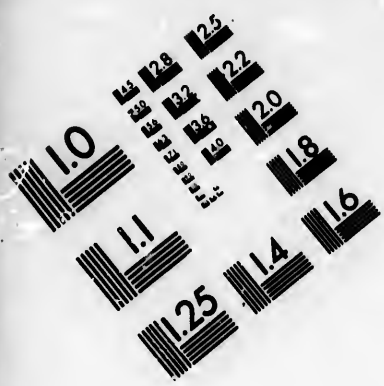

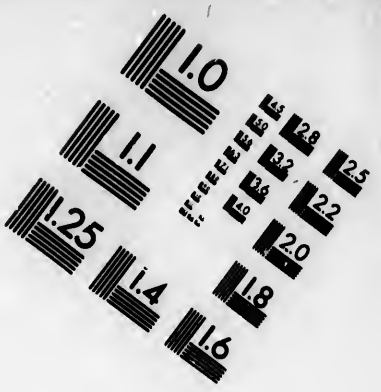

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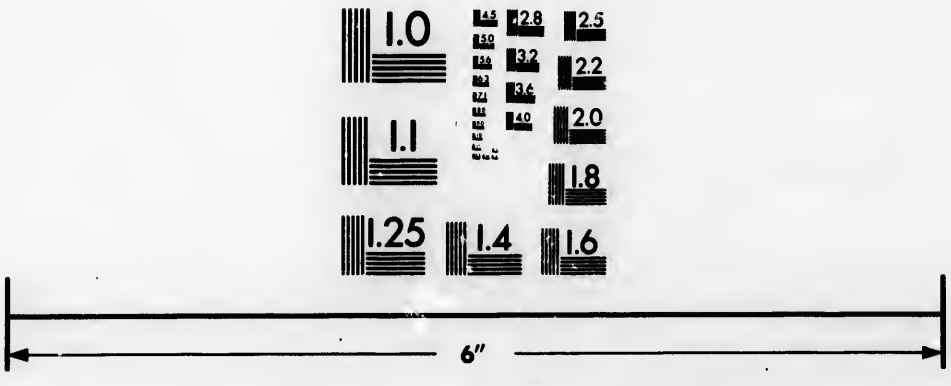

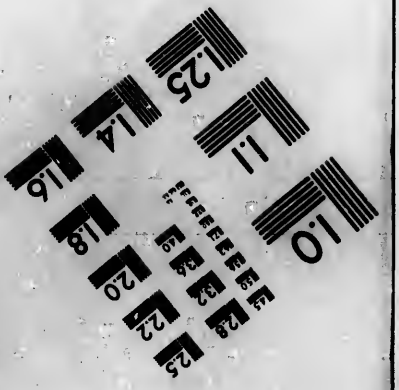

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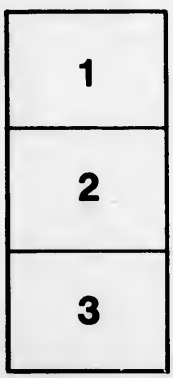

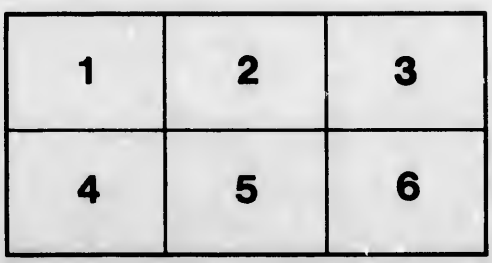

ARGUMENTS AGAINST EMIGRATION.

A

FEW

PRACTICAL ARGUMENTS

AGAINST

THE THEORY

OF

EMIGRATION.

By CAPTAIN F. B. HEAD.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

MDCCCXXVIII.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stamford-street.

A FEW

PRACTICAL ARGUMENTS,

&c. &c.

That Emigration would afford an easy, natural, and effectual remedy for an overplus of population was, for a long time, a statement much too agreeable and convenient to be denied; and, accordingly, on its foundation a beautiful theory has been erected, which was to give us for ever as much elbow-room as we could desire: however, when its minute arrangements were all completed, just as the speculation, like the vessel itself, was ready to sail, with its topsails loose, and its blue-peter flying, public opinion, the breeze which was to waft it from our shores, suddenly died away—a dead calm has ensued, and the sails are now flapping. During this momentary and unexpected pause, we * have resolved, before it is

* The affectation of writing in the first person plural, and the general tone of this pamphlet, need some explanation: the best which the writer can offer—is the truth. He had wished to have offered his arguments anonymously, and he

too late, to attempt a short solution of the important problem which, we may truly say, should now occupy the attention of the civilised world: for however hastily theory may have settled the subject of emigration, practice as yet has been silent on the subject; and we have still to learn what is to be the consequence of the evil that we fear—what is to be the effect of the remedy we propose.

The question, when reduced to its simplest form, is, What is to become of our future population? And at once it is evident, that to give a decided answer to this question is not within the power of man: for the future is the 'undiscovered country' which is beyond his reach; but as by twilight we see our path, although the sun is actually below the horizon, so towards futurity may we sometimes grope our way, by the light which is borrowed, or reflected upon it, from the present and the past.

To be enabled, therefore, to judge, or rather to guess at what is to become of our future population, it is necessary that we should first con-

accordingly wrote them as an Article for a Review; but the impossibility of preserving his incognito, and other reasons, have suddenly induced him to avow a publication, the general style of which it is now too late to correct.

sider what the effect of its increase hitherto has been, and this can only be done by shortly recalling to our minds the history of man (as far as regards the increase of his race) in the different ages of his civilization; but it has justly been observed, that the early history of every country is involved in obscurity and fable, and we should therefore wilfully run into error if we were to trust to the guidance of old histories and traditions, on which there is so little reliance: however, this is fortunately unnecessary; for in many parts of the New World man is still to be seen in his earliest state, a living evidence or example of the truths we require.

That this short sketch, with which it is proposed to commence the inquiry, must be trite and uninteresting, is too evident; yet it is only by an extended view of the question that we can hope to discover its general principles, or to rise above the narrow interests and local prejudices which have hitherto obscured it. Having traced the effects of a gradual increase of population, from the rudest state of society, to our present point of civilization, we will then endeavour to consider, To what extent population is likely to increase: what is eventually to check it; and whether emigration will or will not relieve it.

Perhaps the most simple, careless state in which man is to be found, is among the Llaneros of Columbia, or the Indians of the Pampas.

In either of these countries he is still to be seen naked and on horseback. The house in which he dwells is the region over which he gallops—the pillow on which he sleeps is the dust from which he sprung, and to which he is doomed to return—the lantern which guides his path is the greater light which rules the day, or the lesser light which rules the night—food is the sport rather than the toil of his life, and although his manhood neither knows the civilised blessings of intellectual society, nor his old age the comfort and consolation of religion, yet, blessed with health, and with little thought or reflection, he lives in a sort of perpetual infancy, careless of the morrow as the wild animals which roam about him.

In this state of society the wear and tear of life is very great. An unrestrained intercourse calls many into the world, but passions equally ungoverned drive many out of it. However, food is in abundance, and neither house nor raiment is required. What the balance of this account may be, or in what proportion, under such circumstances, population may increase or diminish, it

is not the present object to inquire; all that it is necessary to remark is, that in such a life man does not know want, and that the intercourse between the sexes is unrestrained.

The next step in society may be exemplified by the life of the Spanish South American, or Gaucho, who, as the moon shines upon him through the holes in his hut, talks of the blessings of civilization, and, seated on a bullock's scull, while he prepares for his feet the skin of a horse's hind-leg, describes with contempt the savage state of "los Barbaros" (the Indians), who "eat horses, and have neither clothes nor house." Surrounded by wild cattle and horses, he maintains, in the middle of his hut, an hereditary black pot, into which his family are eternally either putting beef in, or taking it out, and concerning which the only rule seems to be, that the pot should be always so full, that the traveller, without payment or apology, may pay his respects to it with no more scruple than he would, in his own country, to the handle of a pump. Blessed with what he conceives to be such luxury and abundance, and "monarch of all he surveys," the Gaucho passes his days in occupations which it is not the present object to describe: in the mean while the education of the women, as may

easily be conceived, is threadbare and simple as the poncho which covers them. They are taught to hate the Indians, and to acknowledge the precepts of a religion, whose commandments explain to them the difference between right and wrong, as clearly as their own moral feelings suggest it: however, they find a young Gaucho at their sides, the sun is at their backs, and the black pot is before them. The Gaucho proposes his suit, the sun seconds it, while the black pot, as it bubbles and froths, significantly explains to them, with the persuasion of an advocate, that it is able to provide for two generations as easily as for one; and from such an abundance of food it is evident that, in this second stage of society, man does not know want, and that the intercourse between the sexes is unrestrained.

A third step in society may also be exemplified in the same country, where, either for protection against the Indians, for the purpose of working mines, or to enjoy additional comforts, a few individuals, having collected together, have formed a small town. In this infant state of civilization, each individual perceives that he has something to gain, but that, in return, there is something to give up. He wishes to possess a better habitation than the hut in which he was born, to be

better clothed, to incur some of those expenses which a better mode of existence entails, and to partake of the produce of that portion of the soil which it is at last proposed to cultivate. To enjoy these advantages, he must give up either his beef or his riding ; and as beef without riding is better than riding without beef, the Gaucho of South America, in order to supply his wants, dismounts from his horse, and at this remarkable era in his history, he is now to be found in several of the small towns.

The habits of his life, and the wild scenes around, naturally give him a disinclination to labour: in the eyes of those who have been accustomed to greater industry, his life is therefore indolent; yet he has made an humble effort towards improvement, which is worthy of our acknowledgment: he has contributed his mite; he has made, perhaps, as great a sacrifice as from an individual can be expected. It is true, he is yet low on the scale of civilization ; but it should not be forgotten that he was born at zero.

In this state of society, although want has made its appearance, population may still be said to remain without restraint. The same trifling luxuries which the father has collected for himself, he is not able to give to each of his children :

but as food is still in the greatest profusion, the black pot of the Gaucho continues to possess its magic power; and as the means of supporting a family is thus evident to the young, it may readily be conceived that they draw from the fact a very simple conclusion; and hence it is that, in the small villages of South America, an old maid of eighteen is never to be found.

Another state of society may be illustrated by the larger towns of South America. Civilization is here in a more advanced state. Luxury, fashion, folly, vice, have made some progress, and have created artificial wants and desires, which, as they are expensive, can only be procured by money or labour. In the surrounding plain, beef has still no value; but to go in search of it requires labour, arrangement, and capital. Horses cost little or nothing; but as the immediate neighbourhood of the town is cultivated, those who keep them there must either feed them with corn, or pay some one for going to a distance to cut grass; and in proportion as people are unaccustomed or unwilling to work, the remuneration which they require is always exorbitant.

In this state of society men's wants are numerous; and by them population receives its first

check or restraint. Those who have inherited the means of enjoying luxuries, have soon pride enough to declare that those luxuries are necessary; before they marry, they therefore pause to consider whether, by marrying, they may not be deprived of them. It takes some little time for them to form a suitable alliance; and this little time, trifling as it may be, is just so much taken from the increase which population would receive, if such reflection was not necessary.

However, although luxuries are expensive, the absolute necessary of life, beef, is still to be had almost for nothing. Young people, therefore, even of the upper classes, find their sentiments of religion and propriety, with their pride, in one scale, and their passions and the black pot in the other. The practical result is, that the latter continually overbalance the former; that the facility of obtaining provision for a family is the illicit cause of producing one; and, with respect to the lower orders of people in this society, from the cheapness of food, they are, as far as regards the increase of population, as unfettered as the inhabitants of the smaller towns.

We might now proceed to the largest cities in South America, such as Buenos Aires, Santiago, &c., the inhabitants of which are, as is well

known, either the descendants of those who, in the earlier stages above described, have amassed considerable fortunes, or wealthy European merchants: however, as their situation is similar to that of inhabitants of Christian countries, which are infinitely nearer our own reach and observation, we will bid adieu to the continent of America, and conclude our view by a short notice of the state of population in countries which are better known to us, and concerning which the truth or fallacy of our observations will be more easily admitted or exposed.

In Greece, and in the South of Italy, man, as he is over the whole world, is the creature of climate; and the sun which produces for him in abundance grapes, figs, olives, melons, &c., encourages in his disposition an indolence which is unfavourable to bodily exertion. The objects which he seems most naturally to pursue, are love and music, gaiety and amusement. Every hour which he can steal from business he gives to pleasure; and though necessity drives him like a school-boy to his task, yet, as in the case of the Lazzarone of Naples, the moment that necessity ceases, he returns to his habits of indolent enjoyment. Although the upper classes are educated and accomplished—though they

possess the means of enjoying the highest luxuries of civilized life, and vie with each other in opulence and splendour, yet many of the lower classes, from indolence, live in what we should consider great distress. However, the distress of various climates is very different; for, in the countries we are describing, it is often as great a luxury to put *off* clothing, as it is in our country to put it *on*—as desirable to get *out* of a warm house, as it is in England to get *into* one; as a proof of which, in Greece, Malta, and many parts of the Mediterranean, it is inconvenient to walk in the streets at night, as the common people quit their houses to lie "al fresco" on the pavement. Among the several classes of society, there naturally exists the usual competition for the luxuries, fashions, and other artificial wants of the day: yet the only positive distress from which people in such a climate can suffer, is the want of food; and the fruits of the earth produce this in such abundance, that a poor family may continually be seen subsisting for many days on a pumpkin.

If the above hasty view is correct, it would appear that population would meet with considerable check in the upper classes of this society, and with very little in the lower: for the artificial wants of the former being great, the delay which

is necessary in forming suitable marriages must also be great; whereas the natural wants of man being produced by the climate in great abundance, he is almost as easily supplied with vegetable food, as the inhabitant of the small town in South America is with animal food; and, accordingly, among the poor of these countries population receives a very great increase.

As we pass rapidly, in succession, over the favoured and highly civilized countries which divide these last from our own, we find that, in proportion as the climate becomes colder, man seems gradually to recover from the faintness of exhaustion, and from the state of indolence which we have just endeavoured to describe; and as, in his northern mansion, a higher duty is apparently required of him—as he has more to suffer and less to enjoy, it seems as if he became gradually sensible of the necessity of following his judgment rather than his passions, and of employing his time in reflection or labour, according as his situation be one of independence or poverty. The moral space which exists between the state of society in our own country and that of South America seems almost greater than the actual distance which separates us; and the manhood and complicated arrangements of the one, com-

pared with the infancy and simplicity of the other, forms one of the strongest contrasts in nature.

Although a stranger should arrive in this country ignorant of all its details,—although he knew not what was its produce, its consumption, its exports, or its imports, yet he could not long hesitate to acknowledge that he was in a country possessing, in the habits of its people, a mine of inexhaustible wealth: for although he might be ignorant to what purpose, and for what object, the scenes before him were directed, yet, when he observed that every labouring man was working to the utmost of his strength; that every person walking the streets was apparently hurrying towards some particular object; that men of the greatest wealth, and of the highest birth and connexions were alike occupied in very laborious duties for the whole of the day, and for the whole of their lives; that every horse on our roads was straining to his utmost; that over the whole country steam-engines and machinery were competing against man and horse; and that, even in the most minute occupations, the value of time seemed most scrupulously to be calculated—it could not but occur to him that such an enormous mass of power must necessarily produce a

proportionate effect; and, consequently, that the wealth of the nation he was viewing was no adventitious acquirement, but had fairly and honestly been extracted from the sweat of its brow.

In observing the remarkable stillness in which so much important business is transacted, in viewing a commercial world, which though "spinning sleeps," it is singular to reflect that the scene is actually the warfare and contention of millions of individual interests, each struggling against the other; and the conclusion, in favour of the country, must naturally be, that its laws, whatever they are, are wise, powerful, and respected.

The commercial character of the country might long be the subject of observation; but the interests of the poor now draw our attention from the wealth and splendour of the rich.

In observing their situation, the most striking feature is, the obvious necessity which dooms or obliges them to work.

In an early state of society, such as those which have been described, where provisions are plentifully obtained, and the surface of the country nearly uninhabited, this necessity does not exist: it must, therefore, be considered as the tax which the poor pay, 1st, for the protection and

advantages of civilization; and 2dly, for the fortune or misfortune of having been born members of a dense, crowded population; and, in a practical view, it is useless for them to lose their time in arguing whether the tax is greater or less than the advantages; the stern fact before them is sufficient for their attention; namely, that they have nothing but their labour to subsist upon. But not only it is necessary for them to work, but, from the dearness of provisions, clothing, &c. they must work the whole of the day. Here again it would be useless for them to argue, that, in the southern parts of Europe, a man by working one day may buy pumpkins and oil enough to enable him to be idle for two: for it must be evident to them that this country does not produce such pumpkins; that also, from the severity of this climate, shelter from the elements, warm clothing for the body, and shoes for the feet, are nearly as necessary as food; and that, as they want all these articles, and possess none of them, they must either gain them by work, or starve.

Having (and it may be said with little feeling) thus driven the labourer to his work, to perform the task which a crowded civilized country unavoidably imposes upon him, we will now perform the more pleasing part of showing the duty which a civilized country owes to him.

No one can view the situation of the labouring man in this country without perceiving that, although his daily labour may produce him food, shelter, and raiment, yet that, if he has nothing to depend upon but his own exertions, he stands on the edge of a precipice, over which he is liable every moment to fall. If sickness should deprive the labourer of health; if accident, or the visitation of God should wither the arm that provides for his family, what is to become of them and of him? While the weaver is bending over his loom, having bestowed the attention of his whole life to obtain dexterity in a minute and humble department of labour, which unfits him for all other occupations, if a machine be invented, which not only deprives him suddenly of his work, but leaves him without hope that it will ever be restored to him, to what protection is he to look? Can he expect that the country will forego the advantages of machinery to suit him? No.

If the country should deem it politic to blockade foreign ports, to wage war, or by any other acts to suspend for a period the exportation of our manufactures, how is the poor workman to subsist during this famine in his land? And, lastly, if, after a long life of labour, the moment should arrive when, with a willing spirit, his flesh is

weak, if Time, who conquers all things, should conquer him; if old age should cripple him; if he should become no longer able to see the dawn which has so often seen him rise, or to hear the lark which has so often heard him go "whistling to his work," is he to starve? The above misfortunes are a few of the accidents which may suddenly befal the labouring classes; and as, notwithstanding our professions, we are in practice more easily governed by our interests than by our feelings, by our heads than by our hearts, we will at once endeavour to show that it is not only the duty but the *interest* of the rich, that the poor in all such situations should be relieved.

It is true that those ideas of reason and justice, which are implanted in our minds, make every man sensible that he has no right to take what does not belong to him; and, for the welfare and protection of our property, this axiom is firmly maintained by the law; but it is also practically true, that necessity has no law, or rather that it is difficult for the law to govern absolute necessity; and that, where famine is staring men in the face, where they have no possible means of obtaining relief, when hunger becomes more dreadful than the terrors of the law, it is possible they may be-

come desperate, and such a situation places the property of others in danger.

Admitting, as we do, that such feelings may be unjustifiable, and that force may restrain them, it is surely evident that for the INTEREST of society (for we had rather rest our argument on that safe foundation than on any other,) the poor should never be placed in the dreadful situation above described. And, if the necessity of relief be admitted, if it is acknowledged that it is wise for the country to provide against such distress, to form, in the machinery of our constitution, this safety valve, relief is to be afforded in two ways; either by giving the labourer a whole day's pay for part of a day's work, which would enable him, by working the remainder of the day, to earn a fund to meet accidents; or else to pay him for his day's work merely sufficient for the evil thereof, and to take the chance of being called upon to provide for him in case of sickness, accident, or old age. Now, it is evident that the last arrangement is the best for the poor man, and also for the country, for as long as he can work he does not want relief; he may, possibly, never require it, never be any burden on the country; but on the contrary, work for it for his whole life as cheaply as it is possible for him to

do: whereas, by the former arrangement, the country (in the price of his labour) is always subscribing to a fund which is to meet an accident that may never happen, and for which, if it did happen, it might after all prove insufficient—a fund of which the poor man might be robbed—which he might lose—or which, in a moment of thoughtlessness or intoxication, he might dissipate; the one is an imaginary estimate, but a certain expense; the other is the bare remedy and nothing more: the one provision keeps the poor man continually in danger; the other, at once, places him in security.

The propriety, economy, justice, and necessity of the relief which the country grants to the poor, on the general principles above stated, are clearly evident in the particular instances of distress which we quoted, namely, where the poor are thrown out of employment by the introduction of machinery, from occasional stagnation in trade, from a war, blockade, or other political accidents.

The power of machinery may as well be estimated or compared with the strength of man as with horses; and we may, therefore, with propriety, talk of a machine of "a hundred men's power," or of "a thousand men's power." Now, if one of the latter be invented suddenly

to displace human labour, it must, of course, deducting its expenses, save the country the price of a thousand men's labour, the consequence of which must be, that the article, requiring less cost for labour, becomes cheaper. Now, not only is it for the comfort and advantage of the community, that, for instance, shirts should cost two shillings a yard instead of three shillings; but in the great commercial struggle, which exists between the nations of the world, it is a point of national importance, for it may enable us to undersell our neighbours, to stand over them instead of under them, and, as in the race of improvement which is going on between us, they are making every exertion to get before us; a thousand men's power is a whip and spur which we should not hesitate to use. But with its advantages, there is also a disadvantage, because, for a certain time, the country has, say one thousand men, to provide for. Now, if the opinion of a few individuals was taken on this case, each man would, perhaps, grumble at being saddled with his proportion of this expense, and yet could not the very shirt on his back bid him be silent? However, whatever the man or his shirt might think on the subject, the introduction and growth of machinery, it is out of our power to

prevent. In warfare, we might as well vote it cruel to use rockets and shells, sabres and bayonets, and attempt to fight our battles with our fists, as in our great commercial contest to refuse the aid of this overpowering force; for, what can we do with the spindle and distaff, if other nations in the world work against us by steam? It is true, as we have observed, that for a short time we may occasionally throw a thousand men out of employment; that at the increased pace at which we proceed, like wounded soldiers, they are unable to keep up; but our grand interest in advancing cannot be checked—the great plan we have suggested—the noble enterprise we have undertaken cannot be abandoned—our safety and our character bid us advance, and if they cannot march we must put them on the baggage-waggon; and until they recover—until they are able to join their ranks, we must provide and pay for their carriage.

The same argument may be used to show that it is our INTEREST to support the poor who are thrown out of employment by war, blockade, or any political accident which, for a period, deprives them of work; for if the war, blockade, &c. are for the welfare of the country, or, in other words, if it is for our *interest* that such

should take place, surely with the advantage we should take also the disadvantage, in the same way as we admit any other of the expenses. We do not hesitate to expend powder and shot; is it not equally our interest to satisfy other just charges, particularly as, in the instance in question, we were fully aware of the estimate before the expense was incurred?

Innumerable other examples might be given to show that, in a civilized, just, and well-constituted country, it is for the *interest* of the upper and middle classes of society to support the poor whenever they may become incapable of providing for themselves; and if the above view of the subject is correct, what an equitable, fair, and satisfactory bargain is made between these two parties, the terms of which are shortly as follows:—The labouring classes are to work from morning till night, for six days in the week, for which they are to receive no more than is sufficient to support their families—they are not to expect to save money; but, on the other hand, if any accident throws them out of work, they are to be kept from absolute want at the expense of the upper and middle classes of society. On a point of such infinite importance, we beg to be permitted again to observe, that these terms are for the

interest of both parties. It is for the *interest* of the poor to work all day long, and for as low wages as possible, provided they are to be supported when out of work. It is as much as in reason they can expect, born as they have been in such a crowded population, with nothing but their labour to subsist on. On the other hand, it is for the *interest* of the upper ranks, that the labouring classes, whatever may be the expense, should never feel suffering greater than the terrors of the law. Lastly, it is for the interest of the whole country, that improvements should take place, even though they should throw a portion of the poor out of employment—that the improvements and the poor should be taken together, balancing the permanent advantages of the one, with the temporary expenses of supporting the other. But in this bargain, there must be one condition, the necessity of which will be evident to both parties, namely, that the provision, which the labouring classes are to receive, when unable to provide for themselves, is not to be one which can encourage them to be indolent, but to be that scanty allowance of food and necessaries which will make them desirous to support themselves in preference to being supported by others.

Now, what are these terms when generally considered, but our own poor-laws? And is it not, therefore, satisfactory to reflect, that the practical system, which has so long gone on—which has attracted the admiration of the civilized world—which, in its features, so nearly resembles Charity, that it is hard to say it is not herself, rests in its theory on sterling principles, by which our duty and our interest go hand in hand?

But it is said, that somehow or other, the poor are increasing—that it has long been difficult to provide for them—that it will soon be impossible—that it is necessary, therefore, to change the system—to burn the book—to export the poor.

But who is it that says this? Who is it that thinks we must modify these laws which we have so long admired? Do both parties agree in the opinion? No; the poor are willing still to perform their part of the bargain—they will work, if they have got work, and they ask for support only because they are destitute of the means of providing it. Then it is an individual of the upper classes of society who complains? At once we say, we should listen to his arguments with caution. We do not believe it is his intention to deceive, his wish to misrepresent, but he has an interest in the argument, and,

amongst the poor, there are not many who can reason against him. In viewing the important question of emigration, at which we have now arrived, we shall, therefore, endeavour to consider it impartially as it regards the interests of both classes of people.

That we have a redundancy of population, that is to say, that we have more workmen than work, is the general acclamation of all ranks of society. It is the complaint of the upper classes, it is the murmur of the lower. What are we to do with them? say the one—what is to be done with us? say the other. The theorists of the upper classes say, we must separate: go you to the forests of America, we had better remain here.

This redundancy of population is already the subject of great alarm: it is a tremendous increase of this population which, in the opinions of many, must shortly overwhelm us; and it is to remedy this dreadful disorder, to avert this impending calamity, that the emigration of the poor is proposed. This important subject is now forcing itself on the attention of every reflecting person in the country, driving many to a state of distraction, which their own theories sufficiently betray.

To a certain extent, population, even in its most flourishing state, must be redundant; because the

lame, the halt, the blind, the sick, and the imbecile, are, in fact, workmen without work; yet, to a certain degree, a redundancy of population produces an emulation in the country, which creates a healthy excitement to labour; however the sudden peace, which has lately followed our long, expensive, and sanguinary war, has naturally tended, 1st, to increase the number of our workmen—2nd, to diminish the quantity of work; and it appears that, from these two causes, the present unusual, unnatural, and distressing redundancy has proceeded.

Now it is evident, that there are only two ways of suddenly relieving this redundancy of population, either by increasing the work, or by diminishing the number of workmen. The first of these is said to be impossible—the latter, or emigration, is therefore declared to be necessary.

That emigration, provided it cost nothing, would afford a temporary relief, is admitted by all parties; but that it will afford no permanent check to population—that the gap which it creates will very shortly be filled up, we believe may be shown in a very few words. In the short sketch which we took of those natural causes which increase, or restrain population, in the different stages of civilization, it will be remembered that

theory explained what every day's experience confirms :—

1st. That, if we increase our wants or distress, we check population.

2nd. That, if we diminish our distress, we increase population.

But those in favour of emigration, neither looking backwards to the cause or forwards to the effect, obstinately insist, "*that if you diminish your population you diminish your distress;*" and, animated by this discovery, the common people exclaim, "Emigration for ever!" but, we say, "tarry a little, there is something yet;" for what is to be the effect of diminishing your distress? why, by one of the above axioms (No. 2), does it not appear, "if you diminish distress, you increase population?" and that the gap would thus be filled up is, we believe, the practical truth. This may be shortly exemplified in the treatment of our own bodies. Bleeding, we know, reduces fever, but reducing fever restores a man to health —restoring him to health, restores him his blood, and thus "Richard is himself again."

Again, if a man goes from a cold climate to a hot one, he is immediately thrown into a state of violent and constant perspiration. For many years, particles of his body are flying from him in all directions, but does this cause him to va-

nish from creation? No. His system instantly accustoms itself to, and provides for, the increased evaporation which is required from it; and he finds that his own body, like any common article in commerce, is supplied exactly in proportion to the demand. In a similar way, population has the power of providing for any additional demand; and, if our object was to people our colonies, there is no doubt we could rapidly do so. It is true that, in proportion as we force their maturity, we hasten the period at which they will fall from our hands; yet it is the noble policy of our country to encourage their growth, instead of attempting to stifle it, as Spain did with her American dominions. However, this is not our present subject; and we therefore must repeat that, whatever benefit emigration may confer upon our colonies, it will afford no permanent relief to the redundancy of our population.

But it is said that, although emigration may not produce a *permanent* cure, yet it may afford temporary relief; yet, even in this narrow view of its importance, it is proper to understand to which party it is expected to afford relief—to the upper classes or to the poor? and it is evidently the manly interest of both parties that this question should be fairly considered, for, if it is not the interest of the poor, in a very short time they

will discover it, and then time, money, and exertions will have been lost, which a fearless consideration of the subject might have saved.

The existing population of the old world is a living evidence of the progress which natural emigration has made, and it is strongly referred to by those who now propose the emigration of the poor; but natural and artificial emigration are very different. The emigration of the ancients was natural emigration: it was gradual, constant, and progressive, like the great operations of nature. To emigrate was attended with no convulsion of feelings or of circumstances. As population increased, it tended, as has been shown, to produce the feeling of want; and, to avoid this feeling, as well as to supply these wants, men naturally, and with little difficulty, extended themselves around the dwelling of their fathers; like a swarm of bees, they found on one side of the hedge the same flowers which they had sucked on the other; and emigration thus progressively increased, like the circle from a stone dropped into still water. But the artificial emigration which is now proposed is very different from that which we have just described. We do not allude to the distance which is to separate the child from his father, but to that convulsion

in his habits, which is to plunge him from a high state of civilization to that mode of life which belongs to its earliest stage; and infancy is not more unlike old age, or the winter of North America more unlike the summer of England, than the state in which an emigrant from this country has lived, when compared to the new life which is proposed for him; and if it is wise before one plants a tree to consider whether the soil and climate are congenial to its growth; before we sow, to think whether it is likely we shall reap; so we should also consider, whether the emigration of the poor is likely to increase sufficiently to afford the temporary relief which we require.

Neither our inclination nor our limits will permit us to consider the details of those theories which, step by step, and by supposition after supposition, support emigration. We will not argue how much it exactly costs to send a family say to North America, and how much afterwards to conduct him to his location; how many months' provision each man is to receive—what his "log-house, pig-stye, seed for his first crops, brush-hooks, axes," &c. are to cost—what he is to pay for his "sow with pigs, ewe with lambs, kettles for making sugar," &c.; but we will endeavour to make a few impartial observations on the subject.

The two most essential points which a person about to emigrate from this country has to consider are—1st, The difference of climate; 2nd, the difference in the state of civilization.

To an English working man, the former is a question of the utmost importance. In his own climate he is quite aware of exactly the quantity of work he can perform; he knows almost to a pound what he can lift; how many hours he can work; how many yards of cotton he can weave; how many roods of clover he can mow; what number of bricks he can lay; what distance he can walk, &c., &c.; and impressed with these data, he might naturally expect, that he would be able to do in one country about as much as he could do in another; but as the weight of a body depends upon whether it be weighed in air, water, or quicksilver, so do the powers, mental and physical, of man depend on the temperature in which he is placed.

The trifling extremes of heat and cold which exist in our own country will even support this statement, for we all know that there are some days in which we feel languid, and others in which we feel strengthened and braced; but when we are removed to the torrid zone, with sinews unstrung, and limbs unhinged, how many

are there among us who can testify, that life itself becomes almost an exertion, and that it is even a labour to live! The very beasts of the field are overpowered by heat. To contend with the sun for any length of time is beyond the feeble powers of man; for a short period he may stand erect in his presence, but it is the battle between the giant and the dwarf; he is sure to be conquered; our bravest soldiers have sunk in the exertion, and the Peruvian Indian fell on his face to worship the sun, because he feared that his fire would otherwise consume him.

In the British Colonies in North America, (including the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island,) in Africa, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, it is well known, that the summer, even in the coolest of these countries, is oppressively hot; and, although, by certain precautions and luxuries, the heat in all of them may be much moderated or avoided, yet to emigrants who are obliged to contend with it, it must be reckoned a serious inconvenience.

The extreme of cold is certainly better adapted to our constitutions than that of heat, and our bodies are braced by it, as our minds are strengthened by adversity; still, however, to an

English labouring man, the long severe winter of North America must also be a serious inconvenience. Good clothing and stoves may mitigate its rigour, but it is still an enemy to contend with. As far, therefore, as regards *climate*, the English emigrant to North America should calculate that he is a loser by the bargain, for he has to contend with more heat and cold, and he has, consequently, to provide for more shade and shelter than in his own country is requisite.

The second question, namely, *The difference in the state of civilization*, is a subject which the emigrant should also very seriously consider.

Accustomed as we all are to live in a highly civilized country, we neglect to estimate the advantages they possess. For the rich, luxuries which have been expressly sent for ten or fifteen thousand miles are ranged on shelves, or displayed on counters, and they have only to rub Aladdin's lamp, or, in other words, to give a check upon their bankers, and any thing that they wish for in creation is summoned before them; but, although the 'genius of the lamp' does not wait upon the poor, yet the blessings or fruits of civilization are to them far more valuable than its luxuries or flowers. A revered religion, just laws, medical aid, the approbation

of society, the sight of relations, the regard of friends, these are blessings which the poorest may enjoy; but besides these, in a civilized country, there are comforts so minute, that it would be difficult to explain them, although we should soon feel their want were we to be weaned from them.

But it may be said, that there are many who do not entertain these ideas or appreciate such blessings, and that some of them are imaginary; however, there is one positive blessing to which the emigrant bids adieu, and which is so little imaginary, that it may fairly be estimated in pounds, shillings, and pence. We allude to the poor laws; that noble provision, which ensures to a poor man and his family support, in case age, sickness, accident, or misfortune should leave them destitute.

Without carrying this subject any further, it will be evident to any reflecting mind, that the English emigrant must calculate, not only on living in a more inconvenient climate, but on losing a very large proportion of the comforts and blessings of civilization.

The restless, the enterprising, and the desperate,—men who, if they were even rich, would get tired of prosperity, who prefer the freshness

of a new world to the restraint and want of elbow-room in our crowded nursery; who scorn the limits of the two-penny post; who wish to see something more of creation than an English cottage and its pig-sty,—these are the individuals who, generally speaking, have hitherto emigrated; and people of this description will always be happier, and better likely to succeed in the new world than the old. They enjoy its liberty, and brave its hardships. They look upon their own country as a nest from which they have flown; they call civilization a mother, whose apron-string they have left, an old nurse for luxury, age, and imbecility; and they cross the blue waters of the Atlantic to escape from bondage.

However, our ideas do not all hang on such lofty hooks, and the poor in particular are matter-of-fact people, who, sooner or later, will most certainly inquire where it is they are to go, what they are to pay, what they are to do, how they are to live, what they are to receive, and if the answers to these questions are not satisfactory, the project of emigration will rapidly come to its own end, for the poor will refuse to emigrate, and will remain in England.

No one can visit our workshops and manu-

factories without perceiving the advantage which we gain by a minute division of labour, for as, by this arrangement, the workman devotes his whole attention to one small object, his dexterity on that point is scarcely to be surpassed. But although the benefit he confers on his country is evident, yet the sacrifice he makes is very great; for, by devoting his sole attention to one point, he hangs his fortunes on a single thread, and can seek for subsistence in only one direction.

His mind, like his body, becomes bent and modelled to a particular form of employment, and when fixed habits and occupations have destroyed the natural elasticity of his frame, teaching him to lean for support on the exertions of others, can it be expected that he will possess the general intelligence, strength, and activity which are necessary to contend against savage life? If we observe the individual whose employment for the whole of his life has been to polish the head of a pin; or the stocking-maker, who, from his early childhood, seated opposite a frame, has given it two heaves and a push, that his thread may buzz towards the right, and has then repeated the same two heaves and a push, that the thread may buzz back again, in short, if we observe any description of mechanic in the

humble branch of his employment, can we seriously declare that such a person is fit to be plunged at once into the forests of America, or among the bushes of Albany, to be told to make himself comfortable and to enjoy his liberty? If we were to lead such a person into one of our own woods in England, put an axe into his hand, desire him to cut down trees, and with them to build himself an house, with what awkwardness would he commence his work, but how much worse would be his situation, if we were to send him with a wife and two children to America! How little would his body be inured to the climate, or his mind to the scenes of uncivilized life, so rough and cheerless, that philosophy itself would tremble to encounter them! Suppose, even, that he succeeds in building a log-hut, and thus getting under shelter, that he clears a small space around him, has he not in the approaching season much suffering to encounter? Would it not be mockery to congratulate him on his independence? for even during summer, what are his comforts, positive or imaginary? And when the snow of winter in its descent, first rests upon the bending branches of the dark pines which surround him, and, like the cold hand of death, robs him of the little patch of cultivated surface

—his empire—when he compares the scene before him with the country he has left, may he not be disposed with Selkirk to exclaim,

> Oh, Solitude! where are the charms which sages have found in thy face,
> Better dwell in the midst of alarms than reign in this horrible place!

And now, in return for all this, what is the reward which the most sanguine anticipate for a healthy labouring man who emigrates with his two sons to North America? They say that, after spending his capital of seventy or a hundred pounds, after having got himself under shelter, after having laboured for three years, he finds himself possessed of a small freehold on which he lives better (the word *comfortable* cannot emigrate) than he lived in England; but by expending the same capital, and by making the same exertions, in England, would not almost any healthy man, with his two sons, be able to obtain as much comfort as the forest of America can afford? But the lawyer says, he does not possess the FREEHOLD; however, in the uncultivated regions of America, "a freehold" is certainly a very different sort of possession from a freehold in England, for it is well known that an emigrant often gets tired of his "freehold," and deserts it.

Again, from whom is it we gain our principal information on the subject? From those who have already emigrated, and from other inhabitants of the country; and surely their testimony should be received with very great caution.

In the year 1825, when so many South American Mining Companies broke out, like carbuncles on the round plethoric countenance of John Bull, on what were the calculations or expectations of the shareholders formed, what was it that induced them to lay down so many millions of useful good money? Why the official reports of the value of the mines which were sent to England by the natives of the country; and with all our boasted knowledge of the world, each sentence of these reports was quoted by the unhappy shareholder as an authority which was to overpower all argument, and satisfy everybody that his share of gold and silver would be the envy of the world. It is true, that behind the scenes, directors, aged, crafty, wealthy men, were sneering at imbecility, profiting by credulity, and that the knave, as usual, was in his saddle cruelly riding the fool; however the bait which was held out was caught at by everybody, and the "reports and official statements from South America" were considered as inviolable as the

laws of the Medes and Persians—the miserable ruin which has followed should surely, on this point, teach us experience.

Without supposing that the reports which are now offered to us of the value of the property of several individuals who have already emigrated are intentionally incorrect, we surely cannot fail to observe that the estimate of the value of each property is made by the identical individual to whom it belongs. It is natural that he who has encountered hardships and sufferings which we cannot appreciate, which he, perhaps, has not language to describe, should set a high value on the produce of his labour; and, without any intention to mislead, it is natural that he should be anxious to give life and animation to the cheerless forest which surrounds him, to draw towards his hut individuals of his own country, who should banish solitude, afford him society, and become purchasers of that produce which, besides the printed statements of all the emigrants, Colonel Cockburn himself fairly acknowledges cannot be converted into money. But, whatever may be the present state of those who first emigrated, it must be evident that the individual who is now to land, has not the same choice, and that before one of the old settlers in North America can

speak confidently of the success or failure which is to attend a man who is now to sail from England, he ought to inquire what description of man he is to be; for it is impossible, without this information from him, to say, that, at the end of five years,* he shall be able to "repay five pounds," which most certainly must depend not only on the skill and physical strength of the individual, but on the particular spot on which he may chance to be located; and when the arduous nature of such a life is duly considered, it must be evident that an English woodman, a ploughman, a bricklayer, a slater, a watchmaker, a stocking-maker, a bell-hanger, a weaver, a painter, a fiddler, a pin-maker, and a tailor, would meet in the forest of America on very different terms.

It is true that some of the old settlers, who have succeeded, and whose statements have been submitted by Colonel Cockburn to the Colonial Department, declare that they have cleared, say, "twenty acres, that they have a yoke of steers, one cow, three calves, pigs, poultry, &c.; that they consider it all worth one hundred pounds, and do not owe a farthing."

The value of such property in England would

* Vide Colonel Cockburn's Report.

easily be calculated and appreciated; for in a crowded civilized country all these things would procure, in exchange, a number of those comforts which in every village can be purchased: but we must not consider that beef is worth eight-pence a pound all over the world, or that a pig is everywhere the treasure or "*jewel*" that he is in Ireland. If this were the case, the possessions of the settlers above quoted would certainly be very valuable; but the contrary appears, from almost every one of the statements which are printed with Colonel Cockburn's Report, for none of them say they have any money; all they say, (and certainly it is a great deal to say,) is that they do not owe a penny, and the moral of this probably is, that they have plenty of good food, but not many luxuries. Now we all eagerly bend towards the particular thing which we happen to want; when the vessel is sinking we think of nothing but the shore; when parched with thirst, we ask only for water; when shivering with cold, warmth is the greatest enjoyment we can fancy; and when a half-drowned Irishman, who was picked up at sea, was asked if he would like a glass of brandy-and-water, he very properly replied, "As much brandy as you please, but none of your water."

In the same way, it is argued that because our poor want food, "abundance of food" is all they require; but this is not the fair practical way of estimating the value of a settler's possessions. If these possessions were in England, as we before observed, their value could be calculated; but to enable us to estimate them in America, the fairest way is to explain what they have cost. Now let us suppose for a moment that it was possible suddenly to transport our labouring classes, of all descriptions, into the forests of North America—to let them see the nature of the country—to let them feel the climate—to make them comprehend the mode of life it would be necessary to adopt, and then to give them time to reflect on what they had seen, felt, and observed, and to compare their notes with the country, friends, and blessings they had left behind them. If a space of twenty acres was then to be marked out before them, and it was to be proclaimed that any man who, with his own hands, would cut down all these trees, build himself a log-house, live here seven years, that the ground should belong to himself, and that he should gradually become possessed of "a yoke of steers, one cow, three calves, pigs, poultry, and not owe a penny"—if this offer was made, what would probably be

the result? The strong, the enthusiastic, the enterprising, and the daring, would instantly step forward, and it is easy to fancy that many a young man would say "done!" to the bargain; and then, throwing down his hat, would unbutton his shirt collar, tie his braces round his waist, take up the axe, advance his left foot, and begin; but the poor Glasgow weaver, the banker's clerk, the village barber, the London mechanic, would probably view the subject in a very different light, and, after measuring with their eyes the height and size of the trees before them, they would probably turn about, show the white feather in their tails, and search for a finger-post to direct them the nearest way to Charing-cross. But it may be said, that if the forest of America does not suit them, they might visit our African settlement at Algoa Bay. Nothing can certainly sound finer than the descriptions which are given of this country. It may be noble to see the trunks of the elephants waving in the air, and their immense ears flopping as they trample their way through the evergreen bushes and high grass, which clothe the surface of this extensive region of the world.

It may be magnificent to see the rhinoceros and buffalo, each cased in his impenetrable

armour, tilting at each other like knights at a tournament, while the lazy hippopotamus, as umpire, stands gazing at the strife, or frowning at the tiger that is sneaking through the bushes. But, without describing the burning climate and want of water, we will only observe, that the nerves of emigrants are not all screwed up to concert pitch ; that in their eyes these scenes are more terrible than magnificent, and, as an instance of this, we can mention, that when our settlers first landed at Algoa Bay, not only the women and children were terrified at the thoughts of wild beasts and Kaffres, but that the men too were sufficiently frightened. The greater part of them were city mechanics, who would not venture from their tents without swords and firearms ; and one day several of them produced to an English officer, who was endeavouring to appease their consternation, part of the skeleton of " a wild beast which they had positively found close to them," and which the officer at once recognised to be the half of a monkey ! However, seriously speaking, the wants of people who have been born in a rich and cultivated country, are not to be supplied by food alone, and to utter " farewell" to civilization, is easier said than done.

We have now considered the simple question,

whether emigration, on its own merits alone, is likely to take place to any great extent; and if the view we have taken is unbiassed and correct, it will, we conceive, appear, that although the life of the settler may suit the energy of enterprising, desperate men, yet that, without that assistance, its hardships and its difficulties are greater than the manufacturing classes and the common herd of society would be willing to encounter; and if this is the case, we had surely better not allow our necessity to blind our judgment, or look to emigration for relief, if it is not likely to be obtained. It is rather our interest at once to meet our difficulties: for if it should positively be better for the poor to suffer distress in England than to seek it in our colonies; if it is better for them to cling to the wreck, than to float by themselves on a grating, it is quite certain that sooner or later they will find it out, and that their interest will eventually find its proper level. In thinking for their interests, we may, therefore, be said to think for our own. What is bad for them cannot, in the end, be good for us; and although their ignorance and their despair may induce them to try any "stuff" or medicine which we may offer them, unless it is a sound remedy for the disorder, we lose our time,

and eventually must incur discredit and expense.

But it is proposed that government, as well as parishes, should assist the poor man to emigrate, should take him by the hand, should pay his expenses from England, his journey up the country, and should grant him, at his location, rations and support until he is capable of providing them himself. The advantages of this speculation are said to be, that by assisting the poor to make an exertion for which they have not strength or resources, we shall get rid of the expense of supporting them in England; that by this system we shall, in fact, correct the redundancy in our population, and that we shall then have no more workmen than work. To balance these advantages, which we will take for as much as they are worth, the following disadvantages may be stated.

We must all admit that however emigration may be for a man's future advantage, yet that the remedy at first is a severe one. Many, we believe, quit their country without the slightest idea of the life they are about to lead; however, as soon as they reach their location, the difficulty of their situation is immediately evident. From every mouth they hear that there is a winter gradually advancing towards them, against which they must provide shelter, without friends or as-

sistance, they at once feel they have no one to depend on but themselves, and that their situation is, consequently, a desperate one. But for every disorder in nature there exists a remedy, and we know that desperation calls forth energies and exertions, which, under common circumstances, lie dormant, and it is only by these exertions, that an emigrant can expect to succeed.

Now, if government or parishes, in a fruitless attempt to regulate population, interfere with emigration, what will be the practical result? The poor, under such protection, will fancy that, in emigrating, they are merely like sheep who are to change their pasture. But will not the very support which is afforded induce them to trust to it, instead of to the exertions which desperation would call forth? In our settlement at Albany this effect was particularly remarked, and those who were there present, too well know that the rations which the people received from government weakened their inclination to exert themselves. In common life, is not this theory often exemplified? If we wish to call forth the energies of the young, do we not tell them that they have nothing but their own exertions to depend upon? Is it not constantly remarked in the upper classes, that the inheritance of a few thousand

pounds is often to a young man, a positive misfortune? for, as he will do nothing until it is spent, he loses his youth, trusting to a sum of money which is not sufficient to support him. Observe soldiers on a common fatigue party in England, how slowly they drag one leg after another, how leisurely they half fill the barrow, how mournfully they wheel it; but if the same men open the trenches under an enemy's fire, with what alacrity do they burrow for shelter? and from the climate of America, is it not also necessary to seek shelter? and if so, is it not better to leave a man to meet his own danger his own way, than to conduct him to it by his parish officer? For several years many thousands of the most enterprising of the poor, at their own expense, have annually emigrated to North America; but is it not evident, that if, by the proposed system, people are paid to emigrate, that proportion of the poor will no longer do so for nothing?

If emigration is left to itself, the right description of people will emigrate; but if poverty is to be the qualification, at a great expense thousands will be enlisted who will not be able to serve. This permanent provision will be afforded to many who only received temporary relief, and,

as a general system, it will unavoidably be attended with the greatest difficulties.

Again, what description of people are we to send away? If we were to attempt to export children, the supply would at once increase with the demand, and we should neither lessen our distress, nor diminish our population. Our waggons would be filled with "children for exportation," as at Christmas our coaches are with Norfolk turkeys; and from every little crevice would they appear, like chickens from an Egyptian oven. If we are to export the aged, the insane, the blind, and the sick, would it not be more merciful, and, perhaps, after all, more economical, to spend the sum in providing for them in England? for what can an old man possibly do in the forests of America, or an old woman who, among the bushes of Albany, is to exchange the neighbours of her native village for a hippopotamus, an elephant, a buffalo, a Caffre, and a Hottentot? Stout, active young men would do well in either of these countries, yet may they not also do well in England?

But after all that we have said on the subject of the emigration of the poor, it turns out that, whether it is advisable or not, we have not the money to pay for it; and it is therefore proposed

not that we should at once abandon the idea, but that we should borrow the money by mortgaging the poor-rates! Surely this is a dangerous system. Supposing even that those we thus send out of the country find employment and subsistence, yet for each of these individuals we shall have incurred a considerable debt. Had they remained in England, they might have died, or, what is much more likely, they might have got their turn of work, and have supported themselves, or affairs, in general, might have become better; but when they leave us for ever, they bequeath us as a keepsake this debt, which is to be increased by the next set of emigrants who follow them. And if, while the debt thus increases, it should happen that the gap in the population should be filled up, and that there still should remain in the country more workmen than work, we shall have in a few years not only to support the poor who are then in the country, but we shall find our poor-rates, which are our means of providing for them, paralyzed by this debt, and that we have both the poor and the debt, the present evil and the past, on our hands.

From the short sketch which we have now concluded, of the general principles of emigration, we conceive it will appear:

1st. That emigration would afford no permanent relief to the redundancy of our population.

2dly. That, in theory, it would certainly afford a temporary relief; but that when the state of the emigrants was fully understood, it would be difficult, and even impossible, for Government or parishes to persuade mechanics, or other descriptions of people, to emigrate in sufficient numbers to make the relief effectual.

3d. That although a sufficient number of people were persuaded to emigrate, the speculation of mortgaging the poor-rates to pay for the expense, is imprudent, dangerous, and, as regards the interests of our next generation, decidedly unjust.

4th. That even if they were so mortgaged, there is a probability, amounting almost to a certainty, that the gap in our population would be filled up.

And for these reasons it is our humble but decided opinion that the proposed plan of emigration will not produce the effects which are expected from it, but will end in disappointment and ruin.

But it will at once be exclaimed, if emi-

gration cannot save us, what can? What is to become of the enormous population which threatens to overwhelm us? For such an evil where is the remedy? In our humble opinion, the remedy is the very evil which we wish to avert; and as this subject is of the utmost importance, it is necessary that, for a few moments, we should trespass on the attention of our readers.

The more we study the creation which is before us, the more do we discover and admire the omnipotent principle which regulates the whole, and which, by wonderfully minute arrangements, overcomes difficulties which, to our finite comprehensions, often seem to be insuperable.

The immense rivers which are everlastingly rushing into the ocean, do not, as we might at first expect, increase its boundaries; and when their waters again rise to mingle with the dark clouds of heaven, the deluge which seems to hang over us, fertilizes, but does not destroy.

In the minute arrangement of our bodies, we find every muscle has its check-string; the blood which rushes to the extremities is reconducted to the heart; every injury to which the frame is susceptible seems to have a "seed within itself" to remedy the disorder; and when we even quit

our native climate, and place ourselves in the burning regions of the equator, we find that the sun which threatened to consume us, opens valves in our skins, and, by a wonderful and simple process, gives us by heat an antidote to its poison.

From the general principles of creation, we have therefore every reason to expect, that as the world gradually becomes peopled, there will be developed in the disposition of man some instinct or propensity, which will save him from that dreadful scene of murder, famine, and confusion, which our fears so readily anticipate; and impressed with the wisdom and omnipotence of our Creator, we might fairly trust to this assistance, even though we did not comprehend by what means it would be administered; but it so happens that the principle which is to regulate population is quite as evident as many of those wonderful arrangements to which we have already ventured to allude.

In the first stages of society, such as where man is living in those vast plains of South America, which seem thirsting for population, we have already shown that population requires no check: accordingly no check does it receive, and as long as there is plenty of food no check exists.

But as soon as a want of food is felt, we have also shown that there *is* a check, although only proportionate to the slight cause which requires it. But the gentle restraint which is imposed by want of food, though sufficient to regulate population in its infant state, would not be able to curb it in its more advanced period: for as fathers bequeath their possessions to their children, and as individuals by this and other means accumulate riches, it would follow that, if want of food was the only check, rich men would add to population without any restraint; and when a nation became wealthy, the dreadful effect of this would be very evident.

But Nature, by a most wonderful and beautiful arrangement, has provided for this disorder, and we accordingly find that *artificial wants commence as soon as our natural wants are supplied*, and these artificial wants, or, as we term them, luxuries or follies, have a stronger check on population even than natural wants. In all ranks and classes of society we see their effects, and from St. James's to St. Giles's, from the palace to the cottage, from the nobleman in his carriage to the footman who, cased in brilliant plush, "perked in green and yellow melancholy," stands behind it; in short, from the very highest situ-

ation in the country, down to the lowest, we see that people of both sexes think it advisable or necessary to defer their marriages from motives which, to a savage, would be ridiculous or incomprehensible, and which really would be contemptible, if it was not that they explain to us the Divine law, by which population is regulated, and as a curious instance, which would most certainly be as little credited by the inhabitants of the wild plains of South America as many of their customs are here: do we not among our menials find a whole profession of well-dressed young women, who, because they have not money to marry, patiently pass their lives in dressing and undressing those who have?

Divided as society is into innumerable small gradations, each is aspiring to ape or surpass the one immediately above it: and while the lowest orders are obliged to require food and common necessaries, in order to enable them to marry, the other classes, who *have* food and common necessaries, impose upon themselves, and require all sorts of imaginary wants and luxuries.

In order to form a suitable marriage, one talks of contentment in "a cottage of gentility;" the next will only be satisfied with a large house; the next requires two houses; the next must

have splendid equipages and horses; and, as every day's experience proves, the whole of some people's lives, and a portion, greater or less, of almost every one's, is spent in increasing luxuries rather than population.

Thus is the weakness of man made subservient to his welfare! By this admirable arrangement of Providence population is checked by the very folly which threatened to increase it, by fashion, vanity, luxury, those humble instruments which we all pretend to despise; and if population was not, like the ocean, restrained by some wise precaution of Nature, by what human law could it be regulated? For let approaching distress be ever so evident, let philosophers, statesmen, or grave political economists think what they choose, or say what they will, the young petticoat government, which after all must decide the question, will smile at their arguments, laugh at their fears, and the more the danger is argued the greater it probably will be. And if, therefore, it is admitted that population, even in its artificial state, is regulated by its wants, it cannot fairly be objected that there exist to this rule some exceptions, because wants artificial and natural may have the general effect which has been described, although there

may be individuals whose passions may be stronger than either; for, in a general view of the question, what is the limited number of our present population when compared with that which would have been produced if the procreative powers of all classes of people had been unfettered? Again, it is not idle theory to assert, that man, in all stages of society, is governed by his wants, although he may often be insensible of their influence. What is it that drives us every day, to labour or employment, but our wants? and it is only because our obedience to them has become habitual that we often do not perceive their command. Remove our wants and what, in theory, would be the result? Why, that we should not work even for ourselves; and in practice is not this exemplified by the Llaneros of Columbia, and the Indians of the Pampas? who, having food and horses at their command, remain, to this day, as naked as they were born. As wants increase, man goes to work, until the wants of a crowded civilized country doom him to work from morning till night. It is true, that he may become cheerful at his work, contented with his lot, accustomed to his occupation; but it is equally true, that it is necessity which obliges him to work; and if the wants of man can, day after day, drive his body to labour, may they not

also be strong enough to regulate his judgment and his passions? and do they not most clearly explain to every individual and to the meanest capacity, that he had better be without a family until he has the means of providing for one?

In the army this check is most evident, for although all soldiers have a RIGHT to marry, yet the inconvenience and anxiety which attend this state restrain them by thousands; and if reason can thus govern the inclinations of a life-guardsman, a brave, honest fellow, whose thigh-bone is longer than the leg of many of our community, can any one rationally doubt the general check which our wants, natural and artificial, impose on our population; and of this can any one rationally doubt the check which our wants, natural and artificial, impose on our population; and if this is admitted, ought we not to acknowledge the finger of the Almighty in the distress which we are now endeavouring to avert?

We find our population redundant—we know that distress will curb it; yet, the moment we feel that distress, the moment its salutary influence comes to our assistance, we writhe under the operation and try to avoid it. If we are willing to bear our distress, (which from political and mercantile causes must fluctuate, like the value

of property on the Stock-Exchange) our population will never overwhelm us; but if, by borrowing money, or by any other unfair means, we shrink from our distress—population, encouraged by our weakness, must increase.

From a redundancy of population, or, in other words, from there being more workmen than work, it is most true that a proportion of our labouring classes are, at this moment, in absolute want.

In our humble opinion, we have no cure—no other alternative than honourably to provide them either with work or provisions. That in doing so, we shall feel severe distress, is but too evident; yet it is the only remedy for the disorder, and sooner or later we *must* submit to it. But the relief which the poor now require may, after all, be only temporary; for if the same attention which provides for them is also directed to increasing our commerce, and finding a market for our manufactures, we may increase our quantity of work, which will correct redundancy of population as effectually as if we could diminish the number of our labourers.

In this simple system, Nature is our friend and physician; her laws are our prescription, and surely it is better to submit to her skill than to

trust to emigration, a sort of Dr. Sangrado treatment, which is to bleed our population for every symptom of distress, and to incur us bills while the mortal disorder is still gaining upon us.

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In the observations which we have now concluded on the important subject of emigration, it will probably have been remarked that we have not stopped to attack any particular theory, or to make any remarks on the voluminous evidence which has lately been laid before the country on the subject.

Across a surface of such vast magnitude and importance, we have endeavoured to guide our hasty course, rather by facts than speculation, by general principles than particular instances, by the laws of Nature rather than by the suggestions of men; and fearing lest the many opinions and interests which surround us, like iron substances, might draw our magnetic needle from its North, we have endeavoured to steer rather by the star which is in the heavens, than by a compass which might betray us. However, there is one part of the united kingdom to which we must unavoidably devote a few particular observations, because we are told that it is not governed by the general principles of Nature—that somehow or other it is

an alien to her laws—that it is insulated, obstinate, and independent in its own notions, like Dr. Francia in his government of Paraguay—we allude to Ireland.

There is surely no rational grounds for believing, that the general causes which either curb or encourage population in all other parts of the world, should not operate in our sister country; yet we are told that distress which checks population all over the world, and which regulates even the increase of the brute creation, has in Ireland an opposite effect. We are told that there people from distress become desperate; that they get "reckless;" that a sort of rutting-season comes upon them; that in madness, or as it is termed, "recklessness," they fly to early marriage; that they desert their work; that their numbers are increasing as rapidly as their distress; and that, in short, nothing but emigration can save that country from the horrors which threaten to destroy it.

That the Irish are a distressed and a neglected people, even their own absentees are driven to confess; and it is equally true that their numbers are rapidly increasing; but we can never admit that the latter is the consequence of the former; on the contrary, we maintain that

distress in Ireland, as in all other countries, tends to check population, pointing out to each individual, by an arithmetic which the humblest capacity can comprehend, that if he cannot provide for himself, he would have increased difficulty in providing for a family; and if this argument is consistent with reason, it is beyond the power of a rational being to deny it—he may in despair, or, as it is termed, "recklessness," be deaf to it for a moment, but his reason he cannot dismiss; and the mild, quiet, and constant appeal which Nature, on this subject, makes to his understanding, must unavoidably have its due weight, and produce its ordained effect; and it is therefore false to say that the distress of Ireland is the *cause* of its increase of population. The increase is a misfortune, which certainly happens to accompany the distress; but the principle of Nature, by which distress would gently regulate the increase, exists, though particular circumstances overpower its effect, in the same way as the principle of gravitation, which tends to draw a heavy body to the earth, is resisted or overpowered by the table on which the body rests.

What are the circumstances, or causes, to which

we allude, it may at a future period be our humble endeavour to point out; however, in general terms we may shortly observe, as one of these causes, that Ireland possesses the food of a hot country, and the climate of a cold one; and that the facility and trifling expense at which potatoes can be raised, makes vegetable diet in Ireland nearly as cheap as beef is in the plains of South America, or as fruit in some of the southern countries of Europe; and as we have all along shown that the effect of food easily obtained is to keep men indolent, uncivilized, and also to increase population, it will surely appear that the present state of Ireland is the effect of the same causes which regulate mankind in other parts of the world. However, as is well known, the crop of potatoes is uncertain, and it is the sad effects of this failure, or uncertainty, that is one of the principal causes of distress in Ireland; for the usual abundance of the crop invites the common people to lead, what may truly be termed, uncivilized life, while its occasional failure plunges them in a distress which is never known in the parts of South America or Europe to which we have alluded, because this sudden failure of food does not, in those countries, ever happen; and even if it was

to happen, from the mildness of the climate, the distress would not be equal to that which is caused by it in Ireland.

Whether this distress, by the wise laws of Nature, will not eventually produce its own remedy,—whether it will not induce the Irish poor to acknowledge the necessity of looking to other food for subsistence, and of undertaking a steady course of labour in order to procure it,—whether the great landed proprietor may not perceive how much it is his interest to civilize the habits of the labouring classes, is not the present subject of inquiry. We have merely mentioned Ireland, because the country was said to be an anomaly in Nature, and that arguments which have weight in other countries, like substances in an exhausted receiver, have not, in Ireland, their proper gravity, and that, consequently, emigration was there to effect a cure, to work a miracle, which it could not produce in other countries.

Among the Irish, as among the British, there are many who have emigrated, and who will emigrate; and there is little doubt, but that our Government will afford them every rational facility; but, that distress in Ireland, or in our own country, cannot be cured by emigration—that it neither can nor will be restrained by it, though

we mortgage our poor-rates in the attempt, we have endeavoured to show by arguments, which are now submitted to the considerate attention of the public.

That these arguments are neither the result of reading nor of study will, we fear, be but too evident to every one; but although they do not pretend to possess these advantages, yet the writer trusts they will not be considered altogether visionary or groundless. If he has described the effect which a burning sun has on the human frame, it is because he himself has sunk under it—if he has described the cheerless situation of those who go beyond the limits of civilization, it is because he himself has passed that boundary —if he has stated that English mechanics, like English bull-dogs, lose their energy by change of climate, it is because he has had an opportunity of remarking it.

If, with suspicious caution, he warns the public against trusting to estimates of property, which have crossed the Atlantic, it is because he himself has been grossly deceived by them—and if, with too much earnestness, he has said that for the poor as well as for the rich, "there is no place like home," it is because he feels it and believes it.

In standing against a system so powerfully, ably, and conscientiously supported, he places himself in a situation uncongenial to his habits and to his profession ; but convinced of the truth of the evidence he offers, his sincere object is to endeavour to prevent the country from losing in the New World the character and high reputation which so justly distinguish it in the Old ; and when it is considered that England has so lately incurred the commercial disgrace of lending to the unfledged Governments of America seventeen millions of money, and of forming companies, which in the several countries are objects of ridicule and contempt, it will, he trusts, be his excuse and his apology for attempting to offer to public notice "a few practical arguments against the theory of emigration."

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stamford-street.