HOME POLITICS, OR THE GROWTH OF TRADE CONSIDERED IN ITS RELATION TO LABOUR, PAUPERISM AND EMIGRATION

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DANIEL GRANT

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OR THE

GROWTH OF TRADE

CONSIDERED IN ITS RELATION TO

LABOUR, PAUPERISM & EMIGRATION.

DANIEL GRANT.

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, READER AND DYER,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1870.

PREFACE.

This book has been written with the desire to keep it entirely removed from party politics. The great problem—How are the people to find work and food—is a distinctly social one, and is so important for all classes of society that any effort which can be made to solve it is worth the labour. I had no pre-conceived theory to uphold, and throughout I have stated the facts simply as I found them; the deductions I have ventured to draw seemed to flow naturally, but how far the conclusions are accurate I must leave others to judge.

DANIEL GRANT.

March, 1870.

CLEVELAND GARDENS,
 HYDE PARK.

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HOME POLITICS

OR THE

GROWTH OF TRADE.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

Among the many great questions that are now pressing for solution, there is one that imperatively demands an answer: How are the people of our country to be fed? How are the people to obtain both work and food? Under all phases and through all kinds of circumstances this question is ever presenting itself-it appears in those thrilling episodes of human misery, when the tortured and the broken, the halfstarved and the reckless, hopeless of the future, flinging on one side all questions :- seek refuge in death: it appears in that sense of sullen but half muttered defiance, which is more or less distinctly traceable amongst a large mass of our population; it appears in the outbreak of the Famine Fever, the continuous increase of our pauper returns and an ever growing taxation. The reason why this question should take precedence of all others, is to be found in the broad fact that it goes to the root of the happiness or the misery, the well being or the destitution of the great mass of the nation.

However much we may disguise or slur over the fact, we have to stand face to face with difficulties, probably as profound as those which swept over this land, previously to the repeal of the Corn Laws. It is well whilst there is yet time, that we should grasp the problem in its entirety and do our best to find the solution. The question travels over a very large surface of ground. It asks what has been the cause of the past growth of our trade; and why has it now ceased to expand? It asks what is our probable future with regard to the commerce of the world? and which way does our path lie through the dangers that menace us?

It forces these questions on us, not as abstract problems on which themes may be written and theories discussed, but as the great practical necessities of life which are as essential to our existence as the air we breathe. It has been asked before, and it may be asked again: is it possible that there are in this very London of ours the elements of revolution? Who shall answer? But, whether it be so or not, there is no question that hunger makes strange havoc with pet theories, and men, who are placable and kind, when they are passingly comfortable, are dangerous and deadly, when they crave in vain both work and food. It cannot be the wish of the great landed interests of this country, that the large questions connected with territorial property and their right of holding, should be bandied about from mouth to mouth, when men are maddened by the sense of want. It cannot be either their wish or interest that the fierce sense of wrong, implied in the fact of class legislation, should be driven home to fester amid sorrow and despair. The names that many of them bear, who by labours at the bar, or services in the battle field, are traditional elements of intellect and courage; and there is no higher testimony to the aristocracy of our land than to say, that, representing as they do the relics of the middle ages in laws that are at once hard, grasping and unjust, they have contrived by their broad common sense, large courtesy and far reaching fairness, to stand amongst us to-day as a class greatly honored; but if the sense of sorrow and misery that now overshadows our land should deepen, as most probably it will; if the cry for aid;—aid by thought; aid by care; aid by law; should arise and be not responded to, the monitions and warnings that are everywhere around us will have spoken in vain, and history will chronicle the results.

Let us for a moment think what are the conditions of our poor to-day. Apart from the question of our agricultural population, whose almost hopeless lot is best told by / the simple fact, that in many places the luxury of meat is comparatively unknown; apart from the questions of special emergency, such as the cotton famine, or the East End Emigration Society, which has been brought into existence for the purpose of relieving the great mass of destitution and poverty in that neighbourhood; apart from all such special and exceptional cases, we have the general sense of depression and want everywhere spread around us. It is not necessary to dwell on the scenes of human misery, where wholesale suicides or cruel murders, mark the profound despair or those who lay trembling on the confines of want. equally unnecessary to recall those verdicts that appear time after time at coroner's inquests under the simple but expressive phraseology—"Death from Starvation." not necessary to recall these things, because the newspaper press of the country drives these truths home without stint and without compromise; but it may be important to remember that the individual cases, which thus come to the surface, are known only by accident, and that the great mass of misery that suffers and dies,—dies and tells no tale. Occasionally and by accident the curtain is drawn on one side, and we see into the midst of the life of poverty that

surrounds us; and we then know by the glance thus afforded us what the general life must be: wasted by poverty, decimated by fever, shattered by want; and it thus rises before us, in the full force of its appeal to that sense of human sympathy which is common to us all.

But the general acceptance of the positions here stated will be aided by a few facts. Let us see what the barometer of pauperism has to tell us. Our pauper population in

> 1866 was - 920,344 1867 ,, - 958,824 1868 ,, - 1,034,823

and the number is still increasing; yet these numbers shew that our pauper population has increased by 114,479 persons in two years or at the rate of more than 1,000 per week. Even this large increase does not indicate the exact extent of poverty,-it points to the still wider field of misery that exists among the classes from which pauperism is fed. Let any one think what is the state of destitution through which a man passes, before he is willing to accept relief and allow himself to be branded as a pauper. Those who know the working classes best, know the profound abhorence they entertain of the Workhouse. Any privation, any sorrow, any destitution rather than that; and the natural inference is, that the pressure of want is not only severe but has been long enough sustained, to have swept away all articles of clothing, as well as all household goods, before the sufferers bend to their fate. Let us take some few instances of what the present condition shows. As one illustration of the state of destitution take the following:

"Monday, March 8, 1869.—At the last meeting of "the Chester Guardians, Mr. Brittain, one of the relieving "officers, stated it as his belief that there never was "so much destitution in the city, even in an inclement "season, as there was at the present time. He knew