neither visible or assignable property, nor honest and sufficient means of livelihood, and detaining and employing them till some responsible person will engage for a certain time to find them in employment, and, upon their quitting it, either to resurrender them, or give timely notice; and so *toties quoties*.

## Separation and Aggregation.—

8. For *decency*, separation as between sex and sex, at the usual times of repose, change of dress, &c.

9. For *prevention* of unsatisfiable *desires*—1. Separation at meal times, as between those who have the homeliest fare, and those, who in consideration of habit or infirmity, are indulged with choicer fare. (See Ch. vi. *Diet.*) 2. Separation as between sex and sex, from the commencement of a certain age. 3. Separation of the *indigenous* and *quasi-indigenous* stock of the non-adult class, from the *coming-and-going* stock, who might excite hankerings after emancipation, by flattering pictures of the world at large.

VICINITY—General principle with regard to arrangement, as between class and class, in point of *vicinity*.Next to every class, from which any inconvenience is to be apprehended, station a class unsusceptible of that inconvenience. Examples: 1. Next to raving *lunatics*, or persons of *profligate conversation*, place the *deaf and dumb*, if (included in the same establishment, and) separated as to sight. 2. Next to*prostitutes*, and other *loose women*, place the aged women. 3. Within view of the abodes of the *blind*, place melancholy and *silent* lunatics, or the shockingly *deformed*. 4. Next to each married couple (as before) place at bed-time a set of children under the age of observation. *Barrier-Ward*—a ward interposed for making the separation the more perfect between a ward occupied by a class considered as *noisome* or *dangerous*, and another considered as *susceptible*: classes that, for one or other of the above purposes, require separation as between class and class.

Annoyance, the great source of discomfort in the existing poor-houses—overbalancing the comfort from fare much superior to that of the independent state. This discomfort may to a certainty be banished altogether from the proposed industry-houses. (See Ch. iii. *Buildings and Land;* and Book iv.PAUPER COMFORTS.)

A separate establishment not necessary, as against moral corruption, since, in an industry-house of the proposed form, separation may, as to this or any other purpose, be as perfect in the same establishment, as between two establishments ever so widely distant.

### WORKING HANDS—Employment:

12.*All-employing* principle. Reasons—Health, amusement, morality, (*i. e.* preservation from vice and mischief,) as well as economy. Not one in a hundred is absolutely incapable of all employment. Not the motion of a finger—not a step—not a wink—not a whisper—but might be turned to account in the way of profit in a system of such a magnitude. (See below, *Labour-division principle.*)—A bed-ridden person if he can see and converse, may be fit for inspection; or though blind, if he can sit up in the bed, may knit, spin, &c. &c. Real inability is *relative* only—*i. e.* with reference to this or that species of employment, or this or that situation.—In the situation in question employment may be afforded to every *fragment* of ability, however minute. On the part of the deaf and dumb, and the blind, the ability is *entire*; requiring only to be directed into particular *means* for the *direction* of it.—In a limited local establishment on the present footing, the stock of ability lies oftentimes unemployed, for want of those appropriate means and opportunities of employment which could not be afforded to any profit in any other than an establishment on the largest scale.

13. *Employment-appropriation* principle.—Till the several classes of *confined hands* (*i. e.* who, by reason of infirmity, are susceptible of *particular* employments only, see Ch. viii. *Employment*) are

provided, allot no such employment to *unconfined-ability-hands*, possessing a natural capacity for *every*employment. Husband the stock of *anybody's work employments*, reserving them for *confined-ability hands*, according to the nature of the case, and expending none of them upon *hands of all work*.Examples: 1. Allot not to *males* any employment exercisable by *females*, till the female stock of hands is fully provided: 2. Nor to adults, or children of a superior age, any employment exercisable by children of the lowest workable age, till the stock of hands of that lowest age is provided: 3. And so with regard to

the *deaf* and *dumb*, the *blind*, the *lame*, &c.: 4. Nor to the willing, any employments to which the *earn-first* principle is applicable, without imputation or danger of inordinate severity, till the stock of *lazy* hands is provided with employments of that nature. (See *infra*, Section iv. *Earn-first principle*.) 5. Nor to *practised* hands any employments to which *unpractised* hands are competent, till the stock of unpractised hands is provided in like manner.<u>\*</u>*Any-body's work* employments are such as may be carried on by unpractised hands: *imperfect-hand* employments, though capable of being carried on by imperfect hands, may require practice.

14.*Labour-division* principle. In the choice and allotment of employments, remember to improve to the utmost the room afforded by the largeness of the scale for the division of labour. Besides the saving of time, in respect of the passing from employment to employment, and from place to place, the more operations a process is divided into, the more simple the several operations: and the more simple an operation, the better the chance it has of being brought within the competence of the different classes of *confined-ability* hands, as just described.—Thence, 1. Time saved. 2. Relative ability increased. 3. Quantity of the scarcest sorts of employment increased.—The extent of the advantage derivable from this principle has no other limit than what is set by the expense of conveyance, viz. the expense of conveying the stock of raw, or less elaborated materials, to the spot where the stock of hands is accumulated; and from thence, in a finished or more elaborated shape, to the field of consumption or demand.

#### WORKING HANDS-

18.*Earn-first* principle.—When ability adequate to the task is certain, and laziness apprehended, no meal given, till the task by which it is earned has been *first* performed. Without this, or some severer and less unexceptionable spur, the lazy among them would do nothing....

*Fare:* 23. *Suitable-fare* principle.—Charity-maintenance—maintenance at the expense of others, should not be made more desirable than *self*-maintenance. Fare consequently the cheapest that can be found, so it be nourishing and wholesome—for, if there be any cheaper in use, it must be among the self-maintaining poor.—

## NON-ADULT HANDS.-

29. *Apprenticeship* principle.—No relief to a pauper within the latest age at which it is usual for a child to be bound apprentice, but on the terms of being bound to the company till full age. Advantages: 1. To the child instruction, intellectual, moral, and religious; inbred habits of systematical frugality—certain security from vice and criminality—certainty of employment during the apprenticeship, and ever afterwards—chance of promotion to rank and affluence. (See *infra, Indigenous-promotion* principle.) Condition, upon the whole, more than upon a par in point of happiness with that of an individual of the same age in the world at large. (See Book iv. *Pauper Comforts.*)—2. To the *Company*, and its copartners the *rateable parishioners*—a fund of increasing profit, at the end of twenty years, and ever afterwards, more than equal to the amount of the present poor-rates. (See Book v. Ch. ii. *Pecuniary Estimates.*)

30.*Talent-cultivation* principle.—Natural talents of any kind, manifesting themselves in an extraordinary degree to receive appropriate culture. Examples: Musical habits principally:—viz. an extraordinary fine voice, or an extraordinary good ear, and thence affection for the pursuit. (In the instance of a natural taste for the arts of *design*, or of strength or comeliness adapted to *dancing*, or other *theatrical exhibitions*, superiority is less manifest, culture is less exceptionable in the eyes of a severe moralist, and the object is of inferior account.)—Advantages: Comfort and consideration of this part of the pauper community increased.—Importance and desirableness of the condition of a Company's apprentice raised. For the importance of music, as an assistant to instruction, intellectual, moral, and religious, see Ch. xii. *Pauper Education*.

31.*Fellow-instruction* principle;—a branch of the *Indigenous-promotion* principle.—The children themselves to be employed in the instruction of their *fellows*; the more advanced, in the instruction of the less advanced:—as much of the instruction as possible to be given upon this plan—in time the whole of it may.—Advantages: 1. Saving in the *expense* of superior instruction.

### DIET.-

Diet about two-thirds of the necessary *quantum* of expense.—Distinction between diet for the *new-comers*, and diet for the *old-stagers*.<sup>\*</sup>\_*—Necessity*, in respect of life and health, is the only standard in the former case; *habit* may prescribe an addition to the expense in the latter. (See p. 384, *Habit-respecting principle*.)—In the case of the new-comers,—*animal* food—meat—is the great source of expense—The greater part of mankind use animal and *vegetable* together; many, however, use vegetable only: *ex. gr.* the *Hindoos:*—some, animal only, viz. the *Esquimaux*, and other inhabitants of the regions too cold for vegetation

I. NON-ADULTS: especially the Indigenous and Quasi-Indigenous Classes .- Taking the cheapest

food in point of *quality*, experiments should be made for ascertaining the most advantageous *quantity*. The*lowest* step in the scale, a quantity greater, in a known proportion, than the least quantity consumed by an average child of the same age among the husbandry part of the self-maintaining poor in Scotland—

## CLOTHING, BEDDING, &c.--

I. CLOTHING .- Two points to be attended to -frugality and distinction-the latter, for the purpose of separation and aggregation-(See Chap. ii.)-Frugality.-1. Materials, the cheapest, so as to afford sufficient warmth. 2. Form, excluding all useless parts-such as skirts to coats and waistcoats-brims to hats-unless it be in the heat of summer, for protection against the sun; for which purpose straw would be preferable.-Necessity and use the standards-not fashionthough fashion has of late been approaching nearer and nearer to use.-Distinction, principally by colour-form being determined by frugality. In default of a sufficient number of cheap colours sufficiently contrasted, shreds of one colour, applied to a ground of another colour, might be employed .- Shoes with wooden soles, used in many country places, and even in London, under the name of clogs, Saving on this score alone, 3s. 6d. a head, in the instance of adults: about £40,000 or £50,000 a-year, in the whole.-In summer, nostockings; but the leg covered, or nearly so, by a prolongation of the breeches; which at that part may be repaired by piecing, more advantageously than stockings by darning. In winter, stockings might be added, or rather hose: i. e. stockings of woven cloth, as being more advantageously repairable.--At the parts most exposed to wear, viz. under the arm-pits, between the thighs, and at the elbows, linings, for strength, of shreds of leather-a species of frugality already in use.-For coverings of shoes, in place of, or in addition to leather, the materials of cast-off coats and waistcoats might be employed-or, for women's, gowns and petticoats-such as could not be applied with more advantage to other uses.

Soldiers wear uniforms, why not paupers?—those who save the country, why not those who are saved by it? Not the *permanent* hands only, but likewise the *coming-and-going* hands should wear the uniform while in the house, for order, distinction, and recognition, as well as for tidiness; being charged at a fixed rate per day; reserving to them the option with regard to shoes and stockings.

II. BEDDING.—For the Bed-stages, see above, Chap. iv.—Bed, stuffed with straw:—one side covered with the cheapest linen or hempen cloth, for summer; the other, with coarse woollen for winter.—Stretching the under sheet on hooks, pins, or buttons, will save the quantity usually added for tucking in:—

EMPLOYMENT.-

The grand point is, to suit the nature of the employ to the nature of the hands.—The only difficulty is to find employment of a nature suited to the *unwilling* hands, and the *infra-ability* or *inadequate-ability*hands.\* The quantum of this sort of employment requisite for the population (when complete) of each Industry-house, will of course depend upon the population of these two classes of hands.

In regard to the choice of employments, and the prudence of hazarding the necessary expense of such parts of the dead stock as might be requisite to a certain branch of industry, and could not, without loss, be transferred to any other branch, much will depend upon the *permanence* of the stock of hands capable of being allotted to any such employment: that is, in the instance of each hand, on the assurance of his continuance upon the establishment for a term not less than a certain time. The great and general uncertainty in relation to this head, is one of the most powerful and insuperable obstacles to productive economy in poor-houses, in the existing order of things

Owing partly to the permanence of their situation, partly to their aptitude for receiving a suitable education, it is the labour of the stock of *unripe* hands, in their quality of *apprentices*, that would constitute the chief basis of the Company's profit-seeking arrangements. $\dot{\underline{t}}$ 

What the Company supplies itself with, will be gain to the Company, without being loss to other traders: since, whatever be the value that is thus produced by the Company, value to the same amount is saved out of the poor-rates.

#### PAUPER EDUCATION.-

An inquiry concerning the best method of providing for the non-adult classes of the pauper population coming under the management of the proposed Company—that is, for each individual, during the period of his non-age—requires for its answer a complete plan of education, adapted to this numerous division of the community. The importance of the inquiry is in the joint proportion of the advantage to the *multitude* of the individuals concerned, and of the *degree of influence* which—in the situation in question—a plan for this purpose may be expected to manifest. The *multitude* included under the denomination of *the poor*, compose the bulk of the community:—nineteen twentieths might perhaps be found to belong to that class:—in the condition of one of these twentieths, the plan in question would exercise a direct and allcommanding authority; and over the remainder a very considerable,—and finally, perhaps, an allprevailing—though less certain, and immediate, influence. If, in point of real importance, the education of the rich can bear any comparison with that of the poor, it can only be in respect of the influence which the conduct of the former class has over the latter. In the situation proposed, the conduct of the poor will depend—not upon the remote and casual influence of the rich, in the way of example or casual communication, but upon the direct and constant exercise of plastic power. The influence of the schoolmaster on the conduct of the pupil in ordinary life, is as nothing, compared with the influence exercised by the Company over these its wards. Yet these are the classes whose case is so generally overlooked by the writers on education: partly (it should seem) as not being worthy of their notice; partly as not lying within their reach.

The wellbeing here in question is, partly that of the individual to be educated, partly that of the parties at whose expense, and by whose care, he is to be educated—viz. the proposed Company:— in respect of the wellbeing of the child, they are as *guardians*, in respect of their own, they are as *masters*.

From the commencement to the conclusion of the period of education, (comprising in this country the first twenty-one years of life,) the field of education comprises the whole of the individual's *time*.

Among these objects, some lead to others; many are compassed by one and the same occupation:---in some instances, the connexion is necessary; in others, it is dependent on management, and presents a wide field for improvement: and here comes in the application of the several use principle, spoken of in Ch. iv.-Examples-Repose and comfort sweeten the time occupied in nutrition.\* ---Cleanliness is subservient to health, comfort, and the faculty of pleasing. Productive industry is naturally, though not necessarily, accompanied by (bodily) health, strength, the faculty of self-maintenance, and moral health:-by management, not only may the connexion between these objects be much strengthened, but intellectual strength and comfort, (in the shape of amusement,) be added to the group.-Learning, otherwise of little value,-unless by being subservient to intellectual strength, is, (if suitable in kind,) capable of being made subservient to the faculty of self-maintenance-to the faculty of selfamusement-to moral health-to the faculty of pleasing-and to religious affections.-Military strength(of use principally to the public) is naturally enough subservient to comfort, (i. e. to amusement,) and tothe faculty of pleasing.-The faculty of pleasing depends upon native comeliness, (the gift of nature, not of education,) upon health, strength, cleanliness, intellectual strength, and moral health.\* Of religious affections, moral health is in this world the great use. From suitable instruction (suitable art and knowledge) these sublime affections, as well as intellectual strength, may derive nourishment and increase.--Amongst active occupations (occupations accompanied with strong exercise) there is one, viz. swimming, peculiarly subservient to personal security-applying to a danger, against which there is no constant security by any other means:---and to this advantage is added comfort, (includingamusement,) health, strength, cleanliness, and even increase of strength (by increase of security) in amilitary view.

Of *diet* and *clothing*, (two of the efficient causes of *comfort* and continuation of existence,) mention has been made in the Ch. vi. and vii.:—of *occupations*, considered as directed to *pecuniary profit*, in the Ch. iv. and viii.:—of the accession of *military strength*, that might be derived from the apprenticeship system, mention will be made in Ch. x. of the next book.—Of the remaining principles of education, relative to these and the several other objects, a compressed view may be exhibited by the followingRULES and OBSERVATIONS:

 In the whole system of occupations, and in each occupation in particular, the attainment of the several objects enumerated, in the greatest possible number, and each in the highest possible degree, (regard being had to their respective degrees of subserviency to the general end,) ought to be kept in view.

2. Of absolute *repose*, considered as the total negation of all active occupations, the quantity allowed ought to be, the least that can be made sufficient for health and strength. $\pm$ 

3. The efficient causes of positive *discomfort* being absent, comfort (amusement included) comfort, even where it is but the collateral result, is the natural concomitant, of the several occupations which have for their objects or effects—*repose*, (especially after strong exercise,) *nutrition, health, strength, cleanliness, personal security*, the exercise of the *faculty of pleasing*, and the consciousness of possessing it; and, by suitable management, it may be infused into those which have for their objects*intellectual strength, moral health, military strength, religious affections*, and *suitable instruction:* and, towards the close of the period, the lists of comforts may be closed and crowned by *matrimonial society;* of which comfort is *naturally* the object, though the continuation of the species, with its attendant comforts and anxieties, is another fruit of it.

4. Strong exercises, seem in the instance of most individuals to be, in some proportion or other, necessary to the perfection of health and strength; and in particular, in non-adults, to the development of strength: and the greater the proportion of such exercises, infused into the mass of occupation, without excessive fatigue, or the support given by artificial stimulants, the better both for health and strength.

5. To answer in perfection the purposes of health and development of strength, a system of exercise taken together, should be *general* in respect of the parts concerned in it, *not local:* it should find employ for every limb and every muscle: it should not be confined to particular limbs, or particular motions of the limbs.

6. Of the occupations which, having profit for their object, come under the head of productive

labour, health, and strength, (supposing a due admixture, as above of the different species of labour,  $\pm$ )—health, strength, and even comfort, will be the natural, though but collateral results.

7. In the choice of occupations (due provision being made for health and strength, as abovementioned) productive labour ought to take the lead: and that to such a degree, that no part of the time allowed by religion to be employed in productive labour, ought to be employed in any occupation directed exclusively to any other object, the portions of time allotted in each day to repose, nutrition, cleanliness, and religion, only excepted.

8. In particular, no portion of time ought to be directed exclusively to the single purpose of comfort; <u>s</u>but amusement, as well as every other modification of comfort, ought to be infused, in the largest possible dose which economy admits of, into every particle of the mass of occupations by which time is filled.

9. The period preceding the birth of the faculty of productive labour, with the addition of those intervals of time from which, though not occupied by religious services, productive labour stands excluded by religious prohibitions, compose the time proper to be bestowed amongst the several other objects.

10. Instruction considered in the *lump*, the *time* of its commencement should be the *earliest* possible: and, in determining the earliest time possible, the commencement of *physical capacity*, (ascertainable by experiment as well as observation,) not *usage*—should be the guide.

11. In determining the *quantity* of instruction to be administered within a given compass of time, *practicability*—not *usage*—should be the measure.\*

12. In the choice of subject-matters of instruction, utility-not usage-should be the guide.

13. In regard to the *order* of commencement, as between study and study, natural facility, not usage, should be the arbiter.

14. The utility in view ought to bear reference—in the first place to the situation of the individual, *during*the apprenticeship; in the next place, to his situation in the world at large, *after* the expiration of it. $\pm$ 

#### COLLATERAL BENEFITS.

INTRODUCTION.—Taken in its narrowest extent, the object or scope of a system of provision in relation to the burdensome part of the poor, is—the affording mere subsistence to all persons

actually in a state of indigence, and willing to accept of relief upon the terms on which it is thought fit to be offered. An establishment being instituted for the purpose, whatever *further* benefits—to the burdensome poor, to the self-maintaining poor, or to the public at large; whether in the shape of employment, pecuniary assistance, security against depredation, or other moral evils—security against death, or other physical evils—comfort—accommodation useful instruction—or in any other shape,—may be found capable of being ingrafted on this stock, may be termed, with reference to that direct and principal object,*collateral* benefits.

Under every other system that has been either exemplified or proposed, the task, even in its narrowest extent, is too great-by much too great, for any means that can be spared. Under the proposed system—Under a Company, instituted on mercantile principles, with an undivided authority, extending over the whole field of action-furnished with a competent stock of land and capital-acting according to the system of management, and that management registered and made public according to the system of Book-keeping, above pointed out-neither the extra-business here about to be proposed, nor a superstructure even of much greater extent, would be too broad for the foundation. Of these extra benefits, or collateral results, some take place, of themselves-others by means of a particular direction given to labour, without any addition to the quantity of it .- Those which require expense, in most instances either find or provide ample funds for the defraying each of them its own expense. Some may be found to be pure sources of profit-considerable and increasable profit, over and above the expense, or even without expense:--while, of such as may be attended with expense, the neat expense, taking them all together, would be as nothing in comparison with the sum of profit deducible from the rest. Considered with regard to its pressure on the intellectual faculties, the whole burden of management may be pronounced light and inconsiderable, in comparison with that which has been sustained with so much success by the East India Company, for such a train of years, especially since the improvements made in the constitution of that imperial body, by the super-imperial power of Parliament-(See Book v. Ch. v.)-Wisdom-true wisdom consists-not in the scantiness of measures-but in the amplitude of means.

### Compulsion indispensable.—

The Industry-house system (the Company being invested with the necessary powers) a certain means, and, in this country, at least, the only possible means, of extirpating mendicity. In this country, under the existing poor laws, every man has a right to be maintained, in the character of a pauper, at the public charge: under which right he is in fact, with a very few exceptions, (amounting not to one perhaps in fifty,) maintained in denses. But in this same country the condition of the common beggar is more eligible, in his own estimation at least, than that of a pauper, maintained in idleness; for, if it were not, he would become a pauper, having it in his

**Comment [G1]:** This is the same argument that is used today against welfare benefits. Indeed, the idea of the EITC flows from this finding.

option so to do at any time. It would be absurd, therefore, to expect that by any managementleast, by any good management—the Industry-house provision could be rendered generally acceptable to beggars: that is, that a system which affords bare maintenance—maintenance in the most frugal and least luxurious shape—nor that otherwise than on the condition of working, as far as ability extends, to the full amount of it, should be preferred to a mode of life exempt from working-to the condition of him who is not at present the lowest of those who are maintained in idleness. If, in any country out of England, plans for the extirpation of mendicity without compulsion, (i. e. without bodily compulsion,) have met with a temporary success, no inference can be drawn from the success of such a plan in those countries, to the success of a similar plan in England; since, in those countries, beggars being liable to starve, and many, doubtless, being starved, the question will have been, whether to accept of the proffered provision, or starve:--whereas here the question would be, whether to accept of it, or to be maintained in idleness. If, notwithstanding the adoption of the proposed system in other respects, begging were to be tolerated, the nuisance would be much greater than at present: since, of those who are now maintained in idleness in the character of paupers, multitudes, rather than be set to work, would become beggars.

## Compulsion justifiable.—

Mischiefs produced by the practice of begging—1. In the instance of passengers in general, considered as exposed to the importunity of beggars-to some, the pain of sympathy:-no pain, no alms-giving;—begging is a species of extortion to which the tender-hearted, and they only, are exposed. 2. Disgust; which may exist where there is no sympathy:---the sympathy experiences a sort of relief by giving; the disgust finds no relief.—From the disgust excited by the presence of a filthy beggar, none but the equally filthy stand exempted. The multitude of the persons subject to this pain of sympathy, or to this disgust, considered, there can be little doubt but that the sum of these pains taken together is greater than the difference to the beggar in point of comfort between begging and working, 3. Discouragement to industry. Every penny spent is the reward of industry: every penny given, a bounty upon idleness.-The luxuries seen in many instances to be enjoyed by beggars, are a sort of insult to the hard-working child of industry: by holding him out as a dupe, who toils and torments himself to earn a maintenance inferior to what is to be earned by canting and grimace. 4. Facility afforded to real crimes.-Mendicity, by the removal of shame, removes one of the chief safe-guards to honesty: and to tolerate beggars, would be to tolerate habitual depredators; for those who are now unavowed employment hands, would then, if under that name subjected to compulsive industry, declare themselves beggars. 5. Unfavourable influence on happiness, even in the instance of the begging tribe itself, taking the whole together.—There are many, it is true, who, for a time at least, would, unquestionably, be no

**Comment [G2]:** Important: Justification of the law  $\rightarrow$  to end beggary!

**Comment [G3]:** Key point: application of the utility principle. The sum of the benefits of people not being exposed to beggars is greater than the cost of beggars of being forced to work.

Comment [G4]: Again, welfare benefits encourage laziness and do not adequately reward people's efforts. Old arguments for very current debates. inconsiderable sufferers by the proposed change. But the greater part would be gainers in point of happiness, at least in the long run: since—(it being a property of this as of other unlaborious professions to be overstocked)—for one prosperous and happy beggar, there are probably many unprosperous and miserable ones; wretches who, notwithstanding, keep lingering in their wretchedness; sometimes for want of power, sometimes for want of resolution, to emerge from it. The discomfort would cease at any rate with the existing stock of prosperous beggars: the benefits would be everlasting: and the disturbance of the prosperity of the prosperous ones appears to be a sacrifice necessary to the attainment of the benefit

#### [From Wikipedia: Utilitarianism

Bentham's argument that people chose pleasant options and would not do what was unpleasant provided a rationale for making relief unpleasant so that people would not claim it, "stigmatising" relief so that it became "an object of wholesome horror" [4]

#### Plan for the Apprehension of Beggars.—

Power to any one to apprehend a beggar, begging in any public place, and conduct him either to a constable or to the next Industry-house.\* - Obligation on constables and magistrates, with power of commanding assistance.--Reward 10s. or 20s. advanced by the Governor, and charged to the beggar's account. The whole to the constable, if he apprehends on view: if on simple information, the informer to have a quarter: if on information, accompanied with apprehension, half .---Necessity in this case of admitting the informer as good evidence. Power of commitment to the governor, or else to the chaplain; the latter being without pecuniary interest in the management.-Intervention of a magistrate (unless the chaplain should be nominated to the magistracy) would produce complication and delay, and might render the execution of the law less steady.\* Time of detention, till the beggar's self-liberation account is balanced.—(See further on.)—Items for which the beggar is to be debited .--- 1. Reward for apprehension, as above. 2. Expense of conveyance.<sup>†</sup> 3. Diet, while in the house. 4. Use of clothing and bedding, while in ditto. 5. Medicine, or any other articles of separate expense. 6. Individual's share of the joint expense of the house for the time. 7. Ordinary profit upon so much of the Company's capital as is employed in the defraying of that expense. 8. Expense of life-assurance in this instance: i. e.equivalent for the chance of his dying before his account is balanced.

#### Provision after Discharge.—

Beggar's *offer of service*, for any employment of his choice, to be previously inserted in the Employment Gazette. No discharge, however, without a responsible bondsman, (a housekeeper paying taxes,) undertaking for the giving him a specific employment, not to be withdrawn till after (suppose a week's) notice to the house: giving notice also to the house of the beggar's departure, **Comment [G5]:** Again, the net sum will be positive, and thus this is a "good" policy.

**Comment [G6]:** The very same argument made by conservatives today!

on whatever day it happens, or the next. The beggar to enter into a corresponding engagement on his part—not to depart from such service without (suppose a week's) notice to the employer; and, upon departure, to return that same day to the Industry-house, unless provided with another employer, on the same terms;—and so *toties quoties*. This *probation period* to continue (say) a

year: and at the end of it, the beggar to be entitled to his certificate of *full emancipation*. Failure

of such notice or return, to be considered as an*escape*, and advertised as such in the *Employment Gazette*, with a reward quadruple to the original one. In case of a relapse into the begging trade, the original reward doubled; in case of a second relapse, quadrupled: and so on, doubling it each time.—The self-liberation account not to be balanced by money, but by labour (otherwise rich beggars might, in despite of the provision, continue their trade) or, if balanced by money, only in part. By coming in as a volunteer, a beggar will save himself from the expense of being pressed, and from the clog of the *probation period*. The provision will tend so far to execute itself.

#### Almsgivers unpunishable.—

1. Penalties on givers of alms would be needless; since if nobody durst take, nobody could give.
2.Unpopular: being penalties on the exercise of what, in respect of the disposition and motive, or apparent motive, at least, could not be denied to be a virtue. 3. Obstructive of the end in view: since, in the case of begging by dumb show, it would take off the only evidence.—Punishment is out of the question on both sides: even in the case of the beggar, what is proposed to be done is no more a punishment, than sending a boy to school is a punishment. No pain inflicted on purpose, for the purpose of operating on others by the prospect of it: and the duration of the discipline is made to depend upon the exertions of the party subject to it:—in the instance of the lazy hand, as in the instance of any industrious self-liberation hand.

## Parallel between the proposed Remedy and the two existing ones.

## Existing Remedy 1st.

#### 1. Whipping.

- 2. Scene of confinement, a close prison.
- 3. Duration not abridgable by a man's own exertions.
- 4. No means of industry.
- 5. No means of future livelihood.
- Proposed Remedy.
- 1. No whipping, or other punishment.
- 2. Scene of confinement, a spacious country farm.
- 3. Duration abridgable by a man's own exertions.

**Comment [G7]:** After one year of full time work, the beggar can be set free.

**Comment [G8]:** Incarceration in industry-houses is no punishment!

Means and habit of industry uninterrupted.
 Future livelihood secured.
 *Existing Remedy 2d.*

Term of servitude, any number of *years* up to forty-eight, according to a man's age.
 Master, self-appointed—anybody, be his character ever so bad, and temper ever so intolerable.
 Scene, a private house—unconspicuous—uninspectable.
 Proposed Remedy.

 Term, a very few *weeks* or *days* more or fewer, according to a man's own exertions.
 Master, a man of character and education, appointed by a great public company.
 Scene, a public establishment, of the most conspicuous kind.—Management transparent, inspection uninterrupted and universal.

## Families of the Disreputable Classes.—

The provision would be incomplete, if the rising generation were left out of it; if it neglected the many, after providing for the few .--- 1. Non-adults being themselves beggars, stigmatized hands, suspected hands, or unavowed-employment hands, might be bound on the footing of apprentices: their respective accounts on the self-liberation principle, not to open till their arrival at full age.-2. Nonadults, beingchildren of a beggar, and living with the parent, might for this purpose be presumed beggars, unless an adequate, honest, and industrious occupation be proved.-3. So in the case of the children of unavowed-employment hands.-4. Children of a stigmatized or suspected hand, to be *presumed* unavowed-employment hands, unless as before.—5. Also children of a confined hand, confined in execution for a predatory offence.--6. Children of a confined hand, confined for ditto, on mesne process, to be consigned or not to the Industryhouse, till the trial of the parent, on recommendation of the committing magistrate, at the discretion of the chaplain of the House.-7. Failing the father, the mother or other next friend, being master or mistress of the abode in which the child resides, to be regarded on the children) to be consigned to the same house with the father, for his comfort and satisfaction, exposed habitually to his view, but, to preserve them against corruption, not exposed to his conversation, unless in the presence of an officer, or two or three quardian elders .--- 9. Provision of detail against collusive apprenticeships, and other contracts entered into for the purpose of frustrating the above provisions.-The general presumption-that the parent is the child's best guardian-fails here. The parental influence would be employed-not in the support of morality, but in the destruction of it. In the case of the notoriously immoral, the parental power may require to be suspended till recovery, as in the case of the insane; and for that purpose transferred,

although involuntarily, in the present case, as it is voluntarily in the case of ordinary apprenticeship.

The *wife* of a beggar, unavowed-employment hand, stigmatized hand, or suspected hand, consigned to an Industry-house, might be consigned (if living with the husband) to an Industry-house likewise, unless by consent of all three parties, the husband, the wife, and the Direction Board, (on report from the chaplain,) it should be ordered otherwise:—and to the *same* house, unless on petition, by either husband or wife, it be determined otherwise:—and (unless on like determination, grounded on like petition) the *self-liberation* accounts of husband and wife should then be consolidated into one—that when the parties go out, they may go out together. Cohabitation should be received as presumptive proof of marriage, for the purpose of justifying on the part of the Company the exercise of power to this effect; unless and until this presumptive marriage be disproved, by a valid one with a husband or wife living at the time of the proof.

### Efficiency of this Plan.

By this plan might be accomplished—and that in a degree little short of perfection—upon an allcomprehensive scale—and not only without expense, but with profit—what at a vast expense, and with inadequate powers, a most respectable Society have so long been striving at, upon a comparatively minute scale. In 1795, numbers provided for, 131: rate of expense per head, £28, 10s. a-year, over and above earnings. Total cost of the pauper population, were the whole of it provided for at that rate, £14,250,000 a year.—Extirpating *habitual* depredation, will not extirpate depredation altogether, but it will go a great way towards it:—*casual* is probably the smaller branch.

In proportion as the success of the plan came to be demonstrated, and the proposition established, *that a child's probability of life is greater in an industry-house than elsewhere*, parents even of the superior classes, who otherwise would have put their children out to nurse, or to an early boarding-school upon the ordinary footing, would see the advantage of trusting them to the Company in preference; at least up to that period at which a child begins to require, as supposed, a mode of treatment adapted, in point of society and instruction, to the rank and circumstances of the circle in which it will afterward have to mix: and if averse to avail himself of the pecuniary saving, a man might make what further recompense he thought proper to the Company or its agents, or give the whole, or any part of it, to be applied in his own way, in augmentation of the fund for pauper extra-comforts.—See Book iv.

Under the proposed system, though scarcely under any other, this grievance is capable of receiving, and may easily receive, an effectual remedy. Every circumstance, by which the

condition of an individual can be influenced, being remarked and inventoried, nothing being left to chance, caprice, or unguided discretion, everything being surveyed and set down in dimension, number, weight, and measure, a certain mass of comforts is marked out, under the name of *comforts of course*, as what shall be inseparably annexed to the lot of a pauper, under the Company's mangement, and served out by means of their efficient causes to all individuals without distinction, at the Company's expense.

#### PAUPER COMFORTS.

1. Extraordinary security in respect of *health*—the first of all blessings, and without which all others put together are as nothing—better security not only than is to be found in a poor-house under the existing order of things, but than can ordinarily be found within the circle of a private family, even in a high sphere, not to say the highest.

- 2. Consciousness of a superior probability of long life and health.
- 3. Security against want of every kind. } 4. Consciousness of security against want. }
- 5. Constant cleanliness and tidiness.
- 6. Employment favourable to health and recreation.
- 7. Nights comfortable.

8. Security against annoyance, as from fellow paupers.-See below, under Apprentices.

- 9. Security against oppression from officers.-See below, under Apprentices.
- 10. Entertainment of various kinds, a day in a week.

11. A clear conscience, brightened by religious hopes.

12. Occasional faculty of visiting and being visited by friends and relatives wheresoever situated, and howsoever dispersed.

#### 13. Prospect of melioration of fare.

14. Tranquillity—the result of security against that deterioration of condition, which, in the existing order of things, is liable to take place in all manner of ways and degrees, in consequence of changes in the parochial government.

15. To those who have remains of property, preservation of the use of that property in kind, where the nature of it allows of its admission into the poor-house.

11. Seclusion from incentives to sin, and opportunities of sinning—the result of the sobriety of the regimen, the omnipresence of the rulers, and the aggregation and mixture of the guardian classes of the paupers themselves with the susceptible classes.—Uninterrupted benefit of divine service. $\dot{T}$ 

[†] Sleep is not life, but the cessation of life: lying a-bed without sleep, is a habit productive of relaxation, and thence pernicious to bodily health: and in as far as it is idleness, pernicious to moral health.

## [‡]

[\*] At present, if a single man be a self-conveying animal, a poor man with a family is virtually immoveable: and if, without his family he goes in quest of employment, he is punished by the parish as for desertion, under the name of a vagrant.

[+] Exorbitant wages, and still more deep fluctuating wages, are the bane of happiness as well as morality, among improvident and uncultivated minds. Stagnation is ruin: a fall produces the sensation of a tax: a rise drives a man into sensual excesses:—excesses which, in one who, for want of education, has no fund of *self-amusement*, no other tastes to gratify, are fatal to health, industry, and content.

[±] Even previously to the institution of the proposed Company, no inconsiderable advance might be made towards the equalisation and *stabilitation* of wages, by *Tables of Trades*, or (to speak more comprehensively) of *profit-yielding Occupations*, with their correspondent earnings[\* ] Superannuation age, suppose sixty-five: age of commencement of contribution, from twenty to thirty:—if none live beyond sixty-five, the fund will go on accumulating for ever; and if all were to live up to sixty-five, it would accumulate but so much the faster:—on the other hand, if all die within a few years after they have begun contributing, except those who live beyond sixty-five, and they live on to eighty or ninety, the insolvency, under a plan of calculation grounded on an average of ages, and a supposed regular scale of mortality, as between age and age, will be certain and enormous.

[†] Swimming is to most young people a most delightful as well as healthful exercise: whenever it is in their power, they are in general ready enough to avail themselves of it. But for the most part they are debarred from it:—in many instances by the want of water;—in other instances by the anxiety of parents on the score of danger;—in others, by the repugnance of the elder part of the community at large, on the score of decency.

Females are, by the latter consideration, universally debarred from it;—unless it be in very few instances indeed, among the most opulent classes, in which the inducements happen to be strong enough to counterbalance the expense of a retired or covered bath, with suitable attendance.

Removed to a sufficient distance from the house, and secluded from view by proper fences, one bath, used at different times might serve for both the sexes.

The advantage of bathing, with comfort and convenience, is among the attractions that draw the higher classes to what are called the *watering-places;* and such is the activity of charity in this country, that it has even found out a means of displaying itself by facilitating the access to these places in favour of the inferior classes. Against particular diseases, fresh-water bathing is not, it is true, looked upon as standing upon a par with sea bathing; yet even against diseases—to say nothing of general health and strength,—fresh-bathing is not altogether without its use.

The existing charity gives sea-bathing to a few score perhaps in a year; the proposed charity gives fresh-water bathing to some hundreds of thousands of the pauper-community all the year round; and for the benefit of the self-maintaining poor all round, every one of the two hundred and fifty industry-houses may be a *watering-place*.

[\*] The maximum of clear happiness is the object, and the sole object, of every rational plan of conduct, public or private.

In this line, as in every other—concomitant and consequent inconveniences out of the question the maximum of enjoyment gives the maximum of clear happiness. But the longer the *duration* of any source of enjoyment, nothing being lost in other respects, the greater the *sum* of enjoyment: and the duration is the longer, nothing being lost in other respects, the *earlier* the commencement.

*Fiat lux,* were the words of the Almighty:—*Fiat experimentum,* were the words of the brightest genius he ever made. O chemists!—much have your crucibles shown us of dead matter;—but our industry-house is a crucible for men!

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